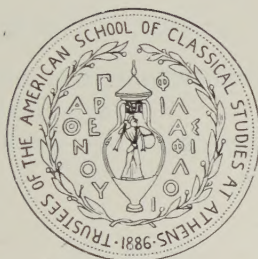


HESPERIA

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ATHENS, GREECE

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TABLE OF CONTENTS


	Page
DOW, STERLING: The Lists of Athenian <i>Archontes</i>	140
OLIVER, JAMES H.: The <i>Μουσείο</i> in Late Attic Inscriptions	191
WAAGE, FREDERICK O.: Preliminary Report on the Medieval Pottery from Corinth	129

EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

GRACE, VIRGINIA: Stamped Amphora Handles found in 1931-1932	197
MERRITT, BENJAMIN D.: The Inscriptions	1
THOMPSON, HOMER A.: Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery	311

PLATES

- I
 - 1. Seal of Chios
 - 2. Coin of Chios
 - 3. Seal of Athens
 - 4. Anadoumenos
 - 5. The Four-horse Chariot with the Sun of the Rhodians
- II Profiles and Sections of Amphora Handles
- III E 153. Relief Krater of the Late Second Century B.C.



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THE INSCRIPTIONS

The first report on the inscriptions found in the Ancient Agora during the course of excavations by the American School of Classical Studies was presented in Volume II of *Hesperia* last year, and a supplementary report was published by Oliver in the last number of the same volume. The inscriptions here recorded represent the remainder of those documents found during the campaigns of 1931 and 1932 which seem to merit preliminary publication. It has been possible to include also some part of the early discoveries of 1933, though the great majority of inscriptions found during the third campaign must be reserved for a subsequent number of this Journal. A map showing the sections of the Agora and the houses (with numbers) to which reference is made in the following pages may be found in *Hesperia* II (1933), p. 99.

DECREES

1. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in a fill of Byzantine date on April 6, 1932 in Section Δ 10/K.



No. 1

Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.11 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. 2098 I 207.

The inscription is written in the developed *stoichedon* style of the latter part of the fifth century B.C., and seems to be part of a decree. I have not discovered that it belongs with any document now published in the *editio minor* of the *Corpus*.

2. Upper left corner of a stele of Pentelic marble, with original thickness preserved, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 631/30 in Section H.



Height, 0.37 m.; width, 0.26 m.; thickness, 0.11 m.

Height of letters in line 1 0.013 m., in line 2 0.008 m.

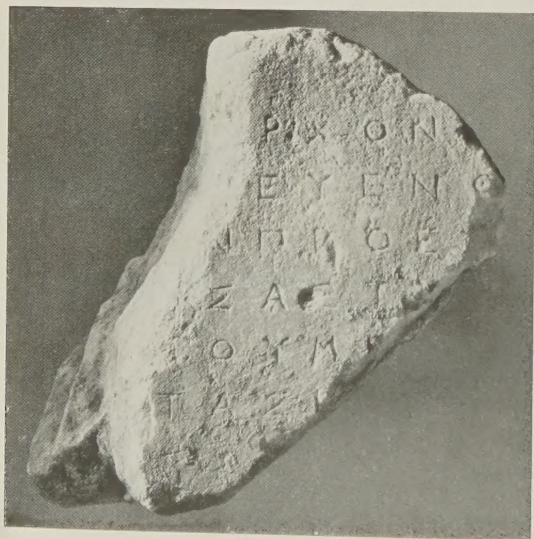
Inv. No. 3575 I 329.

Θ ε [ο ι]
[ε]δοξεν [- - - - -]

The inscription belongs apparently to the fourth century B.C.

No. 2

3. Fragment from the top of a stele of Pentelic marble, broken away at both sides and at the bottom, found in 1931 in the wall of a modern house 631/17 in Section E.



Height, 0.143 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. 1068 I 111.

373/2 B.C.

CTOIX 37

[Ἐπὶ Ἀστείο ἄ]ρχον[τος· ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ·
Ἀκαμῶν]

[τὶς ἐπρυτάν]ευσεν· Θ[ουδαίτης Διομενὲς ἐγραμμ]

[άτευσεν· τῷ]ν προέ[δρων ἐπεψήφισεν....¹⁰....]

[...⁸....]ς· Ἀστυ[φίλος εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ...⁸....]

[...⁶....]ρου Μ[υ] [- - - - -]

...⁶... ΤΑΣΤ[- - - - -]

...⁶... ΣΣ [- - - - -]

No. 3

I attribute this document to the year of Asteios, and to the prytany of Akamantis. When the necessary restorations are made in lines 1 and 2 on the analogy of *I.G.*, II², 101, the inscription is reconstructed with a *stoichedon* line of 37 letters. This number of letters in each line meets also the requirements of restoration in lines 3–5.

4. Fragment of white marble, broken on all sides, found on March 7, 1932 in Section E 01/Δ.

Height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.06 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. 1647 I 181.



No. 4

The letters are well cut and belong apparently to the fourth century B.C. The inscription was probably part of a decree.

5. Stele of Pentelic marble, broken at the bottom and at the left, found on April 28, 1932 in a late wall in Section E 22/ΛΑ.

Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.25 m.; thickness, 0.082 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. 2551 I 226.

327/6

CTOIX 33

[Ἐφ' Ἡγήμονος ἄρχοντι]ος ἐπὶ τῆς Οἰνηί[δος ἐ]

[νάτης προτανείας] ἦι Ἀντοκλῆς Ἀντί[ου Ἀχ]

[αρεὺς ἐργαμμάτε]νεν· Μουνιχιῶνος· [ἐκκλ]

[ησία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ]· ἐνάτει μετ' εἰκά[δας· τ]

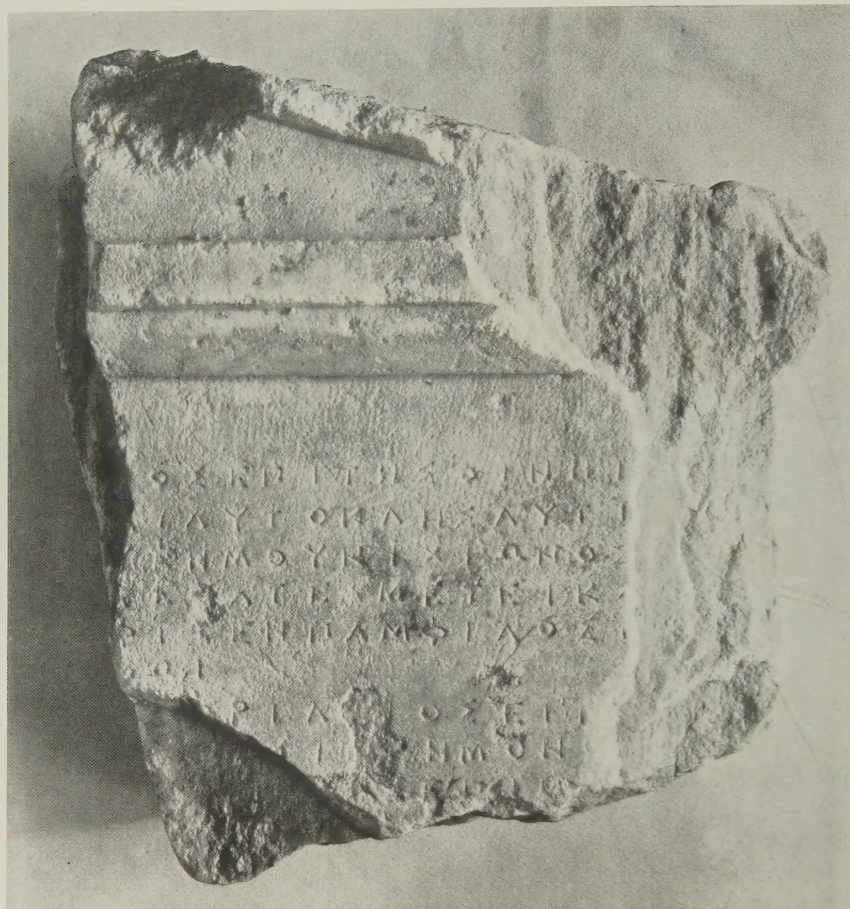
5 [ῶν προέδρων ἐπεψή]φιζεν Πάμφιλος Ι[...]

[... ἐδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ] vacat

[.....¹⁷...] Θριά[σ]ιος εἰπ[εν· ἐπε]

[ιδῆ.....¹⁵...] ἐπ[ὶ] [Ἡγ]ήμονο[ς ἄρχο]

[ντος.....¹³...] εἰς] τὰς ἐπιμ[ελείας]



No. 5

The decree is in honor of some board or committee of the current year, but the essential portion of the stone necessary for an identification has been broken away.

The name of the secretary is *Ἀντοκλῆς Ἀντίου Ἀχαρνεύς* (cf. *P.A.* 2725), and this name should now be restored in the other decrees of the year of Hegemon. From the badly weathered surface of *I.G.*, II², 356 the present reading [*Φ*]αρίου is mistakenly given for [*Α*]ντίου, the patronymic of the secretary's name; in *I.G.*, II², 357 the restoration [*Φ*αρίου -] in line 4 must be changed to [*Α*ντίου -]. *I.G.*, II², 358 does not enter into consideration here, for it must be assigned to the year of Nikokrates (333/2).¹

In lines 3 and 4 some phrase or formula must have been interposed between the name of the month and the date by month. I restore [*ἐκκλησία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ*], which exactly fills the space.

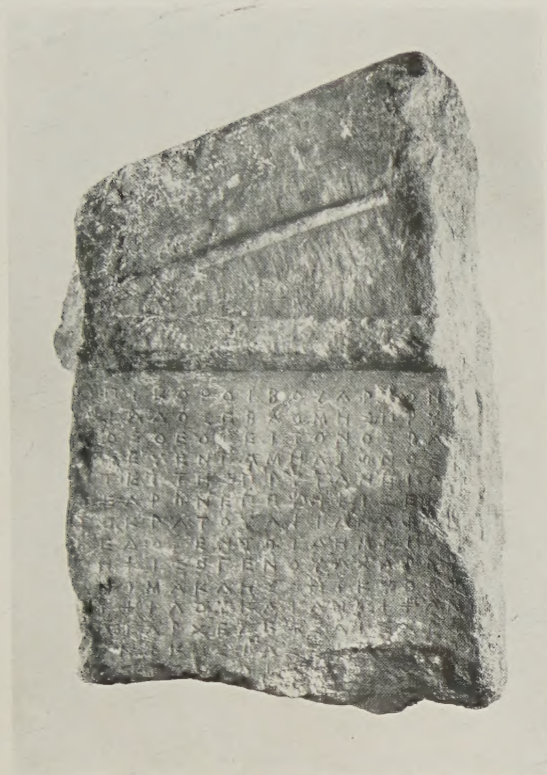
¹ See Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, pp. 357-358; Kirchner, *Gnomon*, VIII, 1932, p. 451.

6. Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, broken away at the bottom and at the right, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 632/3B in Section Z.

Height, 0.312 m.; width, 0.228 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. 3470 I 250.



No. 6

306/5

CTOIX 30

Ἐπὶ Κοροΐβου ἄρχον[τος ἐπὶ τῆς Δημητ]
 ριάδος ἐβδόμης πρυτ[ανείας ἤι Πάμφι]
 [λ]ος Θεοργέιτος Ῥα[μνούσιος ἐγραμμ]
 [ά]τενεν· Γαμηλιῶνος· [τετάρτει καὶ δεκ]
 5 ἄτει τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία· τῶν πρ[ε]
 σέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν [. . . .¹⁰ Ἀρισ]
 τοκράτου Ἀφιδναῖ[ος καὶ συμπρόεδρο]
 ι· ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ^v [vv -----]
 [Κ]ηφισογένου Ἀχαρν[ῆς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ]
 10 [Ὀ]νομακλῆς Σμικύθου [καὶ⁸ Ἀσ]
 [τ]υφίλου καὶ Ἀντιφάνη[ς¹¹]
 [κ]αὶ Ἀρχέλεως Ἀίσχρων[ος⁹ κ]
 [α]ὶ Νικησίας Σιτ[. . .]ον [. . . .¹²]
 [.] ΕΣ . Ε . . ΟΙ -----

Decrees from the year of Koroibos are relatively numerous (*I.G.*, II², 467–476; 472 add.)¹, and one from the prytany of Demetrias is already known (*I.G.*, II², 470). From it one may determine that during the month of Gamelion the date by prytany was two or three days behind the date by month. The equation is: Gamelion 29/30 = Pryt. VII, 27. In the present document there is no possible combination of dates by month and prytany which can be restored in lines 4 and 5 to yield the same divergence of two or three days. I assume that the date by month was omitted, and that the date by prytany was [τετάρτει καὶ δεκ]ἄτει. This numeral alone occupies the available space on the stone.

¹ Also *I.G.*, II², 773. See Dow, *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, pp. 415–416.

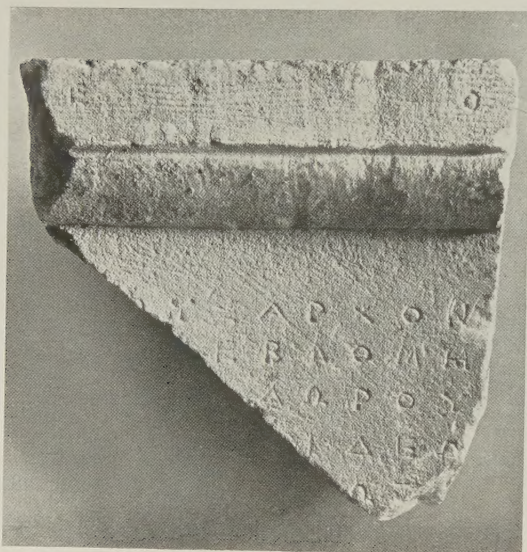
The names listed in lines 10–14 are not Athenian, and one of them (*Ἀρχέλειος*) has a characteristic Ionic form. An honorary decree for the Colophonians from this same prytany is preserved in *I.G.*, II², 470.

7. Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, broken at the bottom and on both sides, but with the mouldings at the top preserved, found on April 18, 1932 built into a modern cistern in Section Δ 8/H. The reverse surface of the stone is broken irregularly.

Height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.16 m.; thickness of inscribed portion, 0.035 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.007 m.

Inv. No. 2296 I 219.



No. 7

302/1

CTOIX 26

[Θ] ε ο [Ι]
 [Ἐπὶ Νικοκλέ]ους ἄρχον[τος ἐπὶ τῇ]
 [ς¹¹] ἐβδόμη[ς πρυτανε]
 [ίας ἥτις Νίκων Θεο]δώρου [Πλωθεὺς ἐ]
 5 [γραμμάτευν· Ποσ]ιδεῶ[ρος ἐνάτη]
 [ι μετ' εἰκάδας ^{vv} πρ]ώτ[ηι τῆς πρυτ]
 [ανείας - - - - -]

The attribution of this document to the archonship of Nikokles seems fairly certain, when it is compared with other inscriptions of his year, especially with *I.G.*, II², 499.

The only difficulty in making a restoration is with the date by month. From *I.G.*, II², 499 it appears that Pryt. VII, 13 must be equated with Gamelion 11 or 12. The first day of the seventh prytany must therefore be twelve days earlier, on the last, or next to the last, day of Posideon. The date above has been restored as [Ποσ]ιδεῶ[ρος ἐνάτη|ι μετ' εἰκάδας - -] in spite of the fact that two uninscribed letter spaces must be left before the date by prytany. But no combination with ἐντὶ καὶ νέαι gives a satisfactory arrangement either, and I still prefer not to restore δευτέραι μετ' εἰκάδας in the sense of the

twenty-ninth day, as has been recently suggested as possible (under some circumstances) by Klaffenbach (*Gnomon*, VI, p. 216) and Kirchner (*Gnomon*, VIII, p. 457). But see commentary on No. 20.

8. Two contiguous fragments of Hymettian marble, with left edge and original thickness preserved, found on April 18, 1932 in Section E 4/KH.

Height, 0.41 m.; width, 0.28 m.; thickness, 0.075 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. 2346 I 220.

	Early third century	CTOIX 28
	Λ . . . Ο	²⁴
	. Ι	²⁶
	. . Ι . Ε	²³
	. ΝΤ	²⁵
5	. ΤΡΑ	²⁴

	. . . . .¹⁷ Η ¹⁰	
	. . . . .¹⁶ ΟΥΔΟΚ ⁷	
	. . . . .¹⁵ ιέα εὐσεβ[είας ε']	
10	[νεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς] θεοὺς καὶ [φιλοτ]	
	[ιμίας εἰς τε τὴν βο]υ[λῆ]ν καὶ τ[ὸν δῆμ]	
	[ον· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ κ]αὶ ἕκαστον [τῶν . .]	
	[. ¹⁴ ε]παινέσαι [δὲ καὶ]	
	[. ¹⁵ Ἀ]χαρνέα· ἀ[ναγρά]	
15	[ψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισ]μα καὶ τὰ[ς ἄλλα]	
	[ς δωρεὰς τὸν γραμμ]ατέα τὸν κ[ατὰ πρ]	
	[υτανείαν ἐστῆλει] λιθίνει κ[αὶ στῆ]	
	[σαι ἐν τῷ πρυτανικ]ῷ[ι - - - - -]	

The inscription is very badly worn, and the letters hardly show on either squeeze or photograph. There were several other fragments of the same stone found together with the pieces published here, but no traces of letters are now preserved on them.

9. Two contiguous fragments of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in 1932 in Section A.

Height, 0.33 m.; width, 0.18 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. 3004 I 242.

Ι Π Ρ Η
 Υ Σ Ρ Ο Δ Ο
 Λ Α
 Ζ Ω Κ Ε Ν
 Ξ Υ Ε Ρ Τ Υ
 Α Κ Ε Δ Α
 Ν Τ Ω Ι Δ Η Μ Ω Ι Ν
 Δ Ο Ν Τ Ο Δ
 Ι Ξ Τ Ο Ι Σ Μ Ε Τ Α
 Λ Ι Ε Ι Σ Τ Η Ν Ι Κ Ο
 Κ Ο Ν Τ Α Τ Α Λ Α Ν Τ
 Σ Ο Λ Ε Ω Σ Α Φ Ε
 Ι Ω Ι Α Θ Η Ν Α Ι Ω Ν
 Α Ξ Ε Ρ Δ Ω Κ
 < Λ Ι Ν Ν Α Ι Κ
 Μ Ο Ν Ι < Γ
 Ε Υ Ω Ν Ε Υ Η Φ Ι
 Ο Ι Ν Ρ Α Ρ Λ Κ
 Α Σ Λ

----- ι π π . . h . ρ -----
 ----- το]ὺς προ[έ]δ[ρ]ο[υς] -----
 ----- μα -----
 ----- δῶκεν -----
 5 ----- ς ὑ[π]ὲρ τ[ο]ῦ -----
 ----- ν Λακεδαι[μ]όνιον -----
 ----- ν τῶι δῆμωι ν -----
 ----- δον το[.] δῆμ[ο] -----
 ----- ρις τοῖς μετὰ -----
 10 [- ----- κ]αὶ εἰς τὴν [ο]ἰκο[δομίαν] -----
 ----- κοντα τάλαντα -----
 [- ----- τῇ]ς [π]όλεως . . αφε -----
 [- τῶι δῆμωι] τῶι Ἀθηναίων -----
 [- εἰς τὰς ν]αῦς ἐπ[ε]δωκεν -----
 15 ----- < ΛΙΝΝ . . ΑΙΚ -----
 [- ----- Λακεδ]αι[μ]όνιο[ν] οπ -----
 ----- μ[α]τεύων ἐψηφι -----
 ----- λίθοιν παραχ -----
 ----- Λ . Α . . ΣΛ -----

No. 9

The surface of the stone is badly weathered and many of the letters can be deciphered only with great difficulty. The inscription seems to honor a Lacedaemonian (lines 6 and 16) who was generous in gifts (lines 4 and 14) to the Athenian people. The sum of at least thirty talents is mentioned (line 11) and there is probable reference also to building operations (line 10) and to ships (line 14). The document may belong to the years of the Chremonidean war, shortly after the alliance between Athens and Sparta (*I.G.*, II², 686, 687).

The stone was later used for another inscription, of which two large letters, -- -- ς, are still preserved.

10. Large fragment of Pentelic marble, with a small part of the inscribed face and part of the right edge preserved, found in 1932 in Section H.

Height, 0.29 m.; width, 0.25 m.; thickness, 0.22 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. 3601 I 351.



No. 10

E[-----]
 Α[εὐκονοεῖς]
 Αὐχο -----
 Αεωφ -----
 5 Τελεσ -----
 Φρ[εἰρηνοί]

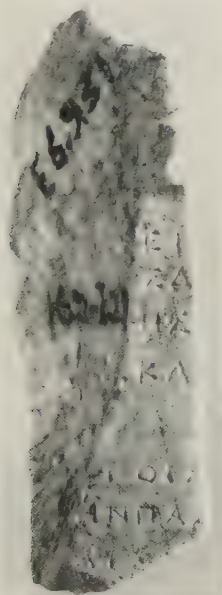
The names here preserved belong to the last column inscribed on the stone, and there is room in each case for name and patronymic. The document appears to have been an honorary decree below which the names of the prytanes of the tribe Leontis were inscribed. The letter forms and the disposition of the names indicate a date in the middle of the third century B.C. For a similar document, see *I.G.*, II², 678.

11. Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, broken away at the bottom and at both sides, found on June 9, 1931 in Section E 3/KE east of the "Royal Stoa."

Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.07 m.; thickness, 0.078 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. 162 I 23.

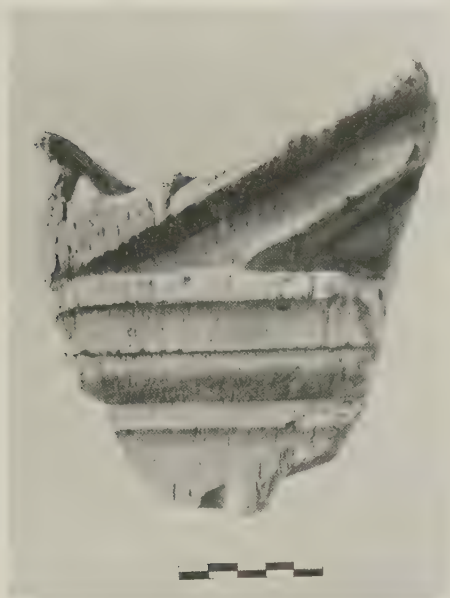


No. 11

Third century B.C. CTOIX
 [Επὶ --- ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς --- πρυταν]εῖ[ας ἥτι]
 [----- ἐργαμμάτευεν --- ὦνο]ς δ[---]
 [----- τῆς πρυτανείας ἐκκλ]ησ[ία κυ]
 [ρία· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψηφίξεν --- -]ς κα[ὶ συμ]
 5 [προέδρου· ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ] vacat
 [-----] IOIX ---
 [-----] ΗΝΓΑΣ --
 [-----] ΑΙΕ -----

The preserved fragment belongs to the opening lines of a decree, in which the characteristic formulae can be restored with lines of approximately fifty-five letters each.

12. Upper left corner of a stele of bluish marble, found on July 28, 1931 in Section A 31/IE at 3.30 m.



No. 12

Height, 0.135 m.; width, 0.127 m.; thickness, 0.082 m.

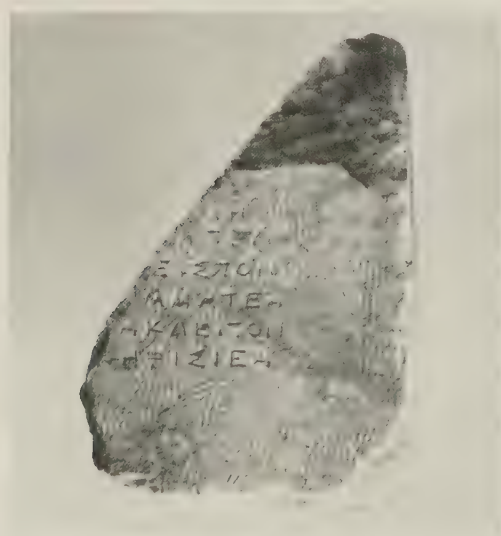
Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. 503 I 84.

Ἐπὶ [.]ι[- - ἑρχομενος - -]

The inscription is part of a decree, which seems not to have been written *stoichedon*, if one may judge from the somewhat closer spacing on centres of the two preserved iotas. The date is between 250 and 150 B.C.

13. Fragment from the right side of a block of Hymettian marble, found in 1932 in Section E.



No. 13

Height, 0.144 m.; width, 0.098 m.; thickness, 0.036 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. 3461 I 245.

[ῆ βου]λῇ
[καὶ οἱ] πρὸν
[τάν]εις τὸν
[ῥα]μματιέα
5 [Ἡρ]άκλειτον
Κιφισιέα

This fragment evidently contains one of the citations appended to an honorary decree passed by the Council honoring the prytanes of the tribe Erechtheis and their officers, among whom was the secretary Herakleitos of Kephisia here mentioned. The letter forms indicate a date during the latter part of the third century B.C.

14. Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, broken at the bottom and at the right, found in October 1932 in the wall of a modern house 632/17 B in Section Z.



Height, 0.18 m.; width, 0.195 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

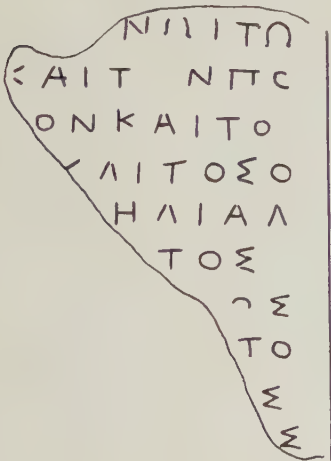
Inv. No. 3480 I 260.

Θ [ε ο ι]
Ἐπὶ Εὐάνδρ[ου ἀρχοντος - -]
- - - - -

The inscription is cut in letters of the late third century B.C. and belongs to the year of Euandros II rather than to that of Euandros I.

No. 14

15. Fragment from a stele of Pentelic marble, with right edge preserved, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 631/27 in Section H.



Height, 0.18 m.; width, 0.11 m.; thickness, 0.095 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. 3560 I 319.

The text seems to belong to a decree of the late third century B.C., for which period the letter forms are characteristic. The marble has pronounced streaks of green.

No. 15

16. Fragment of Hymettian marble, with part of the right margin preserved, found on February 8, 1933 in the wall of a modern house 646/3 in Section I.

Height, 0.445 m.; width, 0.32 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. 3862 I 432.

Late third or early second century B.C.

NON CTOIX 62—71

- [----- τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν Ἀ[-----]
 [----- καὶ συμπρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν τῷ βουλευτῇ -----]ς Σιτησιχόρου -----]
 [εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ προτάνεις τῆς Αἰαντίδος ἐπαινέσαι]ν[τε]ς καὶ στεφανώ[σαντες ἀπο]
 [φαίνουσιν τῷ βουλευτῇ τὸν ταμίαν ὃν εἵλοντο ἐξ ἑαυ]τῶν Ἀριστομένην Μαραθ[ώνιον τὰς]
 5 [θυσίας πάσας τεθυκέναι τὰς καθηκούσας ἐν τ]ῷ προταναίᾳ ὑπὲρ τῆς βο[υλῆς καὶ]
 [τοῦ δήμου καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν· ἐπιμεμελῆσθαι]ι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων [καλῶς]
 [καὶ φιλοτίμως· ἀγαθὴ τύχῃ δεδόχθαι τῷ βουλευτῇ· ἐ]πα[ιν]έσαι τὸν ταμίαν καὶ στεφα[νῶσαι α]
 [ὅτῳν θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ στεφανῶσαι] κ[αὶ] τὸν γραμματέα ὃν εἵλο[ντο ἐξ]
 [ἑαυτῶν ----- ἐπαινέσαι]ι δ[ὲ] κ[αὶ] στεφανῶσαι καὶ τὸν ἱε[ρέα τ]
 10 [οῦ ἐπωνύμου ----- καὶ τὸ]ν ταμ[ί]αν τῆς βουλῆς Ἡγήτορα Ἀριστοβούλο[ν . .]
 [----- καὶ τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου -----]να [-----]τοχάρον ἐκ Κεραιμῶν [καὶ]
 [τὸν ὑπογραμματέα ----- καὶ] τὸν κήρυκα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ το[ῦ]
 [δήμου Εὐκλῆν Βερενικίδην καὶ τ]ὸν ἀλκίτην [Νεοκλῆν] Βερενικίδην· ἀναγράψαι
 [δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ προτ]αν[είαν ἐν σ]τήλει λιθίνει καὶ στήσα
 15 [ι ἐν τῷ προταναίῳ· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν] τῇ[ς σ]τήλης μερίσαι τὸν ἐπ
 [ι τῷ διοικήσει τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα]

ἰ β[ο]υ[λῆ]

τὸν -----

X -----

20 M -----

The date of the inscription is indicated by the fact that Neokles of Berenikidai was flute-player. The name of the herald should be restored as Eukles of Berenikidai. He also was in office in the latter part of the third century, and this date is further substantiated by the fact that the expense of erecting the stele was borne by the single officer of the administration. See commentary on No. 19. The letters indicate a date early in the second century.



No. 16

17. Stele of Pentelic marble, found on February 12, 1932 in position as a cover slab over the ancient drain in Section E.

Height, 1.653 m.; width at the top below the moulding, 0.41 m., at the bottom, 0.462 m.; thickness at the top below the moulding, 0.135 m., at the bottom, 0.15 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. 1313 I 166.

NON CTOIX

ca. 45

171/0

Θ ε ο [ι]

Ἐπὶ Ἀντιγένου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρεχθίδος τετάρ
της προτανείας ἔτι Σώσανδρος Σω μ[.]ου[ς] Ἀλω
πεκῆθεν ἐγραμμάτευεν. Πυανοψιδῶνος [ένει καὶ νέαι]
5 ἐβδόμει καὶ δεκάτει τῆς προτανείας[ς· ἐκκλησία κυρ]ία
ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ· τῶν προέδρων [ἐπεψήφισεν Θ]εψ[φαν]ί
δης Ἐχεφύλου Ἀχαρνέος [καὶ συμπρόεδροι]
ἔδοξεν τῷ [βουλῇ] καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
Ἀναξίφρων Εὐφραγόρου Μαραθώνιος εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ
10 ἔφηβοι οἱ ἐπὶ Σωσιγένου ἄρχοντος ἐφηβεύσαντες δι
ετέλεσαν εὐτακτοῦ[ντες καὶ πειθαρχοῦντες τῷ κοσ]
μητεῖ καὶ τοῖς στ[ρα]τηγ[οῖς] - - - - - ἐπεμε
λήθησαν τῆς φυλα[κῆς] - - - - -
ἀκολούθως τοῖς νό[μοις] - - - - -
15 νοῖς καὶ συ[- - - - - κα]
θ' ἑαυτοὺς καθηκ[- - - - -
σεμναῖς θεαῖς - - - - -
τὰς καθηκούσ[ας] - - - - -
ἐνκοσμία - - - - -
20 λους[- - - - - ἐφη]
βεύουσι· - - - - -
καθίστα - - - - -
καὶ ο[- - - - - ἀγαθῇ]
τύχῃ δεδόχ[θαι] τῷ βουλῇ τοὺς λαχόντας προέδρους]
25 εἰς τὴν ἐπιού[σαν ἐκκλησίαν χρηματίσαι περὶ τούτων γνώ]
μην δὲ ξυμβά[λλεσθαι] τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ
τῷ βουλῇ [ἐπαινέσαι τοὺς ἐφήβους τοὺς ἐπὶ Σωσιγένου]
[ἄρχ.]ο[ν]τος - - - - -
ο - - - - -
30 . . ο - - - - -

lines 31-42 illegible

[ἐ]πὶ Ἀντιγέρον ἄρχοντος ἐπ[ὶ τῆς ----- πρυτὰ]
 [ν]εῖας ἦι [Σώσανδρος Σω ----- Ἀλωπεκῆθεν ἐγραμμὰ]
 45 τευεν [Ἐλα]φ[ι]βο[λι]ῶνος ἐ[ν]ά[τε]ι ἰσταμένον [ὄγ]δό[ει καὶ δεκά]
 [τει] τῆς πρυτὰ[νείας ἐκ]κλησία ἐν τῷι θ[εάτρ]ωι τῶν προέ
 δρων ἐπεψήφισεν ----- καὶ συμ]
 πρόεδροι vacat ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλῇ καὶ τῷι δήμωι vacat

 50 [----- εἰς]
 τὸν ἐναυτὸν [τὸν ἐπὶ Σω]σιγέρον [ἄρχοντος]Υ..
 αὐτῶν ἡ ὦς καὶ ----- Ο
 ... ΟΝΤΙΣ Σ Σ ΙΣΤΟΥ .. ΙΡ Λ
 .. ΥΝ -----
 55 [ἐφ]ίβων . Ν -----
 . ΤΡΑΤΗ -----

línės 57–77 illegible

— — —	<i>ἡ βουλή</i>	— — —
— — —	<i>ὁ δῆμος</i>	— — —
80 — — —	— — —	— — —
— — —	— — —	— — —
— — —	— — —	— — —

	[οἱ ἐφηβ]εύσαντες ἐπὶ Σωσιγένου ἀρχοντος	
	[Ἐρεχθίδος]	[Οἰνηίδος]
85	-----	-----
	-----	-----
	-----	-----
	-----	-----
	-----	-----
90	-----	-----
	-----	-----
	-----	-----
	-----	-----
	-----	-----
95	-----	Ἰπποθω[ντίδος]
	-----	-----
	-----	-----
	-----	-----
	-----	-----
100	-----	-----

	-----		<i>Ἀναντίδος</i>	-----
	-----		-----	-----
	-----		-----	-----
105	-----		-----	-----
	-----		<i>Ἀντιοχίδος</i>	-----
	-----		-----	-----
	-----		<i>Ἀνταλίδος</i>	-----
110	-----		-----	-----
	-----		-----	-----
	-----		-----	-----
115	<i>ἡ βον[λή]</i>	<i>[ἡ β]ο[νλή]</i>	<i>[ἡ β]ονλή</i>	
	<i>ὁ δῆ[μος]</i>	<i>[ὁ δῆ]μος</i>	<i>ὁ δῆμος</i>	
	-----	<i>[τὸν τ]ο[ξότ]</i>	<i>[τ]ο[ν ἐκ]ο[ντ]</i>	
	-----	<i>[ην] Νικό</i>	<i>ιστ[ην] Ἀῶ</i>	
	-----	<i>μαχον Ἀ</i>	<i>ρον Προ</i>	
120	-----	<i>φιδναῖ</i>	<i>βαλί</i>	
	-----	<i>ον</i>		
	<i>ἡ βονλή</i>	<i>ἡ βονλή</i>	<i>ἡ βονλή</i>	
	<i>ὁ δῆμος</i>	<i>ὁ δῆμος</i>	<i>ὁ δῆμος</i>	
	<i>Ἀλεξίν</i>	<i>Νέανδρον</i>	<i>Κρόμαχ</i>	
125	<i>Χολαργέ</i>	<i>ἐκ Κερα</i>	<i>ον Παλ</i>	
	<i>α</i>	<i>μέων</i>	<i>λήνεια</i>	

The ephebic decree here recorded, and the dedicatory base published as No. 61, give the name of a hitherto unknown archon from the first half of the second century B.C. The stele was built into the drain in the central part of the Agora along with other stelai from the archonships of Eunikos (169/8), Achaïos (166/5), and Erastos (163/2). Since the secretary Sosandros of Alopeke (lines 3-4) belonged to the eleventh tribe, Antiochis, the date of the decree may be fixed as 171/0 according to Ferguson's latest disposition of the secretary cycle (*Athenian Tribal Cycles*, p. 29).¹ The immediate predecessor of Antigenes was Sosigenes, who must now be assigned to the year 172/1.

It is possible also to determine from the preambles of the two decrees cut on this stone the calendar character of the year of Antigenes:

Pryt. IV, 17 = Pyanopsion 30 (lines 4-5)

Pryt. (IX), 18 = Elaphebolion 9 (lines 45-46)

¹ Cf. also commentary on No. 18.

These equations represent an intercalary year in the time of the twelve tribes, and the correspondence between months and prytanies may be shown provisionally as follows:

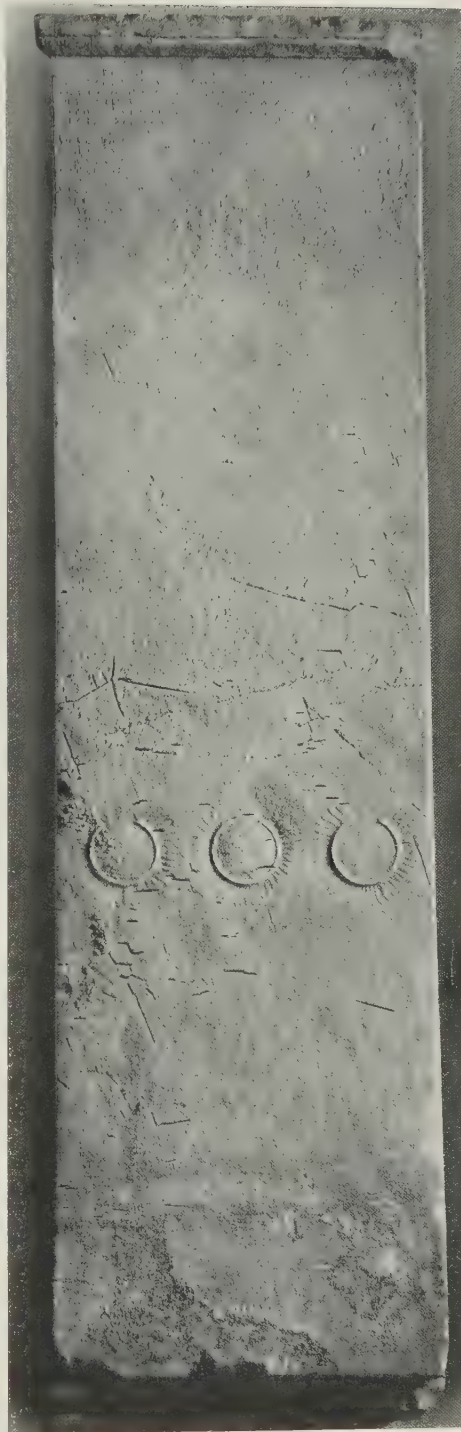
Hekatombaion	29		
Metageitnion	30	Prytany I	34
Boedromion	29	Prytany II	34
Pyanopsion	30	Prytany III	33
Maimakterion	29	Prytany IV	31
Posideon I	30	Prytany V	31
Posideon II	29	Prytany VI	31
Gamelion	30	Prytany VII	31
Anthesterion	29	Prytany VIII	31
Elaphebolion	30	Prytany IX	32
Mounichion	30	Prytany X	32
Thargelion	29	Prytany XI	32
Skirophorion	30	Prytany XII	32
Total Civil Year	384	Total Conciliar Year	384

The first decree was passed on the 118th day of the year, the second decree on the 274th day.

From the year of Sonikos (175/4), which was intercalary (cf. *I.G.*, II², 905), to the year of Xenokles (168/7), which was also intercalary (cf. *I.G.*, II², 945), the sequence of ordinary and intercalary years may now be given as follows: IO(I)OIOOI.

In the latter part of the inscription (lines 83 to 114) were recorded the names of the epheboi of the archonship of Sosigenes, arranged in two columns and divided according to tribes. The headings for Hippothontis, Aiantis, Antiochis, and Attalis may be distinguished in Col. II, but the weathered condition of the stone makes it impossible to read with certainty any of the names of the epheboi.

In lines 115–126 were six citations by the Council and the Demos. The first is illegible, but the others can be read with certainty. The τοξότης, Nikomachos of Aphidna, is probably to



No. 17

be identified with the man who held the same office in the year of Eupolemos (185/4) and whose name is recorded as [- - - - -]ν Νικομάχου Ἀφιδναῖον in *I.G.*, II², 900, line 22. I restore the line in question with these words: [- - - καὶ τὸν τοξότην Νικόμαχον]ν Νικομάχου Ἀφιδναῖον.

In the sixth citation Kromachos of Pallene is probably to be identified with the father of Olympiodorus known from one of the inscriptions of Delos (Roussel, *B.C.H.*, 1908, p. 355, no. 453) to have been soothsayer at some date before 140 B.C. The name in the Delian inscription is [Ὀλ]υ(α)πιόδωρος Κρωμάχου Παλληνεύ[ς].

18. Stele of Pentelic marble, found on February 11, 1932 in position as a cover slab over the ancient drain in Section E 5/KΘ.

Height, 1.72 m.; width at top below moulding, 0.40 m., at bottom, 0.46 m.; thickness at top below moulding, 0.076 m., at bottom, 0.083 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

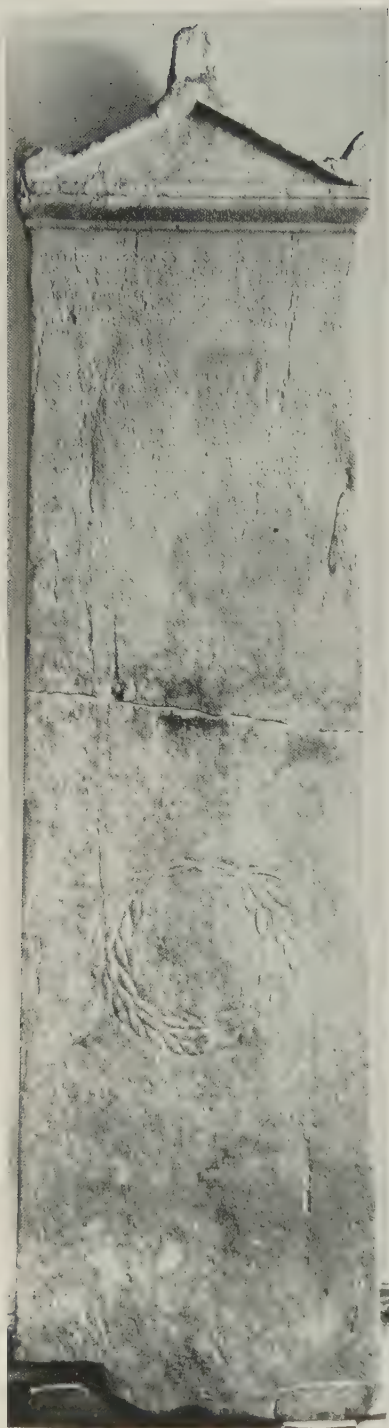
Inv. No. 1310 I 164.

		NON CTOIX
		ca. 30
	Θ ε ο ι	
	'Επὶ Εὐνίκου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀνταλί	
	δος δωδεκάτης πρυτανείας ἦν Ἱερῶν	
	μος Βοήθου Κηφισιεύς ἐγραμμάτευν,	
5	Σκισσοφοριῶνος ἔνει καὶ νέαι, ἐνάτει	
	καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας, ἐκκλη	
	σία ἐμ Πειραιεῖ, τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφι	
	ξεν	vacat
		vacat
10		vacat
	ἔδοξεν ἱεὶ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ	
	Σάτυρος Σατύρου ἐκ Κολ[ων]οῦ εἶπεν· ἐπει	
	δὴ Καλλιφάνης Φυλάσιος στρατενόμε	
	νος μετὰ Ἀντάλ[ου] καὶ τῶν -- Ἀσία[.]	
15	Α ----- Ἀντάλου ---	
	----- αὐτὸν παρ . .	
	----- ⁹ ----- οὐλομένῳ τῇ πατρίδι	
	ΣΥΜΓ[. . .] τ[ῆ]ι γενομ[ένῃ]ι [ν]ίχημι Ῥωμαίοις	
	ἐμ Μ[ακεδονίαι] -----]ο ---	
20	----- τὰ τεταγμ[ένῃ].	

Lines 21–45 are illegible, as is also the citation within the wreath except for the one word [Καλλιφά]νην.



No. 18. The more legible part of the inscription



No 18. The entire stele

The decree was inscribed in honor of Kalliphanes of Phyle (*P.A.*, 8218), whose son Dexiphon as a boy was victor in the torch race at the Thesean games in the archonship of Anthesterios (157/6), and victor in a cavalry race several years later in the archonship of Pheidrias (cf. *I.G.*, II², 957 and 958).

The year was an ordinary year of twelve months (cf. also *I.G.*, II², 910, 911). From the present document and from the prescript of *I.G.*, II², 911 it appears that the meeting of the assembly at which the decree was passed was an extraordinary session held in the Peiraeus at the request of the generals.

The name Attalus appears in lines 14 and 15, without the title βασιλεύς, as is proper at this date. But the stone is so badly worn that the context at this point cannot be safely determined. At the end of line 17 the words τῇ πατρίδι are clear, preceded by letters which seem to yield the word [β]ουλομένης. The word Ῥωμαίοις at the end of line 18 is clear, and before it are letters which I can interpret only as τ[ῇ] γενομ[ένη]ι [ῤ]ίχηι. At the beginning of line 19 are the letters ΕΜΜ, but unfortunately the surface of the stone after the letters is again badly worn. However, the consecutive reading of the text τ[ῇ] γενομ[ένη]ι [ῤ]ίχηι Ῥωμαίοις ἐμ Μ[ακεδονίαι - -] seems reasonably certain, and it is my belief that these lines contain the earliest reference to the battle of Pydna, in which Perseus was defeated and in which Attalus fought as *legatus* with the Romans under Aemilius Paulus (cf. Livy, XLIV, 36, 8). It is evident that the news of the battle had reached Athens before the last day of the archonship of Eunikos, who is thus definitely dated in 169/8 rather than in 170/69 (Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, p. 258), and that the battle itself was fought in the early summer (June) rather than in the autumn. The evidence of the present document thus settles two difficult chronological problems, one connected with the dates of Athenian archons in the early second century, and the other connected with the sequence in time of events during the campaign of Aemilius in 168 B.C. A clear statement of previous divergent interpretations has been given by Ferguson (*Athenian Tribal Cycles*, p. 11, note 1).

Since the sequence of ordinary and intercalary years for the period from Sonikos (175/4) to Xenokles (168/7) has now been established as IO(I)OIOOI, the year of Eunikos (169/8), which is itself ordinary, must follow an ordinary year as well. This means that the last day of the year, on which the present decree was passed, must be equated with July 8 rather than with August 7 (cf. tables in Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, p. 437), and that the meeting of the assembly which voted honors to Kalliphanes (line 13) was held within two weeks from the day of the victory at Pydna. Inasmuch as the assembly had been called especially for the college of generals, and since the man honored in this inscription was with Attalus (presumably at Pydna as well as elsewhere), I assume that it was he (Kalliphanes) who brought the news of the victory to Athens.

19. Stele of Pentelic marble, slightly broken at the top, found on February 12, 1932, east of the "Stoa of Zeus" in Section E built as a cover slab into the drain which runs from north to south through the Agora.

Height, 1.23 m.; width at top, 0.50 m., at bottom, 0.545 m.; thickness at top, 0.15 m., at bottom, 0.19 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. 1312 I 165.

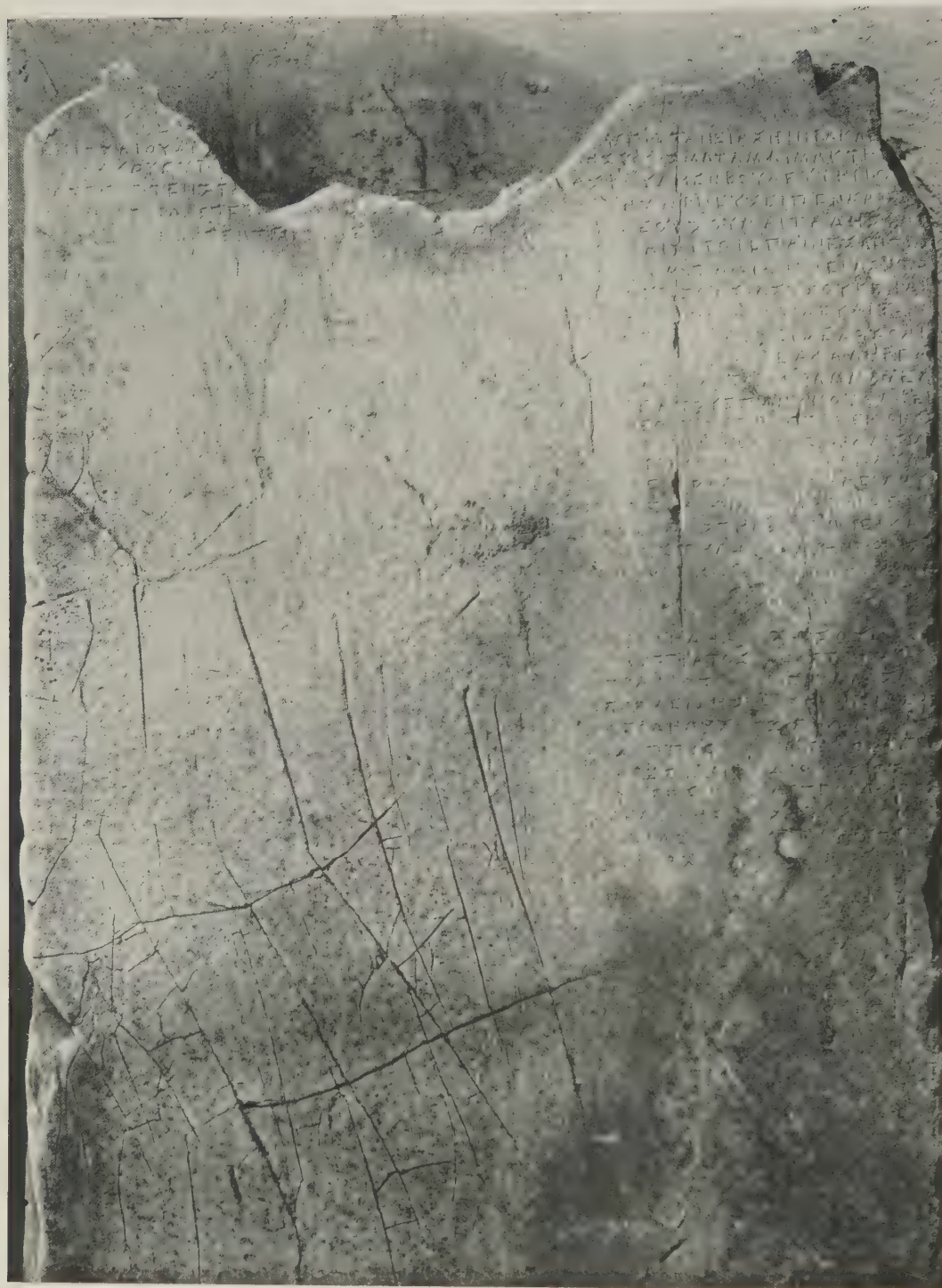
166/5

NON CTOIX, ca. 50 60

- Ἐπὶ Ἀχαιοῦ ἄρ[χοντος ἐπὶ τῆς - - - πέμπτ]ης πρυτανείας ἦν Ἡρακλέ[ων]
 Ναν(ν)άκου Εὐπ[υρίδης ἐγραμμάτευεν· βουλῆς ψηφίσματα· Μαιμακτιρο[ιῶ]
 νος πένπτεϊ ἴστα[μένον ἔκτεϊ τῆς πρυτανεί]ας· βουλῇ ἐν βουλευτηρίῳ[ι]·
 τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψ[ήφι]ζεν [Θ]εόξ[ι]νος - -]εω . . ρος Ἀχαρνέος [[εἶπεν]] καὶ σ
 5 μπρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ ^{vvvv} Διοκλ[ῆς Διοκ]λέονος Θυμαϊτάδης εἶ
 [πεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ] πρυτάνει[ς τ]ῆς Αἰαντ[ίδος καὶ οἱ] αἰσιτοὶ ἐπαινέσαντες
 [καὶ στεφανώσαντες ἀποφαίνουσιν τῇ βουλῇ] τὸν ταμίαν δν εἵλοντο
 [ἐξ ἐαντῶν οἱ πρυτάνεις καὶ τὸν γραμματέα] τὰς τε θυσίας τεθυκέναι
 [πάσας τὰς καθηκούσας ἐν τῇ πρυτανείᾳ] ἐπιμ[ε]λῆσθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν
 10 [ἄλλων ἀπάντων καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως ^{vvvvvv} ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ δεδόχθαι
 τ[ῇ] βουλῇ ^{vvvvvv} ἐπαινέσαι τὸν ταμίαν - - -]τα .Ι. ΡΛ . . ΕΑ Φαληρέα
 [καὶ στεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ· ἐπαινέσ]αι δὲ καὶ τὸν γραμματέα
 [- - - - - καὶ] τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ ἐπωνύμου Ἀλεξί
 [- - - - καὶ τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου] Θεόμνηστο[ν Ἐπ]αμείνονος
 15 [Προβαλίσιον καὶ τὸν ὑπογραμματέα . . . αρχον] Ἐπαμείνονος Προβαλίσιον
 [καὶ τὸν κήρυκα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου Φιλοκλῆν] Τρινεμε[έα καὶ] τὸν αὐλῆ
 [τῇν - - - - καὶ τὸν ταμίαν τῆς βουλῆς] Ἐρ[μ]οκλῆ[ν . . .]λείδου
 [Ἐρμειον καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἕκαστον αὐτῶν θαλλοῦ σ]τεφάνῳ· ἀνα[γρά]ψαι δὲ τό
 [δε τὸ ψηφίσμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανεί]αν ἐν στήλε[ι λι]θίνει καὶ
 20 [στήσαι ἐν τῷ πρυτανικῷ· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς] στήλης καὶ τὴν ποιήσει
 [ν μερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιω]τικῶν τὸ γενόμε[νον] ἀνάλωμα.

vacat

vacat



No. 19

Col. I-III	Col. IV	Col. V
illegible	.... ΛΗΜΗΣ	35 Σῶσος
	25 [Πο]λύστρατος	[Ἀρ]ιστιοφῶν
	Στράτιος	Μένυλλος
	[Θ]εοκλείδης	[Ἀ]σ[κ]ληπιάδης
	Κλείδημος	Ξένων
	Πόδιππος	40 Ἀσινόλοχος
	30 Φιλοξενίδης	Διοῦσιος
	[Ν]ικήτης	Ἀρτεμίδωρος
	Εὐκλείδης	Σώτας
	[Κυ]δίας	Ἀ[σ]τόλοχος Ἡγισ(ίου)
	[Χ]αρίνος	
	vacat	
citations illegible	45 ἡ βουλή	ἡ βουλή
	[...]αρχον	Φιλοκλήν
	[Πρ]οβαλίσιον	53 Τρινεμέα
	ἡ βουλή	
	Ἐρμοκλῆν	
	50 Ἐρμειον	

Except for the first few lines the damaged condition of the inscription has been caused by loss of the surface through erosion rather than by fracture. Letters on the left side of the stone are for the most part illegible or completely lost.

Line 1: Achaïos was archon in 166/5 B.C. (Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, p. 29; cf. commentary on no. 18). The name of the prytany during which the decree was passed has not been preserved, but it was evidently the fifth prytany of the year, which corresponded with fair accuracy (line 3) to the month of Maimakterion (line 2). The secretary was Herakleon, son of Nannakos, of Eupyridai (cf. also *I.G.*, II², 946, 947, 948).

Line 3: The day of the month on which the decree was passed is given as πένπτεῖ ἡσ[τά]μενον --. The corresponding date by prytany has not been preserved, but the final letters of the formula [-- -- τῆς πρυτανεί]ας are still on the stone. Even though the inscription is not written *stoichedon*, it is possible to estimate with some accuracy the number of letters in the numeral. When the line is compared with line 2, where the restoration is certain, it appears (see photograph) that there would be only three letters in the numeral of date if the letters in the lacuna of these two lines had a one to one correspondence. Such a restoration is, of course, impossible; the letters of line 3 must have been more crowded at this point on the stone than the letters of line 2. When compared with line 4, in which the number of letters can be accurately determined, it appears that the numeral of date in line 3 may have contained six letters. It is certain that longer numerals like εἰκοστῇ and τριακοστῇ need not be considered in the

restoration, and that numerals compounded with καὶ δεκάτει or καὶ εἰκοστίῃ are likewise impossible. The numeral of date must have been some number between one and ten, yielding a close correspondence between the month and the prytany characteristic of an ordinary year of twelve months in the period of twelve tribes. This determination



I.G., II², 946

s borne out by the fact that month and prytany were also in perfect accord in Thargelion (I.G., II², 947) and, if the restoration in the *Corpus* is correct, in Elaphebolion as well (I.G., II², 946).

Thus the present inscription has an important bearing on the confused chronological problems of the year of Achaïos. It is now certain that the year was intended from the beginning as an ordinary year, and that the decision to add an extra month was taken only after Maimakterion and the fifth prytany were well begun (Dinsmoor, *Archons*

of *Athens*, p. 403, considered this unlikely). I am in agreement with Kirchner (cf. note on *I.G.*, II², 946) in assuming that the intercalary month was Anthesterion, and in restoring lines 3–5 of *I.G.*, II², 946 as follows: Ἀθησθηριῶνος δευτέρα[ι ἐμβολίμῳι, κατὰ θεὸν δὲ Ἑλα] φηβολιῶνος τετράδι μετ' εἰκάδα[ς, τετάρτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας]. The date of the decree was the (twenty-fourth) of the intercalated Anthesterion, twenty-fourth of Elaphebolion κατὰ θεόν, and twenty-fourth of the (ninth) prytany.

Dinsmoor has objected to this restoration on the ground that the date by prytany requires too many letters, and claims that the numeral ἐνδεκάτῃ would be more suitable from the point of view of length of line (Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 403). He prefers to restore line 4 with 47 rather than with 57 letters. But one element of the problem which has escaped attention is the fact that in *I.G.*, II², 946 the fourth, fifth, and sixth lines are all written *in rasura*, and that the letters are more closely crowded than in the lines above and below. Line 2 contained forty-four letters; under the first twenty-one of them, as now preserved, there appear twenty-six letters in line 4. With similar spacing where the stone is now broken away, line 4 must have contained in all approximately fifty-five letters (see photograph). It is true that Kirchner's restoration yields a total of fifty-seven letters, but this is nearer the number theoretically correct than the forty-seven suggested by Dinsmoor, and the absence of *stoichedon* order does not permit us to affirm that fifty-seven letters make too long a line.

On the other hand, the restoration of the date by prytany as ἐνδεκάτῃ (Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 403) does give a line which is impossibly short. The normal length of about 44–46 letters was resumed only in line 7, and was then continued throughout the rest of the inscription. This resumption of the normal line is not noted in the *Corpus*.

But the problem of the erasure in lines 4–6 of *I.G.*, II², 946 has some interest of its own. It is my assumption that enough of the text was erased to make room (with crowding of the letters) for the additional annotation of the corrected date by month: κατὰ θεὸν δὲ Ἑλαφηβολιῶνος τετράδι μετ' εἰκάδας. If we assume for a moment that lines 3–6 each contained about forty-six letters (the probable number to be restored in line 1), we may reconstruct the original text, before the correction, as follows:

εν· Ἀθησθηριῶνος δευτέρα[ι ἐμβολίμῳι τετράδι μετ' εἰκά]
(δας, τετάρτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐμ)
(Πειραιεῖ· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν - - - - - 13 - - - - - Πτελ)
(εἰσὶος καὶ συμπρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳι)

Line 3 began in the same way, and line 6 ended in the same way, both before and after the correction, but lines 3–6 had to absorb the additional phrase κατὰ θεὸν δὲ Ἑλαφηβολιῶνος τετράδι μετ' εἰκάδας at the time of the correction. This was possible only with crowding of the letters, and with the omission of the numeral τετράδι μετ' εἰκάδας after the month name of Anthesterion II (cf. note by Kirchner on *I.G.*, II², 946). The crowded spacing and the omission of the numeral are thus both explained.

In *I.G.*, II², 947, lines 10–11, there is again a case of double dating by months, but without crowding of letters and without omission of one of the numerals. The stone-cutter did not here make the mistake of leaving out the correct date by month *κατὰ θεόν* in his first record of the document.

Inasmuch as the preserved decrees of the year of Achaïos show that the dates by month and prytany corresponded closely throughout the year, it is possible to restore the date by prytany also in *I.G.*, II², 948. The reading here should be (lines 4–5): -- *τρίτει καὶ* | [*δεκάτει τῆς πρυτανείας*]. Since there is no double dating of months, the inscription is to be assigned to a date earlier than Anthesterion, when the intercalated month was added to the year.

From the inscriptions so far discussed, it is possible to set up the following group of calendar equations:

Maimakterion	6 (O. S.)	=	Maimakterion 6 (N. S.)	=	Pryt. V, 5
Anthesterion II	24 (O. S.)	=	Elaphebolion 24 (N. S.)	=	Pryt. IX, 24
Mounichion	12 (O. S.)	=	Thargelion 12 (N. S.)	=	Pryt. XI, 12

The designations O. S. (Old Style) and N. S. (New Style) have been used here in the sense which Dinsmoor attributed to them in his discussion of dates *κατ' ἄρχοντα* and *κατὰ θεόν* (*op. cit.*, pp. 401–404). But it would be preferable in this year to introduce a new terminology. “New Style” implies that some change has been effected in the calendar to differentiate it from “Old Style.” In the year of Achaïos, it is apparent that from the very beginning the year was planned as an ordinary year, and that in fact months and prytanies corresponded accurately throughout. Instead of calling this system of reckoning “New Style” (“Old Style” would in this case be more appropriate), it might better be called “Correct Style.” This was the astronomically true reckoning (*κατὰ θεόν*), and it might be achieved, as distinct from “Archon’s Time” (*κατ' ἄρχοντα*), by (1) making an intercalation to effect a necessary readjustment, (2) leaving out a month or days to obtain the desired result, or (3) holding fast to a system already correct when for some reason the archon decided to tamper with the calendar. In the year of Achaïos the archon decided to intercalate a month, and from Anthesterion II onward the distinction was made between dates *κατ' ἄρχοντα* (astronomically incorrect) and *κατὰ θεόν* (astronomically correct).

Line 11: The reading of the treasurer’s name in the present document is uncertain, though the demotic *Φαληγέα*, belonging to the tribe Aiantis, is clear.

Line 13: Perhaps the priest is to be identified as *Ἀλεξίων Μαραθώνιος* (*P.A.*, 566), but the restoration of the usual formula in line 14 necessitates as short a demotic as possible for the beginning of the line.

Lines 14–15: Epameinon is probably to be identified with the Epameinon mentioned in *P.A.*, 4768. The restoration of the name of his son in line 15 is taken from line 46.

Line 16: The restoration [*Φιλοκλήν*] *Τρινεμε[έα]* is made possible by the appearance of the name also in lines 51–53. Philokles belongs to a family which can be traced

back to the end of the fifth century, every known member of which held the position of $\kappa\tilde{\eta}\rho\upsilon\tilde{\xi}$ $\tau\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\delta\acute{\eta}\mu\omicron\nu$. The son of the present Philokles is also known from the sepulchral monument of his daughter Kleokrateia (*P.A.*, 8566 a) who was the wife of Amphias of Aphidna. The son of Kleokrateia and Amphias, Oinophilos by name, was king archon (*I.G.*, II², 1714) early in the first century B.C. The approximate date of his maternal grandfather, Eukles of Trinemea, is thus determined as *ca.* 145 B.C. The name appears in a decree of the archonship of Mnesitheos (155/4; cf. no. 21) and should also be restored in *I.G.*, II², 952, line 14, of the archonship of Aristolas (161/0). The only other possible name $\text{Εὐκ[λῆν Βερενικίδην]}$ belongs to a much earlier date shortly after the creation of the tribe Ptolemais. Certain other decrees which mention either the single officer of the administration as paying for the erection of the stele or the herald Eukles of Berenikidai (cf. no. 16; also *I.G.*, II², 912, 913, 914, 915, 917, 918(?)) are probably to be dated toward the latter part of the third century. The career of Eukles of Berenikidai may thus have intervened between the careers of Philokles (III) of Trinemea and Eukles (IV) of Trinemea. The succession as given by Kirchner (*P.A.*, 5732) may be extended as follows:

<i>ca.</i> 406	Εὐκλῆς (I)	Andoc. I, 112; <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 145
373	Φιλοκλῆς (I)	<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 145
340	(Εὐκλῆς) (II)	
307	$\text{Φιλοκλῆς (II) Τρινεμεεύς}$	<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 678
274	Εὐκλῆς (III)	<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 678
241	(Φιλοκλῆς) (III)	
<i>ca.</i> 208	$\text{Εὐκλῆς (IV) Τρινεμε(εύς)}$	<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 848
175	$\text{Φιλοκλῆς (IV) Τρινεμεεύς}$	document here published
142	$\text{Εὐκλῆς (V) Τρινεμεεύς}$	No. 21, below; cf. <i>P.A.</i> , 5733 a and 8566 a

Line 18: The demotic of the treasurer Hermokles is supplied from line 50.

Below line 21 were two lines, apparently uninscribed. Then followed the list of the prytanes belonging to the tribe Aiantis. The names were arranged in five columns, of which only the last two are preserved.

In the list of names, Menyllos (line 37) may be identified as the grandfather of $\text{Μένυλλος Σωσιγράτου Παμ[ούσιος]}$ (*P.A.*, 10063 = *I.G.*, II², 1028, line 118), an ephebos from the end of the second century; Asklepiades (line 38) may be the grandfather of the young Asklepiades, son of Aristoboulos, of the tribe Aiantis, who won a race for boys in the year of the archon Aristolas (161/0). See *P.A.*, 2591 = *I.G.*, II², 956, line 81.

The inscription closes with citations of the officials mentioned in the body of the decree.

20. Stele of Pentelic marble, found on July 20, 1931 built as cover slab into the drain which runs from north to south through the Agora in Section E.

Height, 1.72 m.; width at top, 0.602 m., at bottom, 0.665 m.; thickness, 0.16 m.—0.19 m.
 Height of letters, 0.01 m.
 Inv. No. 492 I 73.

163/2 B.C.

NON CTOIX, ca. 50

Θ ε ο ί

[Ἐπὶ Ἐράστου ἀρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀεωντίδος προτανείας ἦν Ἀη
 [μή]τριος] Ξ[έ]νωνος Ἐπικλησίσιος ἐγραμμάτευε· Ἀνθεστηριῶνος[ς]
 [ὀγδ]ό[ι] ἐπὶ δέκ[α] ὀγδόῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τῆς προτανείας· ἐκκλησία
 5 [κυρία ἐν τῷ] θ[εά]τρῳ [τ]ῷ[ν] προέδρων [ἐπεψήφισ]εν - - - - -
 [- - - - -^{c. 19} - - - - -] καὶ συμπρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ
 [- - - - -^{c. 20} - - - - -] χ[ειροτονηθεὶς] ταξιάρχος ὑπὸ τοῦ
 δήμου [τῆς . . .⁶ . . .]ίδος φυλῆς εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν ἐπὶ Χερίου
 10 ἀρχοντος - - - - -

3 lines illegible

ως - - - -^{c. 11} - - - - ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς τοῦ δήμου ψηφίσμασιν ἑπὲρ τῶν
 15 Παναθηναίων καὶ Ἐλευσινίων - - - - -

14 lines illegible

30 ποιήσιν τῆς στήλης καὶ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν μερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιω
 τικῶν τὸ γεγόμενον ἀνάλωμα.

wreath with illegible inscription

Ἐπὶ Ἐράστου ἀρχοντος - - - - -

13 lines illegible

vacat

The stele is preserved in its entirety, but the water of the drain into which it was built has rendered the inscription illegible except in the first few lines and at scattered points in the body of the text. The stone contained two decrees, the first of thirty lines (preceded by the invocation *θεοί*), and the second of fourteen lines. These were both passed in the archonship of Erastos, and were separated on the stone by a wreath containing a citation which is now barely discernible. I have been unable to distinguish any of the letters within the wreath.

The name of the archon in line 2 has not been preserved in its entirety, but the letters -- ΣΤΟΥ can still be read. In line 32 the complete name is preserved. It may be noted that this stele was found together with Nos. 17–19 from the archonships of Antigenes (171/0), Eunikos (169/8), and Achaios (166/5). The archon Erastos belongs in 163/2, and the appearance of his name allows the present document to be associated closely in point of time with the others of its group. The name of the secretary

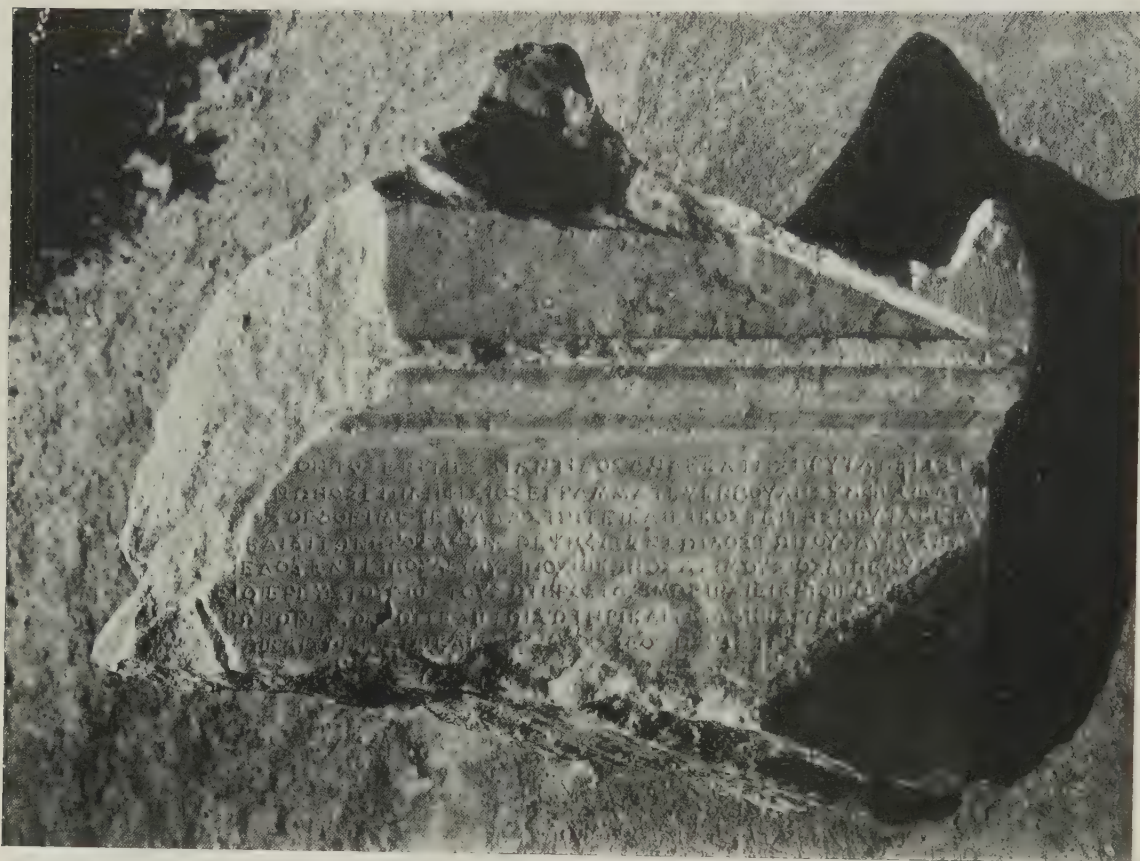
$\Delta\eta[\mu\eta]\tau\rho\iota\sigma[\varsigma] \Xi[\acute{\epsilon}]\rho\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma \text{ } \epsilon\pi\iota\kappa\eta\phi\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ shows that the secretaryship in the year of this document belonged to the tribe Oineis (VII), as demanded by the secretary cycle and the name of the archon.

Since the eighteenth day of Anthesterion was equated with the eighteenth day of the (eighth) prytany it is evident that the year was an ordinary year of twelve months.

It is now possible to date accurately another inscription from the year of Erastos which has been generally thought to belong to the period of the thirteen tribes. In the museum at the Peiraeus there is preserved part of a decree, broken away at the left so that the archon's name has been lost, but preserving part of the secretary's name as - - - $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma \text{ } \epsilon\pi\iota\kappa\eta\phi\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (*I.G.*, II², 783). This secretary is obviously the same as the one mentioned in the inscription here published, and both documents must belong to the year of Erastos. The decree recorded in *I.G.*, II², 783 was passed in the twelfth prytany, which is to be equated with the month Skirophorion. The reading $[\Theta\alpha\rho\rho\eta-\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega\upsilon]\omicron\varsigma$ in line 3 is to be changed to $[\Sigma\iota\tau\omicron\phi\omicron\rho\omicron\iota\omega\upsilon]\omicron\varsigma$, as originally suggested by Koehler before Johnson's attribution of the document to an ordinary year in the period of the thirteen tribes (cf. *I.G.*, II², 783, note). The longer restoration is necessary, moreover, not only because the twelfth prytany is now known to belong to the last month of the year, but also because it better suits the amount of space available at the beginning of line 3. The name of the month should contain thirteen, and not merely eleven, letters; this will be apparent from a glance at the photograph and a comparison of line 3 with the lines above and below.



No. 20

I.G., II², 783

The first three lines of I.G., II², 783, may be restored as follows:

[Ἐπὶ Ἑράστου ἄρ]χοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰαντίδος δωδεκάτης πρυτανείας ἦν
 [Δημήτριος Ξ]ένωνος Ἐπικηφίστιος ἐγραμμάτευσεν· βουλῆς ψιγίσματα·
 [Σκιροφοριῶν]ος ὀγδόῃ μετ' εἰκάδας, τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας·

From the equation here given between the month and the prytany it seems that the last prytany contained only twenty-five days. On the other hand, the reconstruction of the calendar as far as Elaphebolion made possible by the new document from the Agora shows a perfectly normal correspondence of months and prytanies. With the usual interpretation of the date *ὀγδόῃ μετ' εἰκάδας* in I.G., II², 783 as the 28th day of the month, it must be assumed that the eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh prytanies were longer by five days than the corresponding months in order to cause the deficiency noted in I.G., II², 783 in the twelfth prytany.

But if the so-called backward count is permissible with *ὀγδόῃ μετ' εἰκάδας*, as has been maintained recently by Klaffenbach (*Gnomon*, VI, p. 216) and Kirchner (*Gnomon*,

VIII, p. 457), then the equation given in *I.G.*, II², 783 is Skirophorion 23 = Pryt. XII, 23, and the exact correspondence of months and prytanies may be maintained throughout the year. These decrees now known from the year of Erastos give considerable support to the hypothesis that a backward count is possible with the phrase *μεν' εἰκάδας*. Cf. also commentary on no. 7.

The first decree on the stele here published was in honor of a taxiarch who served in the year immediately preceding the archonship of Erastos. The name of this archon who preceded Erastos was apparently Charias (line 9); it is certain that the name contained six letters and ended in -- *ίου* in the genitive case, but the condition of the marble makes absolute certainty impossible for the first three letters. This is a new name in the archon list and completes the sequence from Pelops to Erastos. The archon Epainetos, suggested with hesitation by Ferguson (*Athenian Tribal Cycles*, p. 29) is thus displaced to some other year.

21. Three contiguous fragments of a stele of Hymettian marble, which preserve the original width and thickness of the stone, two of which were found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 632/1 B in Section Z. The upper fragment was found on March 30, 1933 in the same place.

Height, 0.57 m.; width, 0.43 m.; thickness, 0.135 m.

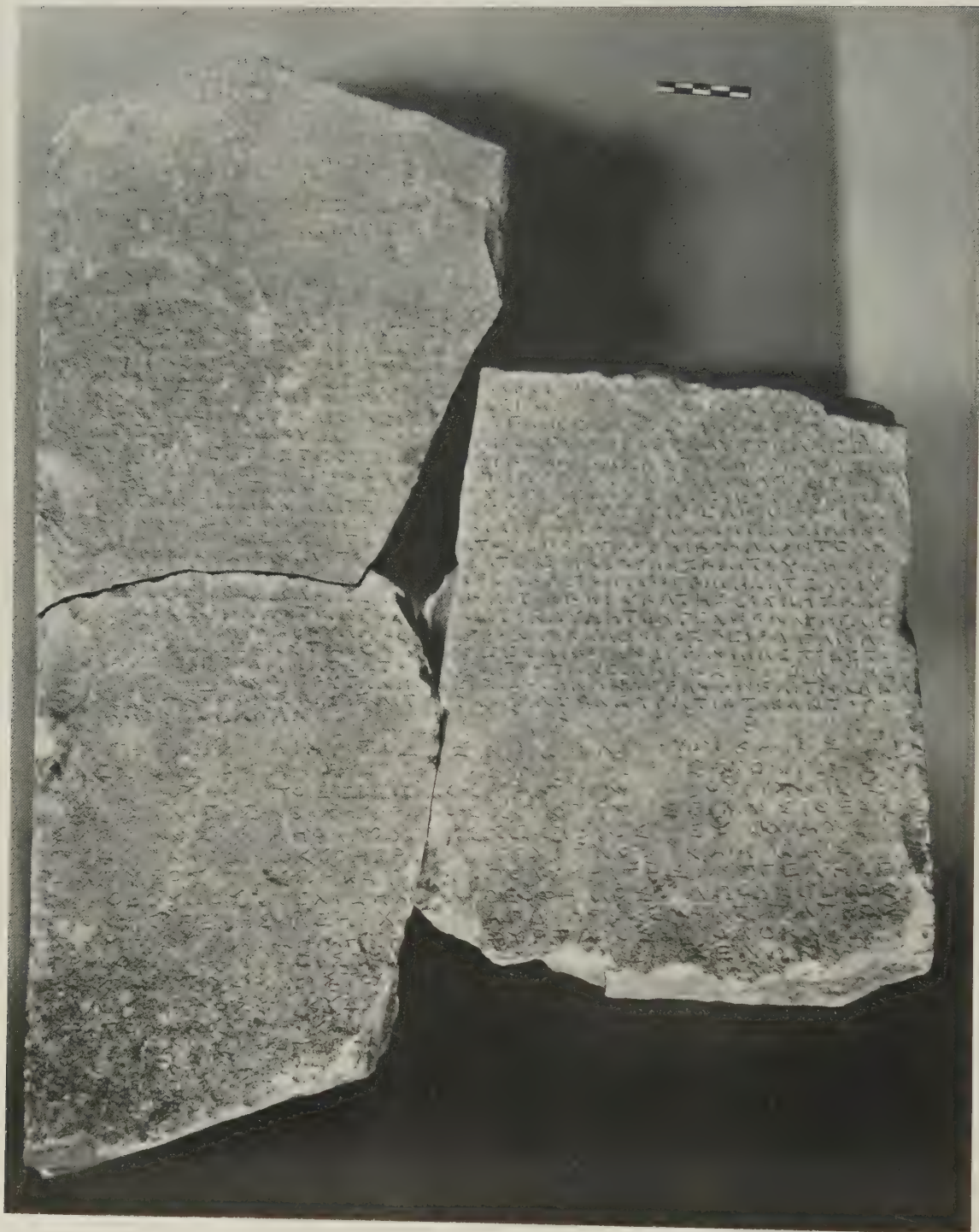
Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. 3467 I 247.

[----- εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν]
 [καὶ τὴν] ἀνάθεσιν [τῆς σιτήλης μερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρα]
 [τιω]τικῶν τὸ γενόμε[ον ἀνάλωμα]

ὁ δῆμος ἡ βουλὴ
 5 τοὺς τὸν ταμίαν
 πρυτάνεις Ἀλέξανδρον
 Στειριέα

Ἐπὶ Μν[ησ]ιθέου ἄρχο[ντος] ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰπ[ποθωντίδος δευτέρας πρυ]
 τανείας ἦι Φιλίσκος Κράτητος Π[αιανιεύς] ἐγραμμάτεν· Με]
 10 ταγεινιῶνος τετράδι ἱσταμέ[νον] ----- τῆς πρυτανείας]
 βουλὴ ἐμ βουλευτηρίῳ· τῶν προ[έδρων] ἐπεψήφισεν -----]
 Σωσίον Ἀχαρνεύς καὶ συμπρ[ό]εδροι ὧς ἔδοξεν τῷ [βουλῇ ὧς]
 Ἡράκλειτος Στράτωνος Φλυ[εύς] εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ πρυτάν[εις]
 τῆς Πανδιονίδος καὶ οἱ αἰείσ[ιτοι] ἐπαινέσαντες καὶ στεφανώ
 15 σαντες ἀποφαίνουσιν τὸν τα[μί]αν ὃν εἵλοντο ἐξ ἐαυτῶν Ἀλέξαν
 δρον Στειριέα τὰς τε θυσία[ς τε] θυκέναι πάσας τὰς καθηκούσας
 [ἐν] τῷ πρυτανείῳ, ἐπιμεμε[λῆσθ]αι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων



No. 21

[κα]λῶς καὶ φιλοτιμίῳς ὡς ἀγα[θῆι] τύχει δεδόχθαι τῷ βουλῆι ἔπαι
 [νέσ]αι τὸν ταμίαν Ἀλέξανδρον Εὐβούλον Στειριέα καὶ στεφανῶ
 20 [σαι] θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳι, ἔπα[ινέσ]αι δὲ καὶ τὸν γραμματέα Σιληρὸν
 vacat Παιανιέα καὶ τὸν [ιέρξ]α τοῦ ἐπωνύμου Νικόμαχον Τελε
 [- -] Μυρρινούσιον καὶ τὸν [γραμ]ματέα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου
 [Χαι]ρέδη[μ]ον vacat [Λαμπ]ιρέα καὶ τὸν ὑπογραμματέα τοῦ
 [δῆμου] Πυ[θα]γόραν Ἀμαξια[ντέ]α καὶ τὸν κήρυκα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τ
 25 [οῦ] δήμου Εὐκλῆν Τριεμ[εέα] καὶ τὸν ἀνλητὴν Τέχρωνα Φιργαί[α]
 [καὶ] τὸν ταμίαν τῆς βουλῆς [Λέ]αγρον Ἀσκλάπωνος Πειραιέα καὶ
 [στ]εφανῶσαι ἕκαστον θαλ[λο]ῦ στεφάνῳι. ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ
 [ψήφ]ισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν [κ]ατὰ πρυτανεῖαν ἐν στήλει λιθίνει
 [καὶ] στήσαι ἐν τῷ πρυτανικῷ· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνά
 30 [θεσιν] τῆς στήλης μερίσαι τὸ[ν] ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν τὸ γεν
 [ό]μετον ἀνάλωμα.

vacat

	Στειριεῖς	Ἀλαντίδης	Νίκων	Δίκαιος
	Ἀλέξανδρος	Ἀῖων	Φανίας	Σιμωνίδης
35	[.]ινίας	50 Ποσειδίππος	65 Κράτων	80 Νουμήριος
	Παιανιεῖς	Νικόστρατος	Σωκράτης	(Τ)ιμασίθεος
	Σιληρός	Ἀπολλόδω[ρ]ος	Σωσίβιος	Εὐνομος
	Εὐφρόνιος	Κυθήριοι	Ἀρχιππος	Καλλίας
	Ζώπυρος	Σωκράτης	Πολυχράτης	Ἀγγελῆθεν
40	Νικόβοιλος	55 Λεχίδημ[ος]	70 Θεόφρημος	85 Ἀπολλώνιος
	Διονυσσογένης	Κλέαρχ[ος]	Ἀγάθαρχος	Ἀντίπατρος
	Χάρης	Δημήτρ[ιος]	Φυρταῖος	Ὁαθεν
	Τίμων	Ἀεῖστρ[ατος]	Νεο[.]σης	Ξένων
	Σώστρατος	Ἀριστομ[- -]	-----	[Δ]ιον[σ - -]
45	Καλλίμαχος	60 Κυδα[θηραιεῖς]	75 -----	90 -----
	Κριτόλαος	Νίκαν[δρος]	-----	-----
	[.]ίων	Ἀπολ[- -]	-----	-----

vacat

The stele contained two decrees, though only the concluding lines of the first have been preserved. It was evidently an honorary decree, passed by the Council and Demos, honoring the prytany of Pandionis. The citation by the Demos appears in lines 4-6, and a citation by the Council may possibly have appeared in a symmetrical position on the right side of the stone. The second decree was passed by the Council in honor of the treasurer and other officials of the prytany. Both decrees were from the year of the archon Mnesitheos (155/4). Since they were passed in the second prytany (Hippothontis) it is evident that Pandionis was the first tribe to hold the prytany

during the year. The date by prytany in line 10 may be restored either on the assumption that the year of Mnesitheos was ordinary or intercalary.

In the list of prytanes, Dionysogenes (line 41) is possibly to be identified with *P.A.*, 4277; Timon (line 43) may be the same as Timon, son of Timolochos, of Paiania (*P.A.*, 13849) of the middle of the second century (*I.G.*, II², 1711); Apollodoros (line 52) may have been the son of that Agathokles (*P.A.*, 70) who moved a decree in the archonship of Pelops; Klearchos (line 56) was ephebos near the archonship of Eupolemos in 185/4 (*I.G.*, II², 901); and Theophemos (line 70) should be identified with the bearer of the same name who was active about 166 and whose son Menekleides appears in *P.A.*, 9902. *Ἀρχιππος* in line 68 is probably a misspelling for *Ἀρχιππος*.

In line 25 the name of the herald is given as Eukles of Trinemea. He is the same Eukles whose name should be restored in *I.G.*, II², 952, line 14, of the archonship of Aristolas (161/0). See commentary on no. 19.

The secretary's name (line 9) is not preserved in its entirety, for after the name and patronymic there is only part of one letter, which may be completed as gamma, epsilon, or pi. It so happens, however, that the demotic can be restored with certainty. I am indebted to Sterling Dow for communicating to me his discovery that the inscription now published in the *Corpus* as *I.G.*, II², 979 was cut by the same hand as the inscription here published. The secretary's name is there given as Φιλ[----- Παια]ριεύς, and the complete restoration is now possible, with the aid of the present document, as Φιλ[ίσκος Κράτητος Παια]ριεύς. Both inscriptions belong to the year of Mnesitheos.

With due observation of the syllabic division of words at the ends of lines the first part of *I.G.*, II², 979 may be restored as follows:¹

[Ἐπὶ Μνησιθέου ἄρχοντος]ς [ἐπὶ τῆς ...]
 [...^{c.13}... πρὸς]τανείας ἦι Φιλ[ί]
 [σκος Κράτητος Παια]ριεύς ἐγραμμάτε[ν]
 [ἐν ...⁶... ὥρος δεξ]άτει ἰστέραι, κατὰ
 [θεὸν δὲ τετραδά με]τ' ἐλάδας, τετάρτει
 [καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πε]ριτανείας - - - etc.

The space available for the name of the month shows that the decree was passed in Posideon or Gamelion, and that the number of prytany was either sixth or seventh. The difference of three days between the reckoning κατ' ἄρχοντα and κατὰ θεόν is thus found to exist at a date considerably earlier than the calendar reform of Hipparchos (Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, pp. 267, 413). Dinsmoor had dated this document in the archonship of Theaitetos and associated the divergent calendar equations with the era of reform. See commentary on no. 19 for an interpretation of dates κατ' ἄρχοντα and κατὰ θεόν.

The fact that a secretary from the tribe Pandionis held office in the year of Mnesitheos shows that the regular rotation of the tribal cycle was continued even after 157/6, at

¹ I have added several letters not shown in the *Corpus* which can be read from the stone.

which time Ferguson (*Athenian Tribal Cycles*, pp. 145–147) postulated a cycle with secretaries chosen by lot rather than by rotation. But it is conceivable that even with the use of sortition a secretary from Pandionis might have been allotted to the year of Mnesitheos. Further evidence is needed for the reconstruction of this cycle.

It may be noted that the present inscription gives further evidence in support of the general belief that the γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν was not a member of the Council (Ferguson, *The Athenian Secretaries*, p. 37; Brillant, *Les secrétaires athéniens*, pp. 49–50). The secretary Philiskos of Paiania is not named in the complete catalogue of councilors from Paiania in lines 36–52. The modern house walls in which the above three fragments of no. 21 were found extended even to the classical level, so deep that the cellar foundations could not be reached until near the end of the campaign. On June 29, 1933, the cellar walls yielded four additional fragments. The largest of these joins the former three at the top, in such a way as to provide the second half of lines 8, 9, and 10; it extends upward along the right edge, joining the other three new bits so as to give us a thin strip up the right edge of the stele apparently to the very moulding. The new fragments were produced too late for a complete new version of the whole inscription to be undertaken. It may be stated, however, that the restoration of line 8 is confirmed; that the secretary's demotic, Παιανιεύς, is clear in line 9; and that line 10 reveals that this second decree was passed on the fourth day of the prytany. Evidently the year began as an ordinary year, the prytany date being in exact correspondence with the date by month: no divergence had as yet developed between the archon's calendar and the astronomical reckoning.

22. Fragment of Pentelie marble, with part of the left edge preserved, found in 1932 in Section ΣΤ.

Height, 0.237 m.; width, 0.17 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. 3019 I 243.

Τ - Ι Δ . Ο . Κ Ι Ι

Ι Σ Ι Ε Ι Σ

Τ Ρ Τ Ο Σ Σ Ω Σ

Λ Ο Ξ Β Ο Υ Λ Γ

Θ Ο Σ Θ Α

Λ Κ Δ

Ξ Ο Δ Ω Ρ Ο

Ρ Ι Σ Τ Γ Θ Ι

Α Θ Η <

[- - - ἐπὶ] τῇ διοικί[σει - - -]

[Κρη]τιστεῖς

[. . . ὁ] τε[α]τος Σωσ - - -

[- -]λος Βούλων[τος]

5 [- -]θ[.]ος Θα - - -

- - ΛΚ . . Δ - - - -

[Θ]εόδωρο[ς - - - -]

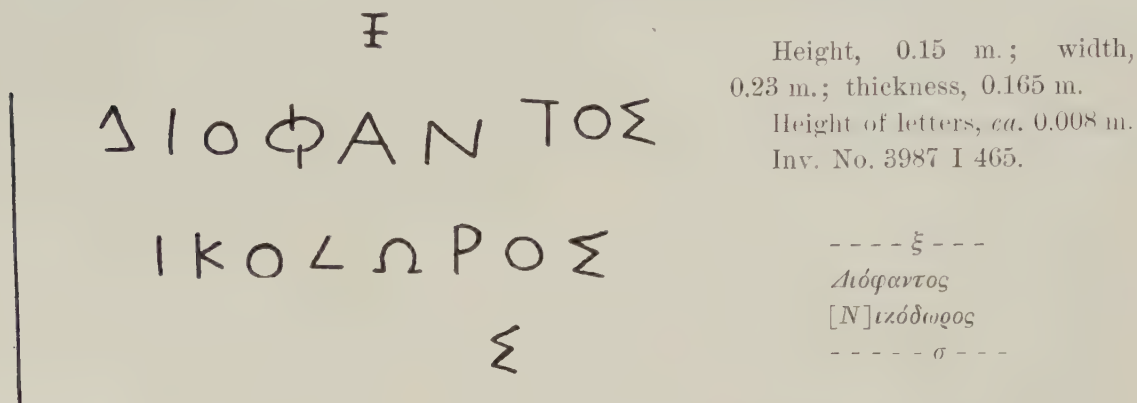
[Α]ριστοφ[.]ρ[- - - -]

[- - -]άτης - - - -

10 - - - - -

The surface of the stone is badly worn, and no reliable readings can be given for the text above line 1. The letters belong to the early second century B.C. The text here given contains part of the last line of an honorary decree and a partial list of the prytanes of the tribe Erechtheis whose names were inscribed below the decree proper.

23. Lower left corner of a block of Pentelic marble, with badly weathered surface, found on February 17, 1933 in the wall of a modern house in Section H.



No. 23

The fragment contains part of a catalogue of names, possibly a list of prytanes from an honorary decree of the second century B.C.

24. Fragment from the right side of a stele of Hymettian marble, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 636/25 in Section Θ.

Height, 0.265 m.; width, 0.315 m.; thickness, 0.175 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. 3512 I 286.

Late Second Century B.C. NON CTOIX

----- δημοτ -----

----- των φιλοτιμίαν ἀπ[.]

----- ότατα έποήσαντο δέ x

[αί -----]ως κατά τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ

5 [ψηφίσματα τοῦ δήμου -----]ους ἀξίως ἐκατέρων τῶν πολε

[----- δ]έ καὶ ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις ἐλάσαις ἐν

[----- έστε]φανώθησαν τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ στεφά

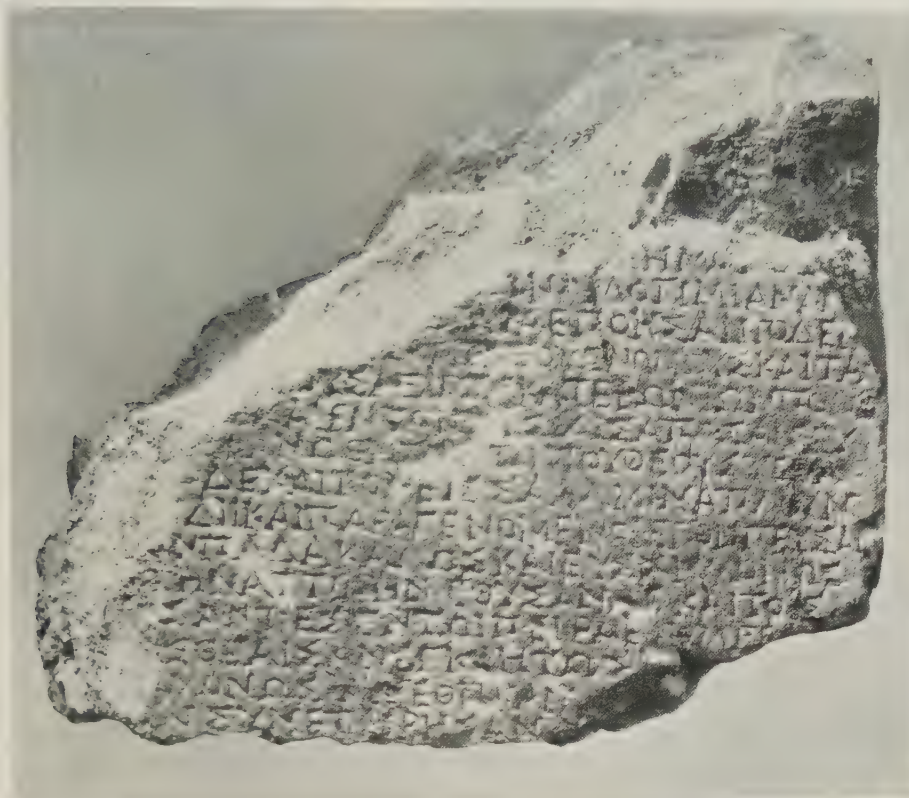
[ρωι ----- έποήσαντι]ο δέ καὶ τὸν εἰς Σαλαμῖνα πλοῦν

[----- τῷ]ι Διὶ καὶ παραγενόμενοι ἐπόνπενσαν

10 [----- τὴν λα]νπάδα καλῶς καὶ εὖσχημόνως

[----- τ]ὴν Αἰνικίην ἔθυσαν δέ καὶ τοῖς

[- - - - -]σαντες ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἡμερ - -
 [- - - - -αι]ς θεαῖς ἀνεγκλήτως· ἐ - - - - -
 [- - - - -εὐσχ]ημόνως· ἀνέθηκαν δ[ὲ καὶ - -]
 15 [- - - - -]ν συνετήρησαν δ[ὲ - - - - -]



No. 24

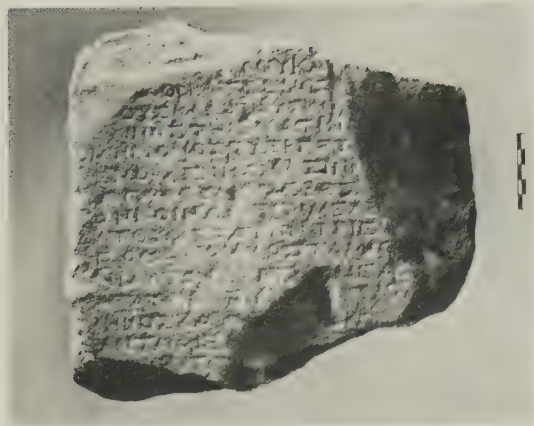
The document is part of a decree honoring the epheboi and should be dated in the latter part of the second century B.C. The formulae employed, however, cannot be restored to agree with those of other documents between 122 and 106, and it is to be presumed that the present inscription is somewhat earlier than the great body of ephebic decrees already known from this general period (*I.G.*, II², 1006–1011).

25. Fragment from the left side of a stele of Pentelic marble, with rough-picked back preserved, found on February 11, 1933 in the wall of a modern house 646/2 in Section I.

Height, 0.235 m.; width, 0.245 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. 3886 I 456.



No. 25

----- τω -----
 --- αὐτοῦ κα[ὶ] -----
 - εἰκόνα τε ἐνοπ -----
 [θ]εοῦ καὶ ἐπίχουσιν [- - - Ποσι]
 5 δεῶνος τῇ ἐνάτῃ ἱ[σ]ταμένου - -
 Φιλήμορος εὐεργετ -----
 [γ]ενομένης πᾶσιν -----
 καὶ προθυμότερος -----
 τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελε -----
 10 αὐτοῦ μετὰ τὴν τριετ[- - - - -]
 [ἐ]πομένοντος ταμίῳ[v - - - - -]
 [ἐ]μμαντὸν καὶ τ -- εα -----
 [τ]ὰ πάτρια ^ν συν ----- ν -----
 μνηρὸς κατ[α]σ -----
 15 αν ταμειν -----
 - - - εἰν ιοι -----

The character of the lettering indicates a date for this document in the late second or first century B.C. The meaning remains obscure, but the inscription has some similarity with decrees of clubs or religious organizations. Cf. *I.G.*, II², 1325, 1326, or 1338.

26. Fragment of a stele of bluish marble, with left margin preserved, found on March 1, 1932 in Section Δ 12/KΓ.



No. 26

Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.11 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. 1522 I 178.

ἡ βουλὴ
 Δημῶ
 τριον
 Πόρι
 5 ον

The fragment contains a citation of the Council in honor of Demetrios. Parts of other wreaths may still be seen above the text here recorded, but the honorary decree itself has been lost.

27. Small fragment of Pentelic marble, with right edge preserved, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 631/28 in Section H.



No. 27

Height, 0.145 m.; width, 0.13 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.01 m.

Inv. No. 3574 I 328.

[οί] ἐφηβοί
[τοῦ] παιδοστράβου
Μενίσκου
Κολωνίθου

The inscription is one of the citations from a decree honoring the epheboi, and should be dated near the middle of the first century B.C. Meniskos, son of Philokles, of Kolonos was orator of a decree in the archonship of Lysandros (52/1).

28. Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found early in 1933 in the wall of a modern house 646/6 in Section I.



No. 28

Height, 0.165 m.; width, 0.05 m.; thickness, 0.11 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.—0.01 m.

Inv. No. 3618 I 367.

-- /// -----
-- εχ -----
-- \λα -----
-- ιρε -----
5 -- ηριππ -----
vacat
[πρ]υτάνει[ς]
[οί] τῆς φυλ[ῆς]
[Σ]ωκράτ[ην]
10 [Κη]φισ[ιέα]

This inscription contains a citation made in honor of Sokrates of Kephisia by his fellow-prytanes of the tribe Erechtheis. In lines 1–5 are traces of names, probably of the prytanes themselves. It is known from *I.G.*, II², 1048, that one Sokrates, son of Sokrates, of Kephisia was treasurer of the prytanes of Erechtheis in the archonship of Apolexis (47/6–43/2), and I assume that this citation with its fragmentary list of names comes from the lower part of the stele on which the decree was inscribed. The lettering indicates a date near the middle of the first century B.C.

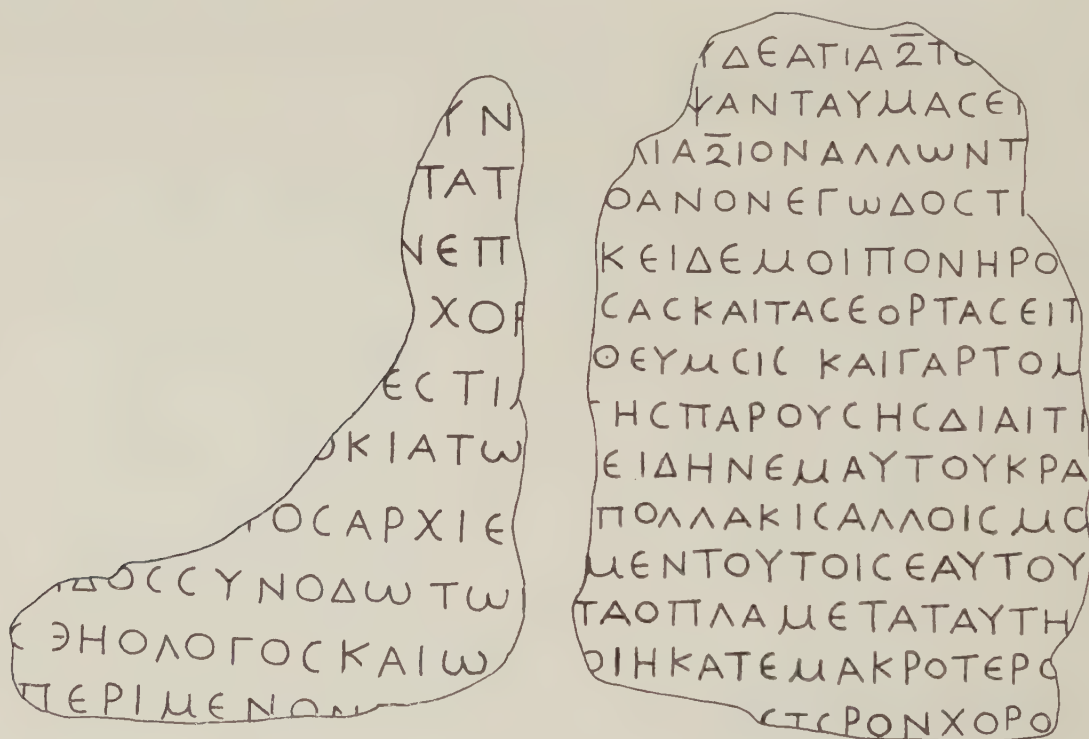
LETTERS

29. Fragment of an opisthographic stele of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on February 6, 1933 in the wall of a modern house 646/5 in Section I.

Height, 0.24 m.; width, 0.17 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.

Height of letters, (face A) 0.01 m.–0.012 m.; (face B) 0.008 m.–0.01 m.

Inv. No. 3655 I 397.



Face A

No. 29

Face B

This fragment makes a direct join beneath fragment *c* of *I.G.*, II², 1105 so that the text may be read as follows:

Face A

II², 1105 ----- ωτω αὐτοῦ φησ -----

 No. 29 ----- νν -----
 ----- πατ -----
 ----- νεπ -----
 [-^ε----- τὸν] χορ[εῖον -----]
 5 ----- εστι μ -----
 [- ----- Αἰτ]ο(κ)ράτω[ρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ]
 [Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱός, Τραϊανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβασ]τός, ἀρχιε[ρὲς μέγιστος,
 [δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ —, ὑπατος τὸ —, πατὴρ πατρ]ίδος, συνόδω τῶν [περὶ τὸν]
 [χορεῖον τεχνιτῶν χαίρειν -----]σθη ὁ λόγος καὶ ω[-----]
 10 ----- περιμενοντ -----

Face B

II², 1105 [- ----- τ]ὸν μὲν οἶν -----

 No. 29 ----- ν δὲ ἔπαξ το -----
 ----- ψαντα ὑμᾶς εἰ -----
 ----- αι ἄξιον ἄλλων π -----
 [- ----- ξ]όανον· ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ στρ -----
 5 ----- κει δ' ἐμοὶ πονηρο -----
 ----- σας καὶ τὰς ἐορτὰς εἰπ -----
 ----- θε ἑμ(ε)ῖς^ν καὶ γὰρ τὸ μ -----
 ----- τῆς παρούσης διαιτί[ας -----]
 ----- εἶδιν ἐμαντοῦ κρα -----
 10 ----- πολλάκις ἄλλοις μο -----
 ----- μὲν τοῖτοις ἑαυτοῦ -----
 ----- τὰ ὅπλα μετὰ ταύτη -----
 [- ----- πεπ]οίηκά τε μακρότερο[ν -----]
 ----- ἔτερον χορο -----

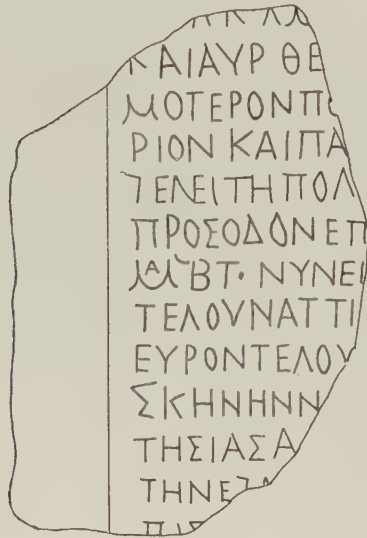
The inscription contains parts of letters of the emperor Hadrian to the club of Dionysiac artists at Athens. Cf. commentary on *I.G.*, II², 1105.

30. Part of a plaque of Hymettian marble, with the left edge and rough-picked back preserved, found on February 10, 1933 in a modern wall in Section Θ.

Height, 0.18 m.; width, 0.125 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. 3855 I 429.



No. 30

[...]ΑΚΑΜ -----
καὶ Αἰρ Θε -----
μότερον πο -----
ριον καὶ πα -----
5 γένει τῆ(ι) πόλ[ει -----]
πρόσοδον ἐπ -----
Μα· Βε· νῦν εἰ -----
τελονν Ἀντι[ζ -----]
εἶρον τελον -----
10 σκηρῆν ν -----
τησίας α -----
την ἐγζ -----
π . σ -----

The inscription is probably part of an imperial letter of the late second or third century A.D.

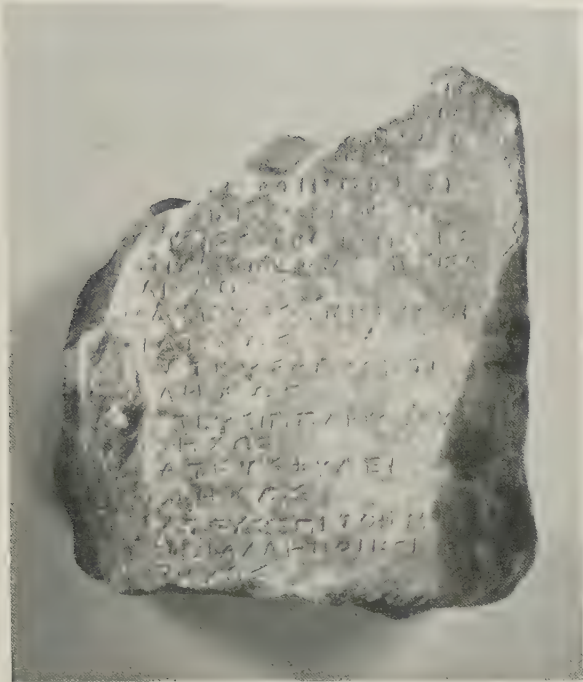
CONSTITUTION

31. Stele of Pentelic marble, with right side and rough-picked back preserved, found on January 27, 1932 in the wall of a modern house in Section E.

Height, 0.24 m.; width, 0.21 m.; thickness, 0.091 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. 1070 I 113.



No. 31

After 166 B.C.

NON CTOIX

[-----]I

[-----]NEIA

[---^c--- εἰς Μο]νυχίαν

[-----]ς ἔξ

5 [---^c---⁷---]ς πόλιν πέντε[---^c---]ς εἰς Μύριναν[---^c---]της στρατηγοῖς

[γραμμ]ατεὺς σιτοφύλαξιν εἰς ἄστ[υ]

ἐλιχῶς

10 [γραμμ]ατεὺς συνηγόροις

[ε]λιχῶς

[γραμμ]αιεὺς ἄρχοντι

[εἰ]λιχῶς

[γραμμ]ατεὺς ἱππάρχους φυ[λετῶν]

15 [εἰ]λιχῶς

[γραμμ]ατεὺς φυλῆι

[ε]λιχῶς

[γραμμ]ατεὺς ἐπὶ τὸν μ[ισθὸν]

[καὶ ἐπὶ τ]ὴν ἄλλην οἰκον[ομίαν]

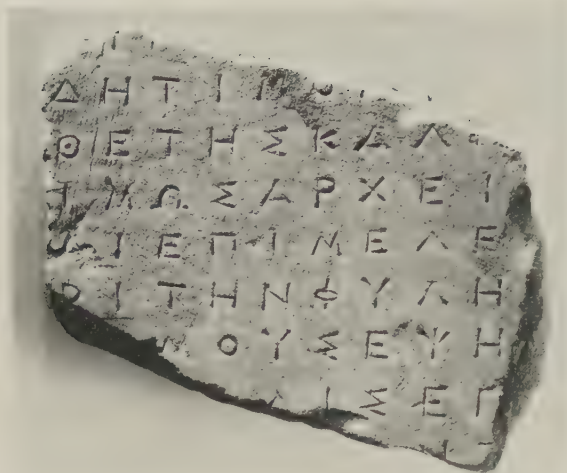
20 [εἰλ]ηχῶς

The letter forms and general character of the inscription indicate a date during the first half of the second century B.C. The reference to Myrina in line 6 enables us to date the document more accurately after 167/6 when Lemnos was restored to Athens by Roman intervention.

The inscription probably contained several columns, of which part of the last is here preserved. It records a list of offices and indicates the manner in which the incumbents shall be chosen. It seems clear that the various secretaries from line 8 to line 18 were to be chosen by lot. The restoration of the earlier lines is uncertain, but none the less the document is of unusual interest in that it gives a partial record of constitutional procedure in the middle of the second century B.C.

DECREES OF TRIBES AND DEMES

32. Fragment from the left side of a stele of Pentelic marble, found on February 8, 1933 in a modern wall of Section Z at 35/1.



No. 32

Height, 0.155 m.; width, 0.203 m.;
thickness, 0.077 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. 3818 I 409.

ca. 325 B.C.

CTOIX

[.]ΥΓ[- - - - -] ἐπει
δι Τιμοζ[- - - - -] λαχόν θεσμο
θέτης καλῶ[ς - - - - -] φιλοτ
ίμως ἄρχει [τὴν ἀρχὴν - - - - -] κ
5 αὐ ἐπιμελεῖται - - - - - πε
οὐ τὴν φυλὴν[- - - - -] κατὰ τοὺς
[ρό]μους, ἐπὶ[φρίσθαι - - - - -] φ
[υλέτ]αις ἐπ[αινέσαι Τιμοζ - - - - -]
[...?...]ντ - - - - -

The character of the lettering is very much like that of the first part of *I.G.*, II², 660; it also resembles greatly that of the dedication published below (no. 60) from the year of Antikles (325/4). For a similar tribal decree, cf. *I.G.*, II², 1148.

33. Upper left portion of a block of Hymettian marble, found on April 15, 1932 built into a well in Section ΣΤ. The original thickness of the stone is preserved.

Height, 0.475 m.; width, 0.385 m.; thickness, 0.11 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

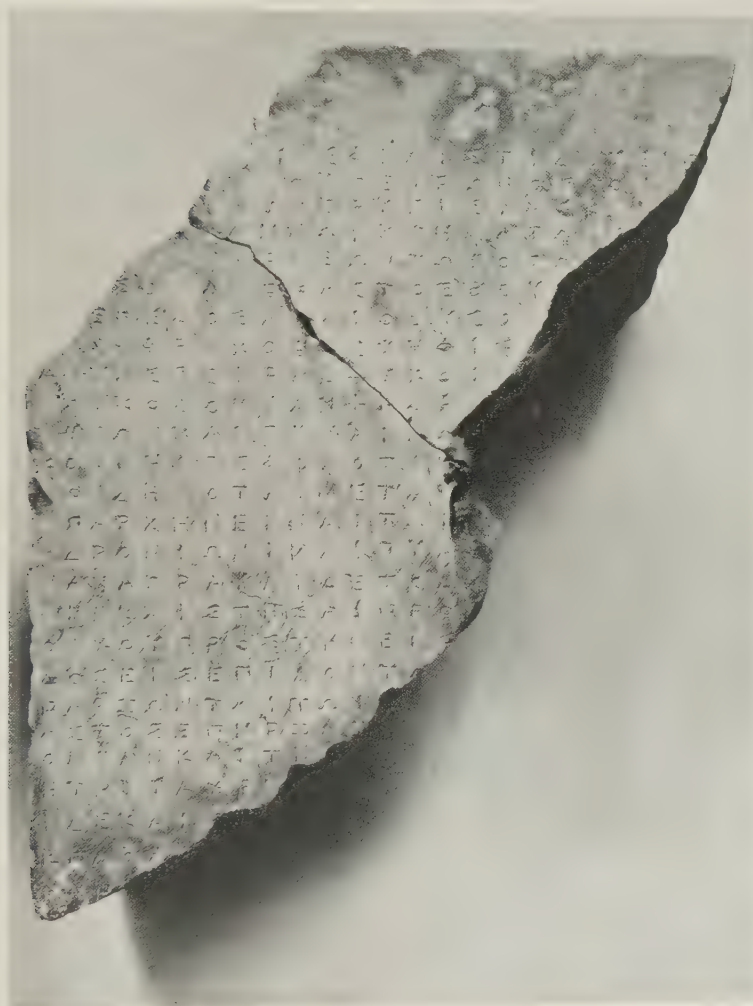
Inv. No. 2203 I 217.

Early third century B.C.

CTOIX

[...!...?]ς Φιλιστίδου εἶπ[εν - - - - -]
[...⁸...]ιου Πείρωνος τοῦ Ἀ[- - - - -]
[...?...]ν ὑπὲρ ἐγείας καὶ [- - - - -]
[...?...] δῆμωι κτημάτων ἐ[- - - - -]
5 [...⁵.. Π]ειραέων τῷ ο.ω[- - - - -]
[...]σον ἂν ἕκαστος βού[ληται - - - - -]
[...] ἐπέδοσαν λίθους ὅπ[ως ἂν - - - - -] καὶ τὰ λ
[ο]ιπὰ φραχθεῖ· ἐψηφίσ[θαι Πειραεῦσιν - - - - -]
άντας Πειραέας κοιν[- - - - -] τῇ
10 ν οἰκοδομίαν : ΗΗ : δρα[χμὰς - - - - -]
αὐτῶν καὶ γυναικῶν[- - - - -]
κοινῇ τε φιλοτιμ[- - - - -] οἱ ἄλ
λοι δημόται μετὰ τ[ῶν - - - - -]
[ἀ]παρχὴν εἶναι τῷ [- - - - -] Βο
15 ῥδρομῶνι καὶ Πνα[ροψιῶνι - - - - -]

ν· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδ[ε τὸ ψήφισμα - - - - εἰς στήλην λιθί]
 νην καὶ στήσαι προ[- - - - - ἐπὶ τοῦ τ]
 οίχου πρὸς τὴν εἴσο[οδον - - - - τὰς δε ἐπι]
 δόσεις ἐπιδόντων [- - - - - ἐ]
 20 πάροξωνται τῶι [- - - - - ἐκ]
 αστος ἐπὶ ῥξαι[ο - - - - - τὴν οἰκοδ]
 ομίαν καὶ τὴν [- - - - -]
 ηται τὰ χορή[ματα - - - - -]
 ι δὲ καὶ τ[- - - - -]
 25 ἐπαρχε[- - - - -]
 ημη[- - - - -]



No. 33

The letter forms and general character of the writing indicate a date in the early third century B.C. The decree was passed by the demesmen of Peiraeus (lines 5, 8, 9), and has to do apparently with the financing of some public work of construction. It is noteworthy that the name of the orator (line 1) appears without demotic, as is usual in decrees of demes (cf. also *I.G.*, II², 1186), and that the names in line 2 have the article *τοῦ* preceding the patronymic. This latter peculiarity is found also in Attic decrees of the years of Olympiodorus (294/2 B.C.). Cf. *I.G.*, II², 378, 389, and 649^o; Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, pp. 3-28.

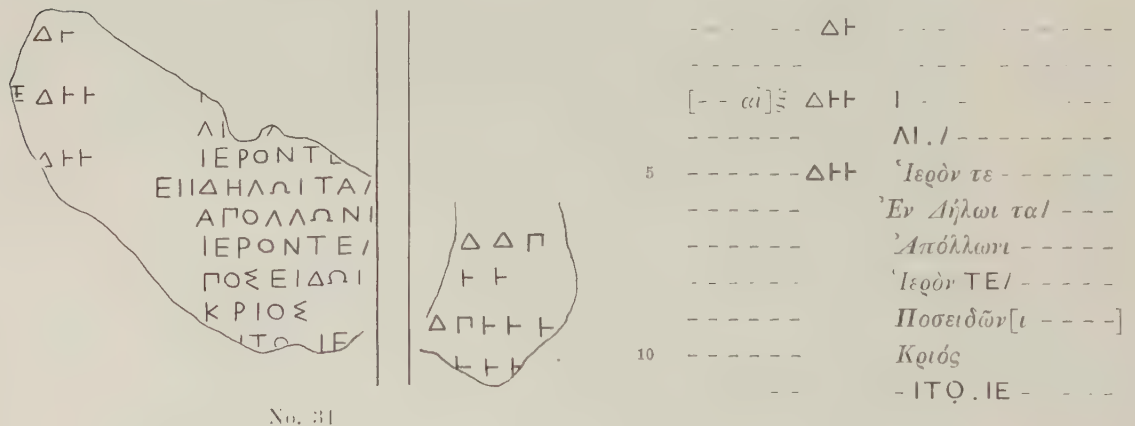
SACRED LAWS

34. Opisthographic fragment of Pentelic marble, with one edge preserved showing distinct anathyrosis. Otherwise the stone is broken on all sides. Found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 632/3B in Section Z.

Height, 0.195 m.; width, 0.126 m.; thickness, 0.094 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. 3471 I 251.



The reverse face is more weathered, but bears traces of numerals in four lines, -- ΔΔΠ, -- ΗΗ, -- ΔΠΗΗ, -- ΗΗΗ.

The lines of the inscription were evidently continued from this block to one joined next to it where the preserved edge now shows anathyrosis. The document is a record of sacrifices and belongs in the same category with *I.G.*, II², 1358.

RECORDS OF POLETAI

35. Upper right corner of a stele of Pentelic marble, found on May 11, 1932 in the surface fill in Section ΣΤ.

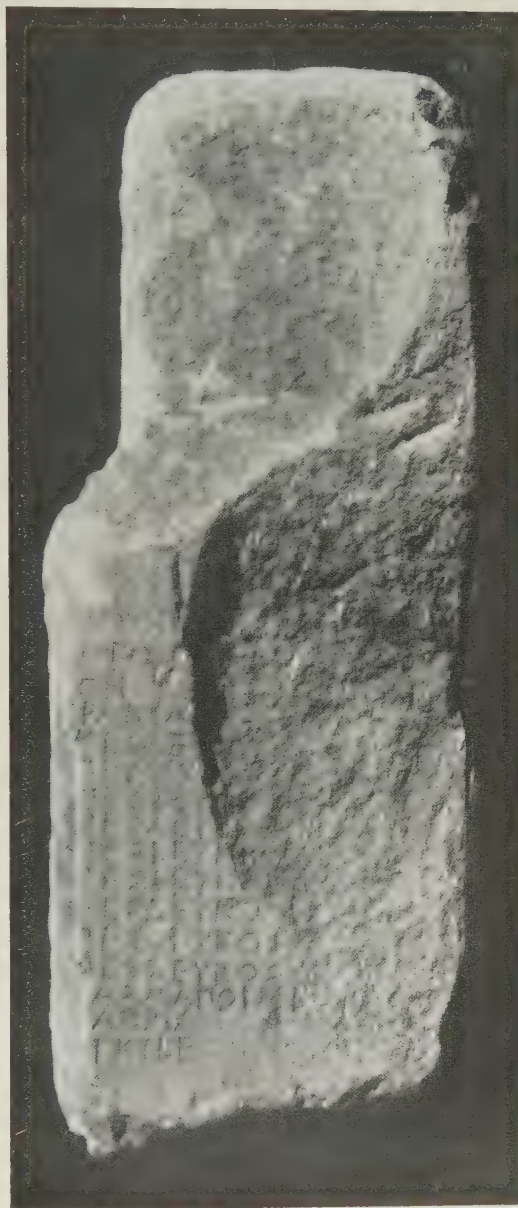
Height, 0.40 m.; width, 0.17 m.; thickness, 0.115 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. 2748 I 236.

The identification of this inscription as part of the records of sale of the confiscated property of Alcibiades is confirmed by comparison with the other similar documents (*I.G.*, I², 325–334) now in the Epigraphical Museum. In fact, it is now possible to unite into one document several pieces which have been published separately hitherto, but all of which clearly belong with the new inscription found in the Agora. *I.G.*, I², 329, 330, and 334 all have the same thickness of 0.115 m. Along the reverse face of *I.G.*, I², 329 there is a marginal drafting where the edge is preserved, which extends inward from the lateral face about 0.04 m. This same drafting, of the same width and character, appears on the reverse face of the new fragment, where it runs vertically along the edge of the stone and then returns across the reverse face at the top. It appears also along the reverse face of both fragments of *I.G.*, I², 330. All fragments have the same crowded, but very distinctive lettering. *I.G.*, I², 334 belongs perhaps in the second column of the composite document, but has no point of contact with any of the other fragments. *I.G.*, I², 325 is not part of this stele, as seems to be implied by Bannier, *Ph. Woch.*, 1927, p. 670.

When the fragments were being studied together in Athens it was found that fragment *b*



No. 35

of *I.G.*, I², 330 belongs above fragment *a* of the same inscription, and that the two stones join with a lacuna of only three lines in the text between them (see photograph).

The column of names has a left margin which is not quite parallel with the right lateral surface of the stone. Across the lower part of the combined inscription the distance from the margin of the column to the edge of the stone is 0.215 m.; across the upper part the distance is only 0.21 m. When the necessary restorations have been made in the new document from the Agora, the distance from the margin of names to the edge of the stone may be calculated as approximately 0.20 m. This means that there was probably a lacuna of about forty-five lines between the new fragment and *I.G.*, I², 330, with the assumption that the last column became progressively wider from top to bottom of the stone. The height of the entire stele may be estimated as about 1.30 m.

Above the lines now preserved on the new fragment from the Agora there was room on the stone for nineteen additional lines. The entries in the following transcript have been numbered accordingly:

	[...?...] vacat
20	[... ⁵ ...] ONON! - - -
	[... ⁵ ...] ΥΟΡΟΝ
	[... ⁶ ...] ON vacat
	[... ⁷ ...] ε ῥακία
	[ἀμφιτά]πες λε[υκός]
25	[ἀμφιτά]πες Οἷχ[ελίας ?]
	[ἀμφιτά]πες λευ[κός]
	[ἀμφιτά]πες λευ[κός]
	[ἀμφιτά]πες λευκ[ός]
	[ἀμφιτά]πες λευκ[ός]
30	[ἀμφιτά]πες λευκό[ς]
	[ἀμφιτά]πες λευκός
	[ἀμφιτά]πες λευκός
	[παραπέτ]ασμα ποικίλο[r]
	[παραπέτ]ασμα vacat
35	[ταπίς πο]ικίλε
	[- - - ⁷ - - -] vacat
	[- - - ⁸ - - -] vacat
	[- - - - - - -] - [- - - - - -]

The restoration [ἀμφιτά]πες in lines 24–32 is taken from Pollux (X, 38), who mentions an ἀμφιτάπηξ among the effects of Alcibiades. The restorations of [παραπέτ]ασμα in lines 33 and 34 and of ταπίς in line 35 were also suggested by passages in Pollux (X, 32 and 42).

36. Fragment from the left side of a stele of Pentelic marble, found on April 28, 1932 in Section E.

Height, 0.117 m.; width, 0.095 m.; thickness, 0.088 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. 2556 I 230.



No. 36

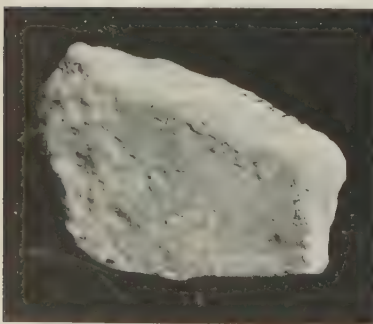
This fragment bears the numeral $[\cdot]\Pi\text{H}\text{H}$, and resembles in its general appearance and character the inscription published as no. 35.

37. Small fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on April 14, 1932 in the wall of a Byzantine cistern in Section ΣΤ.

Height, 0.122 m.; width, 0.073 m.; thickness, 0.035 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. 2196 I 214.

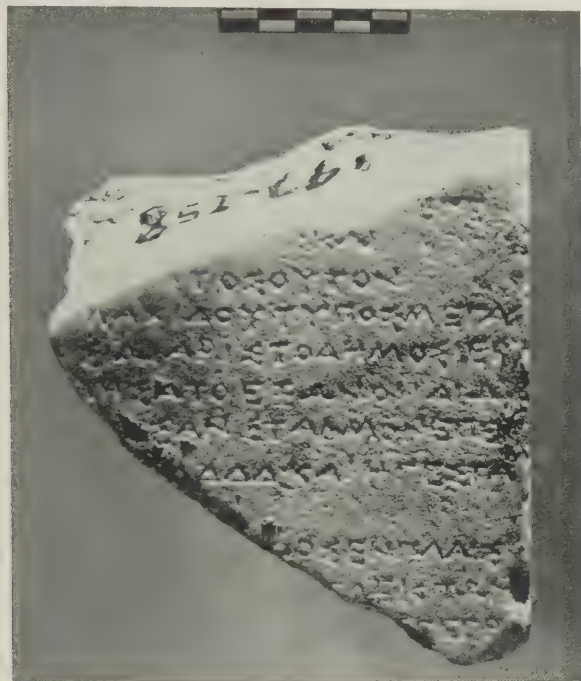


No. 37

This fragment bears the one numeral $\text{H}[\text{H}]\text{H}\text{H}$, with figures of the general size and appearance of those which appear in the records of the poletai in the fifth century. Cf. no. 35.

INVENTORIES

38. Small fragment of Pentelic marble, with right edge preserved, found on July 11, 1931, in Section E 03/IZ at 0.90 m.



No. 38

Height, 0.138 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.055 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.–0.006 m.

Inv. No. 197 I 58.

339/7 B.C.

NON CTOIX

----- εγε
----- ρι : και
----- ας ιοσοϋτον

5 [Ἐπὶ Λυσ]ιμαχίδου τύπος μέγας
[ἐν πλα]σίῳι Ἀριστιόδημος ἱερ
[εὺς ἐπο]ιήσατο ἐξ ὧν οἱ ἰδιῶ
[ται ἀνέθ]εσαν σταθμὸν ἐπε
[-----] ΔΔΔΔ και ἦγε στα

10 [θμὸν ιοσοϋτο]ν vacat
[Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου τύ]πος ἐν πλαισ
[ίῳι -----] ποιήσα]το ἐκ τῶν
[-----] γεγε

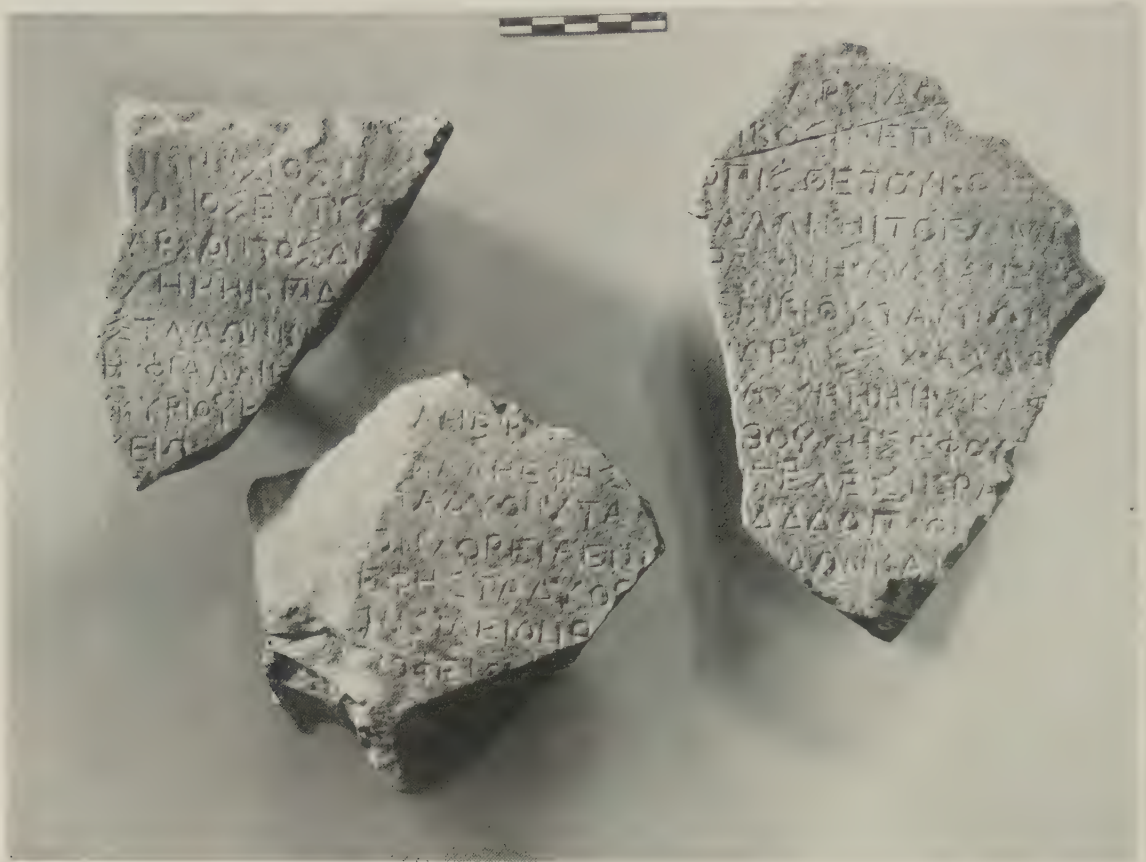
The letters of this inscription are small and neatly cut, and resemble greatly those of other inventories of the late fourth century B.C. The exact date is given by the name of the archon Lysimachides (339/8) in line 5; the lacuna in line 11 is also just filled by the name of his successor Chairondes (338/7). The wording has resemblances to the great inventories of Asklepios, especially *I.G.*, II², 1534, but apparently this document does not belong to that series. The priest of Asklepios in the year of Lysimachides was Polyxenos; in the fragment here published the priest (cult unknown) of the same year is named as Aristodemos.

39. Three fragments of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides: (a) found in Section A at 35/KB; (b) found in Section E at 10/KE; (c) found in Section Θ.

Fragment *a*: Height, 0.113 m.; width, 0.10 m.; thickness, 0.052 m. Inv. No. 662 I 94.

Fragment *b*: Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.125 m.; thickness, 0.07 m. Inv. No. 1698 I 189.

Fragment *c*: Height, 0.175 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.045 m. Inv. No. 5402 I 647.



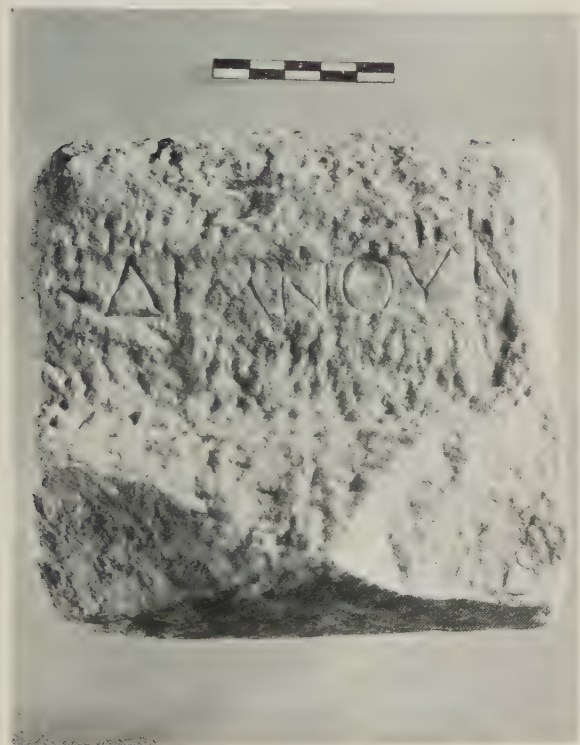
No. 39

	----- αι Μνήσιος -----		Iacuna
	----- ιωνος Εὐτυχε -----		----- σαρχίδο[υ -----]
	----- ἄρχοντος Δη -----		[- ---- ε]ἵκοσιν ἐπὶ το[ῦ -----]
	----- ΧΗΗΗΗ ^Π Δ -----		[- ----] ὕπισθε τοῦ κρατ[ήρος -----]
5	----- στάδων κ -----		----- ἄλλην ἤι τὸ γάμ[υ]α -----]
	----- Ηφ φιάλαι ἐ[φ' ὧν -----]	20	[- ---- δ]ραχ. ΗΗ. ἄλλαι εἵκο[σιν -----]
	----- ἑκκυριονχ -----		----- ς Νικίου ταμιῶν -----
	----- ειω -----		----- δραχ. ΧΧ. ἄλλα[ι -----]
	Iacuna		[- ---- δ]ραχ. ΗΗΗΗ. σκάφ[ος -----]
	[- ---- φιά]λη ἐφ' ἧς -----		----- βουλῆς ἐφ' οἷ τ -----
10	----- φιάλη ἐφ' ἧς -----	25	----- ι Τελεσικρά[του -----]
	----- τὰ δύο νυταλ -----		----- ΔΔΔΔΠ. φια[λ -----]
	----- ὧν χορεΐα ἐπι[γέγραπται -----]		----- ὶων καὶ -----
	[- -- φιάλη] ἐφ' ἧς τὰ δύο β -----		----- Λ -----
	----- τησιλειονο -----		
15	----- ἰοφειθ -----		

The character of the writing indicates a date in the first half of the second century B.C. The inscription is apparently an inventory, but much of the meaning and the exact attribution remain still obscure.

WEIGHT

40. A small block of Pentelic marble, cut from a larger piece used for some earlier purpose, found on June 1, 1931 in Section E.



Height, 0.13 m.; width, 0.14 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. 148 I 9.

Δίμνον

No. 40

The stone is evidently a weight intended to represent two minae. The present weight of the stone is 2400 grams, though originally it must have been somewhat heavier because a small fragment of marble has been chipped away at the bottom and part of an iron handle once let into the top has been lost. The standard compares favorably with that of the light mina of the Alexandrian wood-talent, weighing 1228 gr. The stone here described must then have weighed originally 2456 gr. Cf. F. Hultsch, *Die Gewichte des Alterthums*, pp. 158-160.

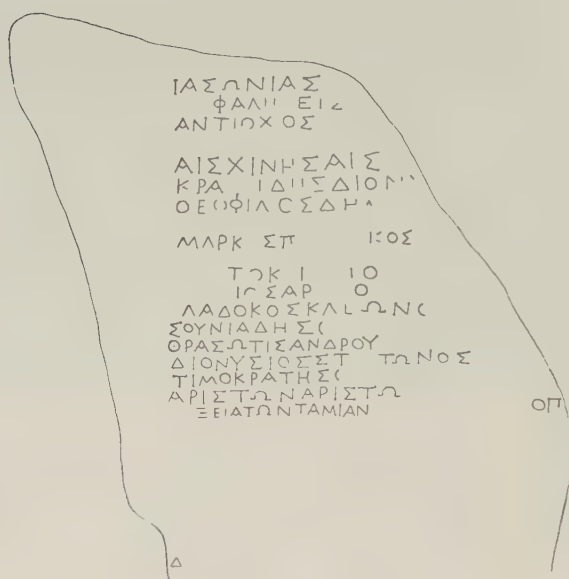
CATALOGUES

41. Lower right corner of a large block of Pentelic marble, with surface badly worn, found on March 1, 1933 in Section Z.

Height, 0.58 m.; width, 0.30 m.; thickness, 0.344 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.01 m.

Inv. No. 4112 I 499.



No. 41

 Ἰώσων Ἰάσ[ωρος]
 Φαλη[ρ]εῖς
 Ἀντίοχος -----
 5 -----
 Αἰσχίνης Αἰσ[χίνου]
 Κρα[.]ιδῆς Διον[σίου]
 Θεόφιλος Δημ -----

 10 Μᾶρκ[ο]ς Π[....]χος
 [Ἀρισ]τοκ[λ]ῆ[ς] Αἰο[ννο] --
 -- ιος Ἀρ[ιστο]ο -----
 Ἀάδοκος Κλέωνο[ς]
 Σουηάδης (
 15 Θράσω(ν) Τισάνδρου
 Διονύσιος Στ[ρά]τωνος
 Τιμοκράτης (
 Ἀρίστων Ἀρίστω[ρος]
 - τὸν ἐ]ξ ἐ[[ι]]ατῶν ταμίαν -- οπ
 20 vacat
 wreath wreath
 -- δ --

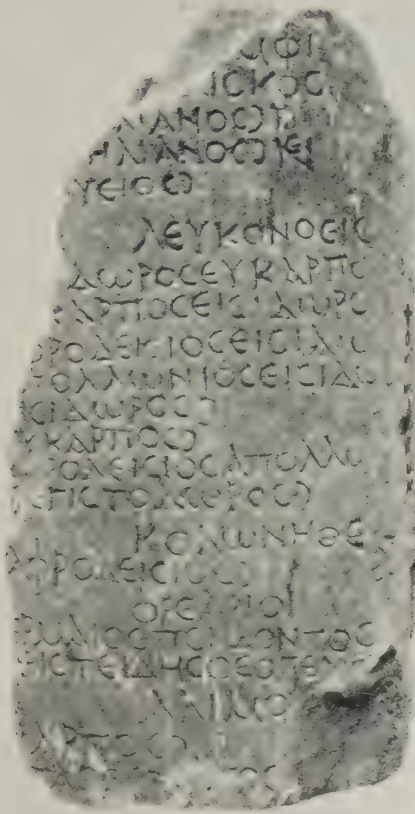
This fragment belongs to a list of prytanes of the tribe Aiantis of the first century B.C. For a similar document, cf. *I.G.*, II², 1756.

42. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on December 6, 1932 in the wall of a modern house 631/16 in Section H. The inscribed surface is so curved that the diameter of the original cylindrical monument from which this fragment was broken may be determined as approximately 0.80 m.

Height, 0.315 m.; width, 0.165 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.

Height of letters (except φ), *ca.* 0.01 m.

Inv. No. 3539 I 304.



- [- - - ^{c-9} - - -] μφι [- - -]
 [- - ^{c-7} - - -] δισκος
 [Ἀφρῆ] λιανός) Π
 [Ἀφρ] ηλιανός) Ν
 5 [Διο] γύσιος)
 Λευκονογίς
 [Εἰσ] ἰδωρος Εὐκάρπο[υ]
 [Εὐ] καρπος Εἰσιδῶρο[υ]
 [Ἀ] φροδείσιος Εἰσιδῶ[ρου]
 10 [Ἀ] πολλώνιος Εἰσιδῶ[ρου]
 [Ε] ἰσίδωρος)
 [Ε] ὕκαρπος)
 [Ἀφ] ροδείσιος Ἀπολλω[γίου]
 [Μ] εγιστόδωρος)
 15 Κολωνῆθε[υ]
 Ἀφροδείσιος)
 Φρεάριοι
 Ἑρμαῖος (Σ) πένδοτος
 Ἀριστείδης Θεογένου
 20 Ἀλιμού[σιου]
 Κάρπος)
 [Ἀ] γαθόσι[ρ]ατος - - - - -

No. 42

The inscription is part of a catalogue of prytanes, which was inscribed on a large cylindrical monument similar in shape and size to that which contains the inscriptions of the same category now published as *I.G.*, II², 1773–1776. This similarity of the monuments suggests that the inscriptions belong also to approximately the same date, and the inference is substantiated by the prosopographical evidence of the new fragment, which accords best with a date between 165 and 170 A.D.

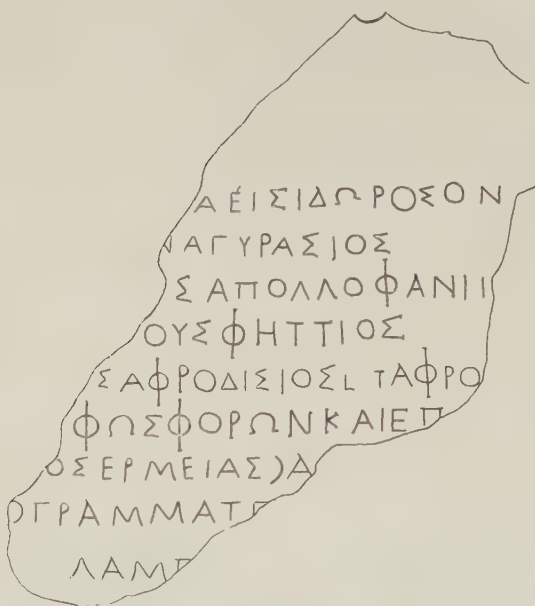
The prytanes honored belong to the tribe Leontis, four demes of which are mentioned in the inscription (lines 6, 15, 17, and 20).

Lines 9–10: The two brothers, Aphrodeisios and Apollonios, sons of Eisidoros, were epheboi together in 154/5 (*I.G.*, II², 2067, lines 51–52). At a later date (190–200), Eisidoros, son of the Aphrodeisios here mentioned, appears in another ephebic inscription (*I.G.*, II², 2128, line 34).

Line 13: Apollonios, son of the Aphrodeisios listed in this line, was also an ephebos between 190 and 200 (*I.G.*, II², 2128, line 32).

Line 18: Hermaios, son of Spondon, of Leontis, was ephebos between 150 and 160 (*I.G.*, II², 2066, line 11). The demotic [*Φρεάριος*] may now be restored on the evidence of this inscription. The father, Spondon, is mentioned in an earlier catalogue of prytanes shortly before the middle of the century (*I.G.*, II², 1760). The son, Hermaios, who is listed here as one of the prytanes of Leontis, had among his companions in the ephebate the two brothers Aphrodeisios and Zosimos, sons of Eisidotos of Kydathenaion (*I.G.*, II², 2066, lines 3–4), who reappear in the year 169/70 as prytanes of the tribe Pandionis (*I.G.*, II², 1776, lines 38–39).

43. Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, with right edge preserved, found early in 1933 in the wall of a modern house 646/6 in Section I, south of the Stoa of Attalus.



No. 43

Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.21 m.; thickness, 0.30 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.008 m.

Inv. No. 3623 I 372.

[*ἀ ῖ σ ι τ*] ρ [*ι*]

[*περὶ τὸ βῆμ*] α *Εἰσίδωρος* Ὀν -

----- *Ἀ*ναγνράσιος

[*ἀντιγραφὴν*] *Ἀπολλοφάνης*

5 [-----] ον *Σφήτιος*

[*ἐρατὴν*] *Ἀφροδίσιος* Ἐπαφρο[*δίτου*]

[*ἐρεῖς*] *Φωσφόρων καὶ ἐπ[ι]*

[*Σκιάδ*] ος *Ἑρμείας*) *Ἀ[ζηνιεύς]*

[*ἐπ*] ογραμματα[*ς*] *Μέρων*

10 *Ἀαμπ[τερός]*

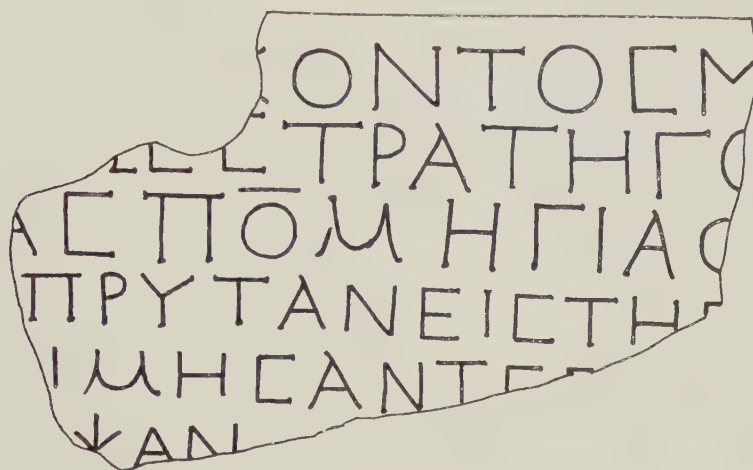
The inscription is part of a list of prytanes, which may be dated on prosopographical evidence about 180 A.D. For line 6, cf. *I.G.*, II², 1794, 1795, 1796, 1797, 1799; for line 8, cf. *I.G.*, II², 1794, 1795, 1797, 1798; and for lines 9–10, cf. *I.G.*, II², 1776, 1794, 1795.

44. Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, with part of the top surface preserved, found on March 1, 1933 in Section Z.

Height, 0.13 m.; width, 0.30 m.; thickness, 0.072 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.—0.015 m.

Inv. No. 4113 I 500.



No. 14

ca. 210 A.D.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Μ[-----]]

[---]ως στρατηγὸς[ὑπὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς δὴλ]

[εἰς]ας Πόμ Ἑγία Φ[αληρέως —' πρυτανε]

[ίας οἱ] πρυτάνεις τῆς [----- φυλ]

5 [ἧς τε]μύσαντες [ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τοὺς δισείτους]

[ἀνέγρα]ψαν vacat

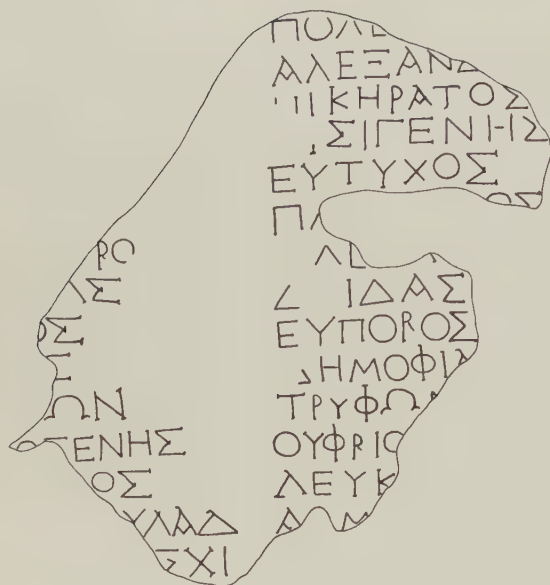
Pompeios Hagias Phalereus is mentioned as hoplite general in a similar inscription (*I.G.*, II², 1831) which is dated early in the third century A.D. This prosopographical evidence yields the approximate date given above for the present document. The genitive form *Ἑγία* appears in line 3 instead of the usual *Ἑγίου*. Cf. Meisterhaus, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften* (3rd ed.), p. 120.

45. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 631/28 in Section H.

Height, 0.305 m.; width, 0.285 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.

Height of letters, 0.013 m.

Inv. No. 3570 I 327.

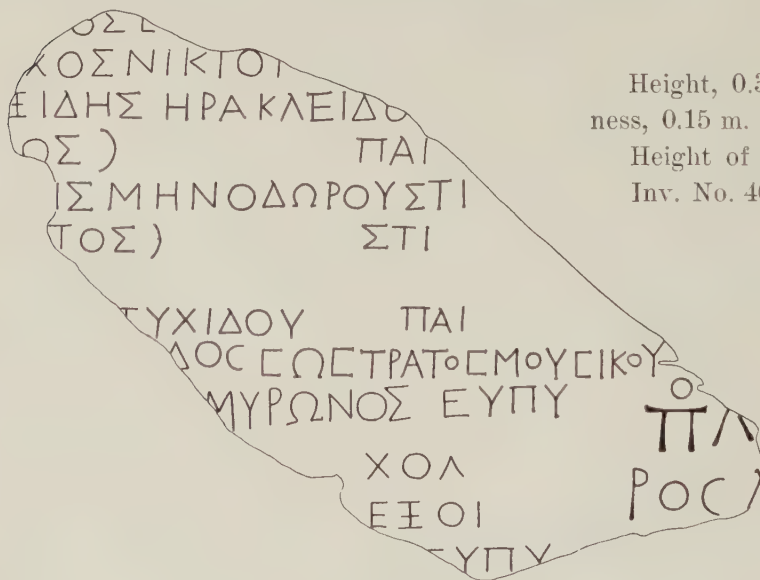


No. 45

-----	Πολε ---		
-----	Ἀλέξανδ[ρος]		
-----	Νικήρατος		
-----	[.]σιγένης		
-----	Εὐτυχος	5	
-----	Πα --- ος		
-----	ρο[ς]	· λ ε . α --	
-----	ας	Δ . ιδας	
-----	ος	Εὐπορος	
-----	ς	Δημόφιλος	10
-----	ων	Τρύφων	
-----	ογένης	Οὐφριο[ς]	
-----	ος	Λευκ ---	
-----	υλαδ	Α . μ ---	
-----	σχι	-----	15

The inscription seems to belong to the first century B.C. The letters are somewhat like those of *I.G.*, II², 1716.

46. Fragment of a large stele of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on February 20, 1933 in a modern foundation in Section I.



No. 46

Height, 0.30 m.; width, 0.36 m.; thickness, 0.15 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. 4088 I 486.

[Πανδιονίδος]

----- ος Ε -----

----- χος Νικίου -----

----- ξίδης Ἡρακλείδο[υ] -----

5 ----- ος) Παι

----- ης Μηροδώρου Στι

----- τος) Στι

////////////////////////////////////

[----- Εὐ]τυχίδου Παι

10 [Ἀεωντί]δος Σώστρατος Μουσικοῦ [Εὐπυ]

----- Μύρωνος Εὐπυ ΠΛ -----

----- Χολ ρος Α -----

----- ἐξ Οἴ

----- Εὐπυ

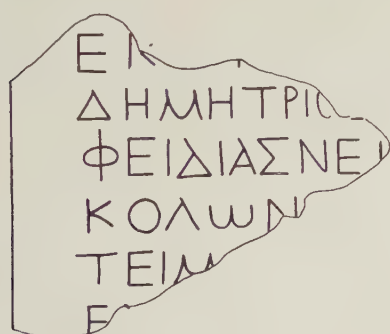
The inscription belongs to a catalogue of the epheboi, and should be dated, possibly, about 100 A.D. I assume that the Sostratos mentioned in line 10 was the grandfather of Σώστρατος Μου(σικοῦ) Εὐ(πυρίδης) who appears as an ephebos in 155/6 A.D. Cf. *I.G.*, II², 2068, line 91. Line 8 of the present document has been erased.

47. Fragment from the left side of a stele of Pentelic marble, with original thickness preserved, found on March 1, 1933 in Section Z at 6/1Γ.

Height, 0.135 m.; width, 0.154 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. 4110 I 498.



No. 47

Εκ . ι -----

Δημήτριος -----

Φειδίας Νει -----

Κολων[ῆθεν -----]

5 Τειμ -----

Εὐ -----

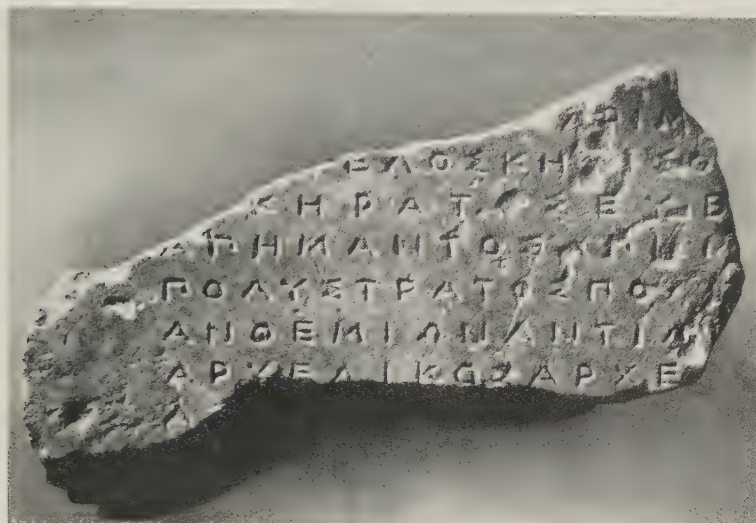
The inscription is part of an ephebic list of the second century A.D. The names in Col. I were not inscribed on separate lines, as was the usual practice. For a similar disposition of the text, cf. *I.G.*, II², 2059.

50. Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found on February 8, 1933 in the wall of a modern house 646/3 in Section I.

Height, 0.14 m.; width, 0.21 m.; thickness, 0.15 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. 3861 I 431.



No. 50

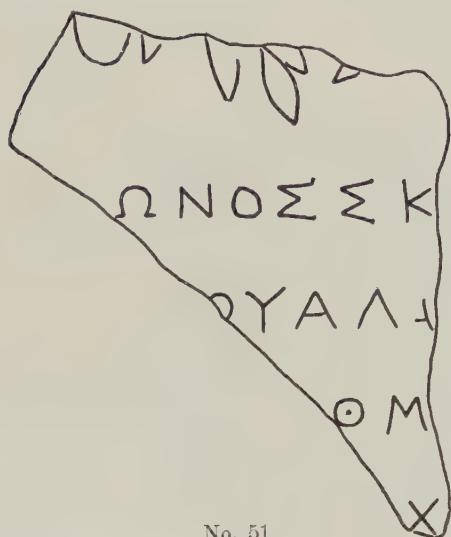
[Φλυεῖς]

----- ! -----]
 [Πολύμνηστος] Ἀριμ[νήστου]
 [...]τελος Κηφισο [-----]
 5 [Νι]κήρατος Εὐβ[-----]
 Ἀπύμαντος Ἀπιμ[άντου]
 Πολύστρατος Πολυ[στράτου]
 Ἀνθεμίων Ἀντιλ[-----]
 Ἀρχέδικος Ἀρχε[δήμου]
 10 Ἀ-----]

The character of the lettering, with letters carefully spaced but not *stoichedon*, indicates a date near the middle of the third century B.C. Perhaps we may restore in line 3 the name [Πολύμνηστος] Ἀριμ[νήστου Φλυεύς], grandson of that Polymnestos whose name appears in *I.G.*, II², 1890 (*P.A.*, 12051).

The discovery of a second fragment, too late to be recorded in this report, shows that the names here given were all from Phlya and indicates that the document was probably part of a decree honoring the prytanes of Kekropis, similar in character to *I.G.*, II², 678. A complete text will be published later.

51. Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 636/19 in Section Θ.



No. 51

Height, 0.17 m.; width, 0.17 m.; thickness, 0.135 m.

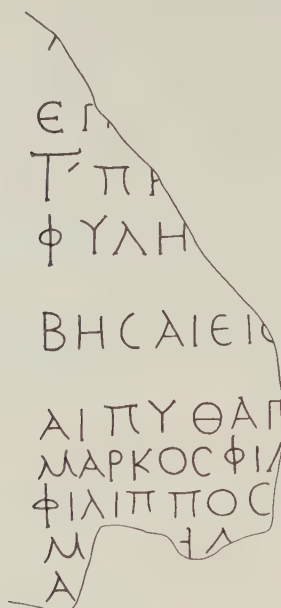
Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. 3497 I 274.

----- ὦνος Σκ[αμβωνίδης]
----- ου Ἀλφ[or α ----]
[- ----- Ἀ]θμ[ονεύς]
----- χ -----

The significance of this fragment is not clear; it seems to be part of a list of names with patronymics and demotics, though not all from the same tribe.

52. Fragment of Pentelic marble with left edge preserved, found in the wall of a modern house in Section Δ 24/10.



No. 52

Height, 0.29 m.; width, 0.18 m.; thickness, 0.095 m.

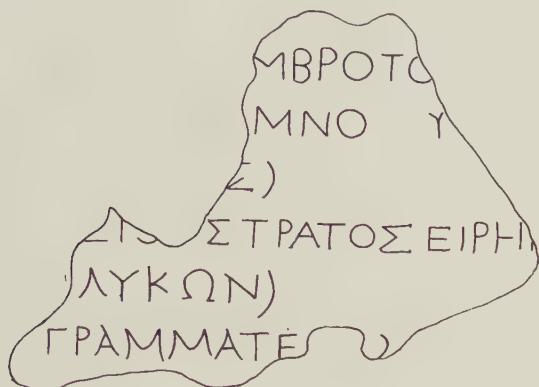
Height of letters, 0.011 m.–0.02 m.

Inv. No. 1137 I 139.

Ι -----
'Επ -----
Τ. Πρ -----
φνλη -----
5 Βησαιεῖς
Ἀ' (λιος) Πυθαγ[όρας - -]
Μᾶρκος Φιλ -----
Φίλιππος -----
Μ --- ρλ -----
10 Α -----

The inscription is of Roman date but of uncertain category. Demesmen of Besa are listed in lines 6–10.

53. Large fragment from the bottom of a block of Pentelic marble, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 631/16 in Section H.



No. 53

Height, 0.49 m.; width, 0.39 m.;
thickness, 0.27 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.

Inv. No. 3545 I 307.

[- - - - -] μβροτο[ς]

- - - - - μνο . v - - -

[- - - - -]ς)

// // // - στρατος Ειρηνη[-]

Λύκων)

γραμματε[ύς])

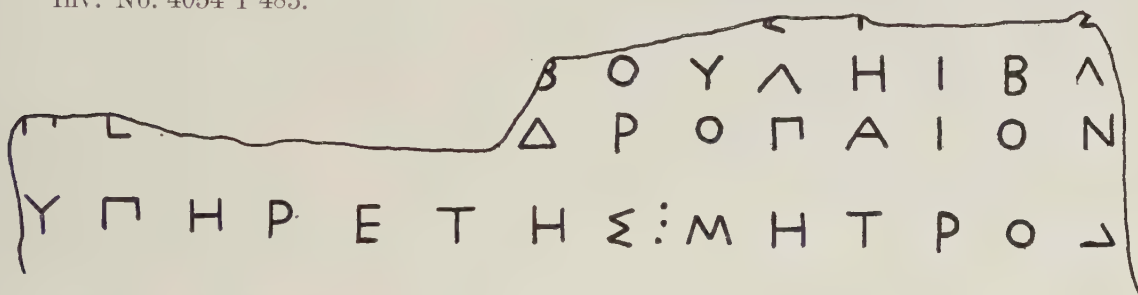
vacat

54. Fragment of a block of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found on February 23, 1933 in a modern wall in Section Θ.

Height, 0.187 m.; width, 0.31 m.; thickness, 0.315 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. 4054 I 483.



No. 54

Early fourth century

CTOIX

- - - - - ΣΙ[. .]Δ - - - - -

- - - - - βουλιμ βλ - - - - -

- - - - - Πε δρο Παιον[ιδίς]

- - - - - υπηρέτης : Μητροδ[ωρος - - - -]

55. Fragment from the bottom of a stele of Pentelic marble, found on February 20, 1933 in a modern foundation wall in Section I.

Height, 0.255 m.; width, 0.345 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.
 Height of letters, 0.008 m.
 Inv. No. 4091 I 489.



No. 55

----- / . / // A -----
 ---- Ι[?]ΤΟΣ
 ---- μὸν Θριάσιος
 vacat

BOUNDARY STONES

56. Boundary stone of Pentelic marble, broken at the bottom and at the left, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 636/22 in Section Θ.



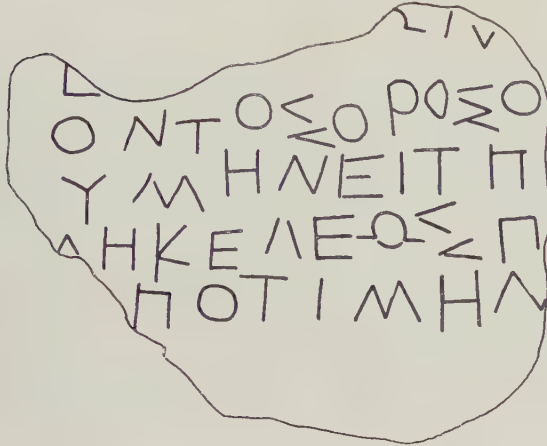
No. 56

Height, 0.552 m.; width
 0.193 m.; thickness, 0.16 m.
 Height of letters, 0.025 m.
 Inv. No. 3529 I 298.

[h ι] ε ρ ο ν
 [τῷ hε] ρακλέο[s]

The preserved surfaces of the stone are all roughly picked except for the recessed band bearing the inscription, which has been more carefully dressed with a fine-tooth chisel. The letters of the inscription are characteristic of the middle of the fifth century B.C. Inasmuch as this boundary stone was not found *in situ* it is impossible to connect it definitely with any one of the known sanctuaries of Herakles, but it is natural to think that it may belong to the famous shrine in Melite (cf. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen* [1931], p. 396).

57. Boundary stone of Hymettian marble, broken away at the right, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 636/29 in Section Θ.



No. 57

Height, 0.139 m.; width, 0.195 m.;
thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.013 m.

Inv. No. 3524 I 293.

Ἐ[πὶ - - -]ων[- ἄρχ]

οντος ὄρος ο[κίας]

ΥΜΗΝΕΙΤ[- - - - -]

Δηκέλεως π[ροικὸς]

5 [ἀ]ποτίμημ[α - - -]

vacat

The inscription is very crudely cut, and offers considerable trouble in restoration. I suggest tentatively that the name of the archon in line 1 was Chairondes (338/7) and that *Δηκέλεως* in line 4 may be a misspelling for *Δεκέλεως*.

58. Fragment of Pentelic marble, with part of the top surface and original thickness preserved, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 636/19 in Section Θ.



No. 58

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.11 m.; thick-
ness, 0.065 m.

Height of letters, 0.023 m. and 0.013 m.

Inv. No. 3499 I 273.

Ὁ ρ[ος]

ἀποτ[ιμή]

ματος[.]

ε.στ[.]

5 - - ἑξ - -

I assume that the wording was similar to that of *I.G.*, II², 2653. The present inscription seems to belong to the fourth century B.C.

DEDICATIONS

59. Circular plinth of Pentelic marble, found on June 12, 1931 in Section E 2/H. Above the plinth is a round projection now broken away at the top.



No. 59

Height, 0.11 m.; diameter, 0.19 m.

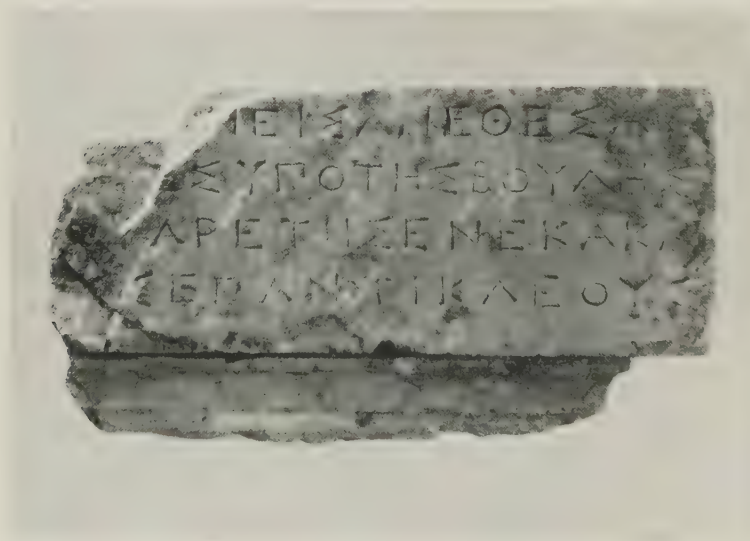
Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. 167 I 28.

Κίττος : ἀνέθηκε

The monument seems to belong to the fourth century B.C.

60. Upper right corner of a base of Hymettian marble, broken away at the left, and at the bottom and back, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 632/17 B in Section Z.



No. 60

Height, 0.138 m.; width,

0.269 m.; thickness, 0.085 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.

Inv. No. 3479 I 259.

[. ἰ. ἡΐδος πρυτάνεις ἀνέθεσαν
[στεφανωθέντι]ες ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς
[καὶ τοῦ δήμου] ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ
[δικαιοσύνης]· ἐπ' Ἀντικλέους

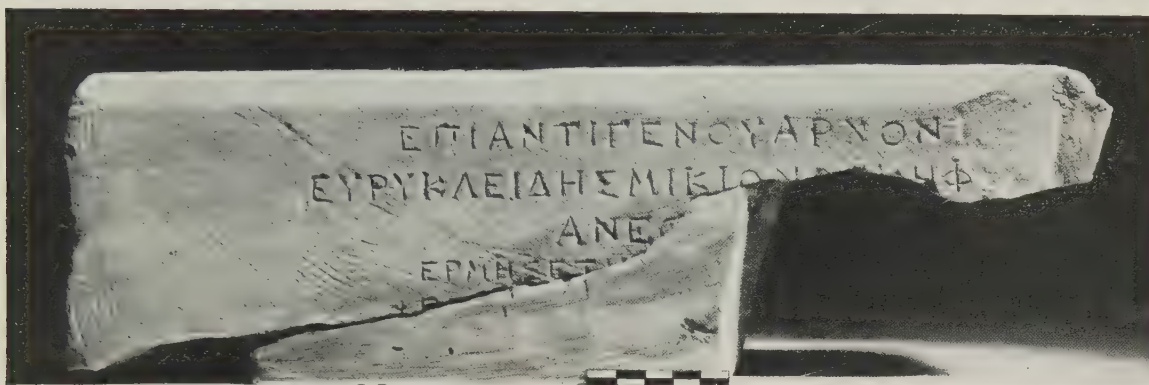
The requirements of space in line 1 make probable the restoration of the name of the tribe as Oineis or Aigeis. The date is known as 325/4 B.C. from the name of the archon Antikles. For a similar inscription, see *I.G.*, II, 1183.

61. Dedicatory base of Hymettian marble, found on February 23, 1932 in Section A 22/KE. An oval-shaped hole (0.30 m. by 0.19 m.) was cut down through the upper surface of the base to receive the dedication.

Height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.455 m.; thickness, 0.319 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. 1372 I 171.



No. 61

Ἐπὶ Ἀντιγένοῦ ἄρχοντ[ος]
Εὐρυκλείδης Μιζιῆνος Κηφισι[σινδης]
ἀνέθ[ηκεν]

Ἐομῆς ἐτη [- - - - -]

5 Γ [- - - - -]

The archon Antigenes is to be dated in 171/0 B.C. Cf. no. 17 and also commentary on no. 18. Eurykleides belongs to the well known family from Kephisia prominent in Athens during the late third and second centuries B.C. Cf. *P.A.*, 5967.

62. Fragment from a block of Pentelic marble, with part of the right lateral surface preserved, found on February 11, 1933 in the wall of a modern house 646/2 in Section I.

Height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.30 m.; thickness, 0.15 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.—0.01 m.

Inv. No. 3883 I 453.

Η ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ
 ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΕΜΜΥΡ

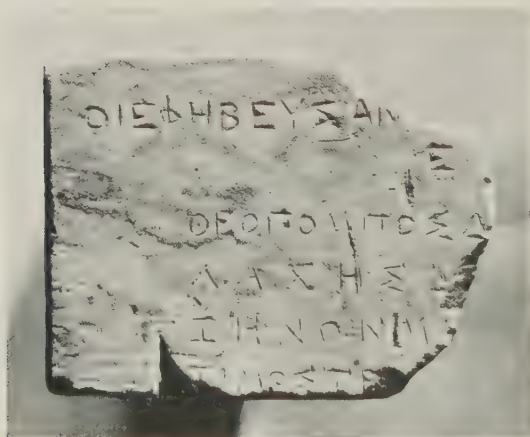
No. 62

After 166 B.C.

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ [ὄμιλος]
 Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἐμ Μυρ[ίνῃ οἰκούντων]

Below the inscription there seems to have been a wreath, which may indicate that the present fragment is a citation from the lower part of a stele which once contained an honorary decree. The date is later than 167/6, when Lemnos was given to Athens by Rome after the third Macedonian war (Polybios, XXX, 18).

63. Base of bluish marble, broken away at the right, found on February 12, 1932 in Section Δ. The cutting made to receive a stele is still preserved in the top of the stone.



No. 63

Height, 0.144 m.; width, 0.183 m.;
 thickness, 0.26 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.

Inv. No. 1452 I 176.

οἱ ἐφηβέυσαν[τες ἐπὶ - - ἄρχοντος]
 Ἐ[ρμεῖ]

Θεόπομπος Δ[- - - - -]

Ἀάχης Δ[- - - - -]

5 Ζήνων Μξ[- - - - -]

Τιμόστρε[ατος - - - - -]

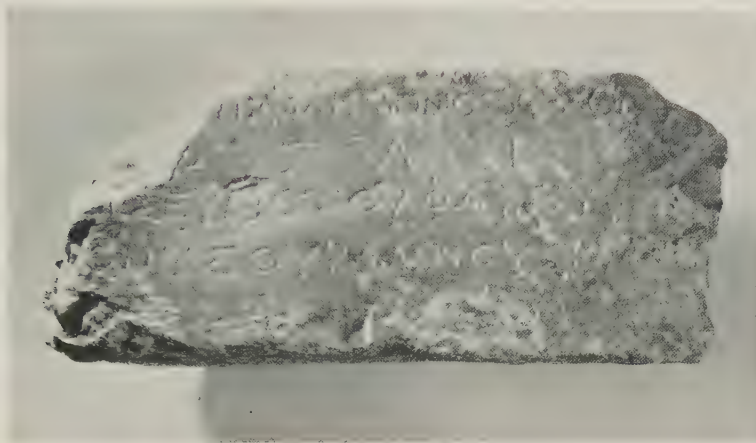
The restoration of the names is uncertain, though one is tempted to identify Zenon (line 5) with the Ζήνων Μενίσχου Ἐρχιεύς (P.A., 6211) who was general in 95/4 B.C. For the class of inscription which to this document belongs, cf. *I.G.*, II, 1224–1226 and *I.G.*, II, 5, p. 252, nos. 1225 *b* and 1226 *b–d*. The letters suggest a date before 150 B.C.

64. Dedicatory base of Hymettian marble, broken away at the left, but with part of the right side and the original height preserved, found on March 8, 1932 in a cistern in Section ΣΤ.

Height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.30 m.; thickness, 0.23 m.

Height of letters, 0.016 m. (φ) and 0.008 m. (σ).

Inv. No. 1703 I 191.



No. 64

[οἱ μελλέφηβοι οἱ ἐ]πὶ Φιλήμονος ἄρχον[τος]
 [Μ ο] ὑ σ α ι [ς]
 [- - - - -]·δης Εὐβιότου Φλυνεύς
 [- - - - -]·Αι]ονυσίου Ῥαμνούσιος

I have restored the document as a dedication to the muses of two mellepheboi of the archonship of Philemon. With this may be compared inscriptions published by Dragatsis in *Παγρασσός*, 1880, p. 491 and by Foucart in *B. C. H.*, 1883, pp. 75–77. The lettering indicates a date in the first or second century B.C. A certain Karpodoros, son of Eubiotos, of Phlya (*P. A.*, 8259) was ephebos in the archonship of Aristarchos (107/6). The youth mentioned here in line 3 may have been of the same family, but the date of the archon cannot be determined.

65. Three fragments of a large pedestal of Hymettian marble, which have no common points of contact, but which belong together. Fragment *a* preserves the top and back surfaces; along the upper edge was a moulding about 0.095 m. high which has been chiseled away. Fragment *b* is broken on all sides. Fragment *c* has its original thickness and preserves also the smoothly dressed right lateral face of the stone. The beginnings of the base moulding are discernible, but the bottom surface is itself broken away. The citations of victories were inscribed within wreaths.

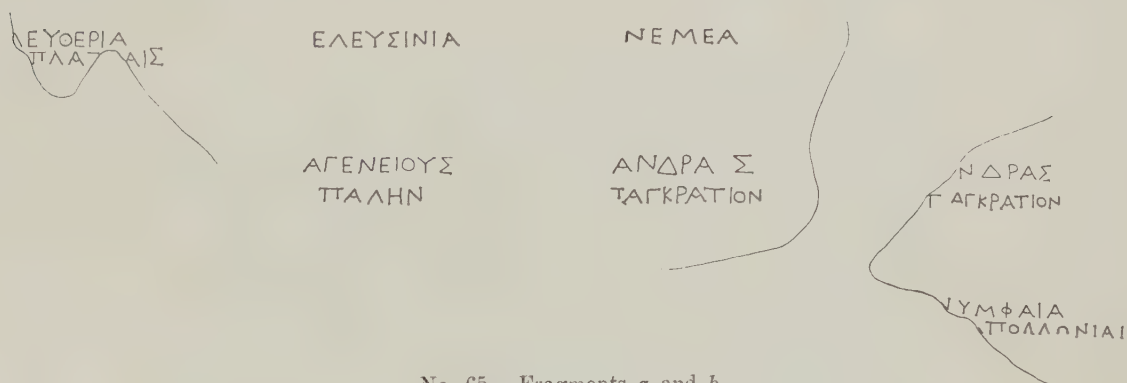
Fragment *a*: Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.56 m.; thickness, 0.275 m.

Fragment *b*: Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.105 m.

Fragment *c*: Height, 0.58 m.; width, 0.50 m.; thickness, 0.275 m.

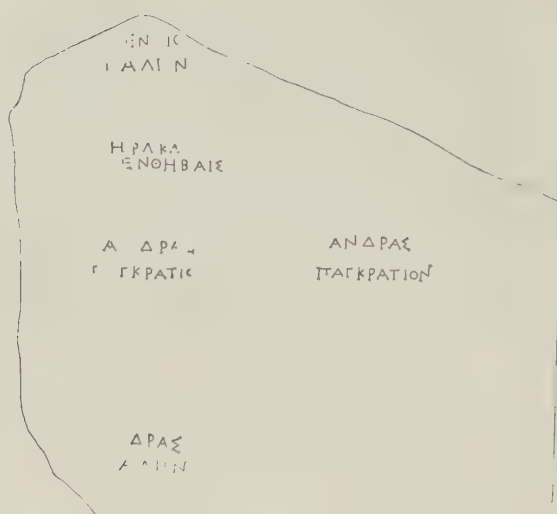
Height of letters, *ca.* 0.01 m.

Inv. No. 3638 I 382.



No. 65. Fragments *a* and *b*

[Ε]λευθέρια	Ἐλευσίνα	Νέμεα	[- - - - -]
[τὰ ἐμ] Πλατ[αι]αῖς			
[- - - - -]	Ἀγγελίους	Ἀνδρας	Ἀνδρας
[- - - - -]	πάλην	παγκράτιον	παγκράτιον
5 [- - - - -]	[- - - - -]	[- - - - -]	Νυμφαῖα
			[τὰ ἐν] Ἀπολλωνίαι



No. 65. Fragment *c*

lacuna	
[Ἀγ]εν[ε]ίο[υς]	[- - - - -]
πάλην	[- - - - -]
Ἡράκλ[εα]	[- - - - -]
[τὰ] ἐν Θήβαις	
Ἀ[ν]δρας	Ἀνδρας
π[α]γκράτιο[ν]	παγκράτιον
[- - - - -]	
[Ἀν]δρας	
[π]άλην	

10

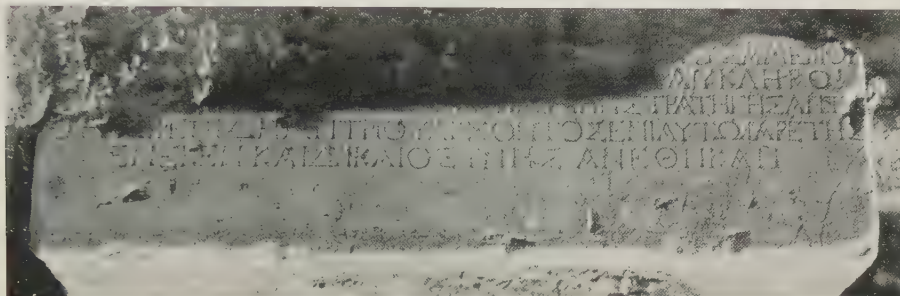
The name of the victor in whose honor the dedication was erected has not been preserved, but the document is of interest for the festivals which it records. The letter forms indicate a date in the late second or first century B.C.

66. Re-used base of Hymettian marble, found on June 11, 1931 built into a late wall in Section E 23/A.

Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.78 m.; thickness, 0.745 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. 164 I 25.



No. 66

[-----] στρα]ευσόμενοι
 [-----] ν]αύκληροι
 [-----] δίου Φιλαιδην στρατηγήσαντα
 ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Δημητρίου ἄρχοντος ἐνιαυτῷ ἀρετῆς
 5 ἔτεκεν καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἀνέθηκαν

The dedication was probably erected shortly after the archonship of Demetrios in 50/49 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 1713), for the letter forms seem to preclude a date under the earlier Demetrios in 123/2 B.C. The original dimensions of the stone are preserved.

67. Part of a base of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found on February 10, 1933 in the wall of a modern house 646/3-4 in Section I.

Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.33 m.; thickness, 0.375 m.

Height of letters, 0.035 m.

Inv. No. 3879 I 449.



No. 67

[ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγ]ου καὶ ὁ δῆ[μος]
 [-----] Σα]βῖνον

If the second line was spaced symmetrically with the first, the name and praenomen (abbreviated) occupied about ten letter spaces.

68. Inscribed statue base of Hymettian marble, found in the courtyard of house 646/5 in Section I.

Height, 1.17 m.; width, 0.625 m.; thickness, 0.625 m.

Height of letters, 0.042 m.

Inv. No. 3661 I 402.

καθ' ὑπομνη
ματισμὸν τῆς
ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου
βουλῆς Εἰσίδωρος
Εἰσίδωρον τὸν
εὐτόν

This dedication is
already published as
I.G., III, 843.

The technical term for a decree of the Council of the Areopagus was ὑπομνηματισμός. Cf. Cicero, *Ep. ad Fam.*, XIII, 1, 5; *Ep. ad Att.*, V, 11, 6.

69. Fragment of a block of Hymettian marble with crowning moulding above the inscription, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 632/3B in Section Z.

Height, 0.19 m.; width, 0.165 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.

Height of letters, 0.022 m.

Inv. No. 3475 I 255.



[ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου π[άγου]
[- - - -]ιον Φα[- - - -]

No. 69

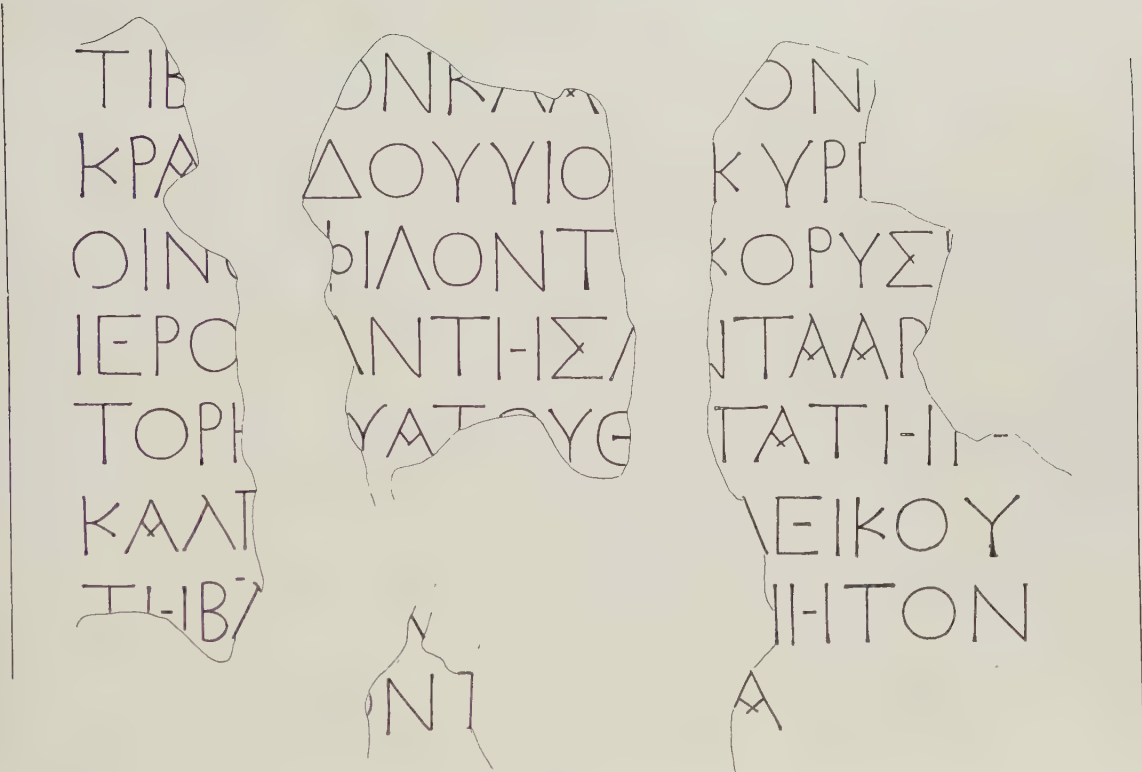
The date is perhaps in the first century A.D.

70. Three large fragments of Hymettian marble, which unite to form a base for a statue, found early in 1933 in the walls of a modern house 646/7 in Section I.

Height, 0.82 m.; width, 0.573 m.; thickness, 0.25 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inv. No. 3641 I 383.



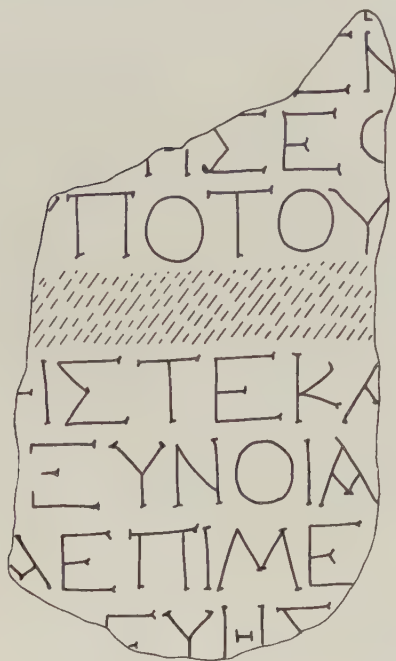
No. 70

Τιβ[έρι]ον Κλα[ύδι]ον [- -]
 κρα[.]δου νίδ[ν], Κυρε[ίνα(ι)],
 Οινόφιλον Τ[ρι]κορύσι[ον]
 έερο[φ]αντήσαντα Ἀρ[ρίου?]
 5 Τορκ[ο]νάτου θ[ν]γάτηρ -
 Καλπ[- -^{c-7}- -]εικου
 Τιβ[ε] Ἀ[.]ἄ[- -^{c-5}- -]ΗΗΤΟΝ
 [- -]ΟΝΤ[- -]Α

In line 6 the restoration Καλπ[- ἐκ Κερα]μεικοῦ would suit the space. In line 7 the three initial letters are apparently followed by a mark of punctuation, but the damaged condition of the stone prevents certainty on this point; if the reading is correct Τιβ' may be a misspelling for Τιβ' = Τιβ(έριον) or Τιβ(ερίου). The fifth letter from the end of the line is iota, eta, or nu; [γν]ή is a possible restoration, though the interpretation is difficult. In the last line the traces of letters would allow either [- - τ]ον π[ατέρ]α or [- - τ]ον τ[ρίποδ]α.

The inscription is to be dated in the first century A.D.

71. Fragment of grayish-white marble, found early in 1933 in the wall of a modern house 646/6 in Section I.



No. 71

Height, 0.25 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.40 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. 3615 I 364.

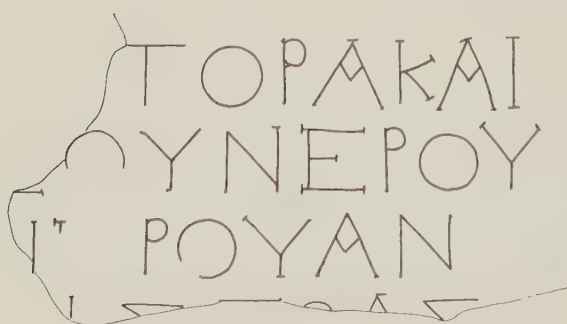
The inscription apparently belongs to an honorary dedication. In line 4 a probable restoration is *ἐπὶ τοῦ* [δῆμον - -]; in lines 7 and 8 may be recognized the words *ἐννοία*[- -] and *ἐπιμε*[λ - -].

72. Upper right corner of a block of Hymettian marble, found early in 1933 in the wall of a modern house 646/3 in Section I.

Height, 0.24 m.; width, 0.33 m.; thickness, 0.14 m.

Height of letters, 0.037 m.

Inv. No. 3636 I 380.



No. 72

[*Ἀντοκρά*]τορα Καί

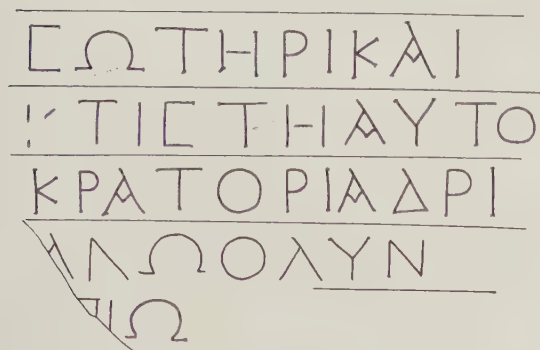
[*σαρα, θε*]οῦ Νέρον

[*α νιόν,*] Νέροναν

[*Τραϊανὸν*] Σεβασ

5 [τόν - - - - -]

73. Heptagonal base of Hymettian marble, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 631/28 in Section H.



Height, 0.29 m.; width of inscribed surface, 0.225 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. 3567 I 326.

Σωτήρι καὶ

κτίστη(ι) αὐτο

κράτορι Ἀδρι

ανῶ(ι) Ὀλυν

5 πύω(ι)

No. 73

For similar dedications to Hadrian, cf. *I.G.*, III, 493–523.

74. Large block of fine white granular marble, with top and bottom surfaces preserved, but broken away at the back and at both ends, found on June 9, 1931 in Section E 23/I at 2.50 m.

Height, 0.24 m.; width, 0.70 m.; thickness, 0.30 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.—0.035 m.

Inv. No. 160 I 21.



No. 74

[- - - Ἀντι]χὸς Ἡο(πλίου) Βιβουλλίου Ῥούφ[ου νίος - -]

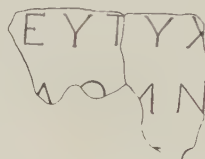
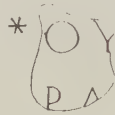
[- - - -] // // ' - - // [Ἀ]ντικ[ο]ῦ το[- - - - - - - -]

Publius Vibullius Rufus was archon either in 143/4 or 144/5 A.D. Cf. *I.G.*, II², 2047 (and commentary), 2050. The height of the stone permits the restoration of three (or perhaps four) lines of text.

75. Five fragments of a large block of Hymettian marble, found in February and March of 1933 in Section I. The largest fragment has part of the left edge preserved.

Height of monument, more than 0.50 m.; estimated width, 0.75 m.; thickness of largest fragment (broken at back), 0.11 m.

Inv. Nos. 3866 I 436, 3869 I 439, 5218 I 607.



No. 75

[Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα]

[Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου]

[Σ]εργίου[ρον Εὐσεβοῦς]

Περτιν[ακος Σεβας]

5 σιοῦ Ἀ[ρραβικοῦ Ἀδρι]

αβιν[ικοῦ Παρθικοῦ]

[μεγίστου] Εὐτυχ[οῦς]

[καὶ Ἰουλίας] Δόμν[ας]

[Σεβαστῆς νόν,] Πό[πλι]

10 [ον Σεπτίμιον Γέταν]

lacuna

----- ου -----

----- ρα -----

The small fragment (Inv. No. 3869 I 439) marked in the above drawing with an asterisk cannot be assigned to a definite place in the inscription.

The dedication was made in honor of the emperor Geta, son of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna. If the restoration is correct the date is *ca.* 209–212 A.D. Cf. Cagnat, *Épigraphie Latine* (3rd ed.), p. 198. A similar imperial title for Severus appears in *I.G.*, III, 537.

76. Base of Hymettian marble, broken at both sides and at the back but with the upper and lower surfaces preserved, found on February 23, 1933 in a modern wall in Section I.

Height, 0.285 m.; width, 0.25 m.; thickness, 0.265 m.

Height of letters, 0.022 m.

Inv. No. 4094 I 491.

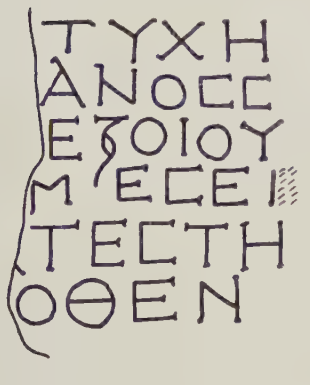


No. 76

[- - -] Εὐάνθου Πα[μνούσιος]

[τριτῆ] ἀρχήσας

77. Part of a rectangular base of Pentelic marble, with top and bottom and right edge preserved, found on July 14, 1931 in Section E.



No. 77

Height, 0.235 m.; width, 0.075 m.; thickness, 0.095 m.
Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. 202 I 63.

The first line of the inscription should be restored [ἀγαθῇ(ι) ἑχνη(ι)]. Following this, in lines 2–3, was recorded the name of the man who made the dedication; in line 3 the demotic ἐξ Οἴου is clear. In line 5 is part of the word ἑστῆ[σε], or more probably [κ]ατέστῆ[σε].

78. Small rectangular base of Pentelic marble found in the wall of a modern house 632/B 16 in Section Z.



No. 78

Height, 0.205 m.; width, 0.135 m.; thickness, 0.144 m.
Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. 2171 I 212.

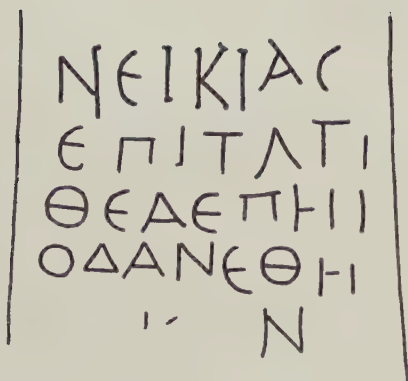
The dedication carries the one feminine proper name *Τυοερρίς*. Cf. *C.I.G.*, II, 3796. There is a small round hole in the top of the stone, with a diameter of 0.07 m. and a depth of 0.025 m.

79. Small base of Pentelic marble, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 636/18 in Section Θ.

Height, 0.25 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.104 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. 3530 I 299.



No. 79

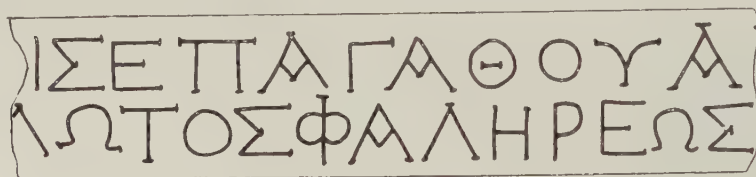
The dedication was made by a certain Neikias, whose name may be read in line 1. In lines 4-5 may be deciphered part of the word ἀνέθη[ε]ν. The rest of the text remains obscure.

80. Fragment from the top of an inscribed monument of Pentelic marble, broken at both sides, found early in 1933 in the wall of a modern house 646/5 in Section I.

Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.27 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.-0.025 m.

Inv. No. 3637 I 381.



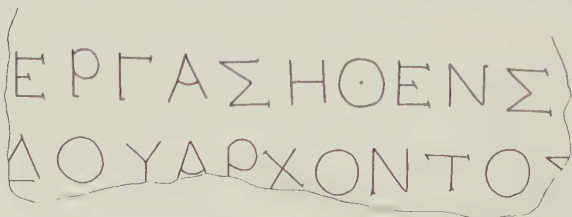
No. 80

[- - - -] ις Ἐπαγόθου Ἀ[- - - -]

[- - - -] λωτος Φαληρέως [- - - -]

The monument seems to have been erected in honor of a woman, daughter(?) of Epagathos and wife(?) of - - - of Phaleron.

81. Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken at the back, bottom, and sides, found on February 25, 1933 in the surface earth of Section H.



No. 81

Height, 0.145 m.; width, 0.41 m.; thickness, 0.20 m.

Height of letters, ca. 0.025 m.

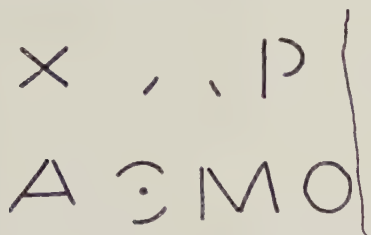
Inv. No. 3993 I 468.

[- - - - -] Η] ἐργασίθεν Σ[- - -]

[- - ἐπὶ - - -] δου ἄρχοντος - - -

SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS

82. Fragment of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on May 28, 1931 in the wall of a modern house 631/23 in Section E.



No. 82

Height, 0.48 m.; diameter, 0.15 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. 145 I 6.

Ναο - - -

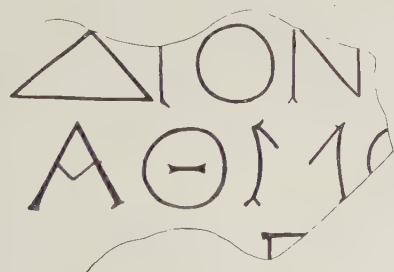
Ἀθμο[ρεύς]

83. Fragment of a large columnar grave monument of Pentelic marble, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 631/30 in Section H.

Height, 0.36 m.; width, 0.32 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.

Height of letters, 0.065 m.

Inv. No. 3577 I 331.



No. 83

Διον[υσίου]

Ἀθμο[ρέως]

γ[νή]

84. Large grave stele surmounted by a shell ornament and acanthus scrolls, found in 1931 as cover slab over the drain in Section E.

Height, 1.975 m.; width, 0.477 m.; thickness, at top of inscribed surface, 0.126 m., at bottom of stele, 0.153 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. 488 I 69.

N

Τ Η Σ Ι Κ Λ Ε Ο Υ Σ	[- - -] ν [- - -] [K] τησι κλέους [A] λω πε κήθε [ν] [θ] ε γ ά τ [ι] ρ Ε δ θ υ [μ] ά χ ο [ν] Θ ο ρ ι [κ] ί ο υ [γ] ν [ν] ι
Λ Ω Γ Ε Κ Η Θ Ε	
Υ Γ Α Τ Ρ	
Ε Υ Θ Υ Α Χ Ο	
Ο Ο Ρ Ι Ι Ο Υ Υ	

No. 84

Two rosette ornaments appear near the top of the stele, but the stone is so badly worn that it is difficult to determine whether there were ever any letters inscribed above them. The inscription given here was cut upon the stone below the rosettes. The date is evidently in the latter part of the fourth century B.C.

85. Fragment of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 636/25 in Section Θ.

Σ Ο Φ Ω Ν
Δ Η Μ (Ξ) Ν Τ Ο Σ
Α Ν Α Γ Υ Ρ Α Σ Ι Ο Σ

No. 85

Height, 0.24 m.; diameter, *ca.* 0.24 m.

Height of letters, 0.019 m.

Inv. No. 3511 I 285.

Σόφρων
Δημοφώντος
Ἀναγυράσιος

86. Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in 1931 in the wall of a modern house 631 B/4 in Section Β.

Κ Η Φ Ι Σ Ο Δ Ω Ρ Ο Σ
Α Γ Α Θ Ο Κ Λ Ε Ο Υ Σ
Α Τ Η Ν Ε Υ Σ

No. 86

Height, 0.83 m.; diameter, 0.27 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inv. No. 1655 I 184.

Κηφισόδωρος
Ἀγαθοκλέους
Ἀτηνέως

This inscription has been known for some years and is now published as *I.G.*, III, 1582.

87. Upper part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 631/31 in Section H.

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΤ
ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ
ΑΦΙΔΝΑΙΟΣ

No. 87

Height, 0.25 m.; diameter, 0.18 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. 3579 I 332.

Ἡρακλείδης
Μενεκράτους
Ἀφιδναῖος

88. Columnar grave monument of bluish-white marble, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 631/27 in Section H.

ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑΣ
ΕΥΦΙΛΗΤΟ
ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΙΟΥ
ΟΥΓΑΤΗΡ

No. 88

Height, 0.22 m.; diameter, 0.23 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. 3566 I 325.

Ὀλυμπίας
Εὐφιλήτο(υ)
Ἐλευσινίου
Θυγάτηρ

89. Columnar grave monument of bluish marble, found on July 15, 1931 in the wall of a modern house 631/19 in Section E.

ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ
ΝΟΥΣ
ΑΤΤΑΛΟΥ
ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ

No. 89

Height, 0.66 m.; diameter, 0.24 m.

Height of letters, 0.017 m.

Inv. No. 206 I 67.

Στέφ[α]νος
[Α]ττ[ά]λ[ου]
[Θ]οφ[ί]λ[ου]

90. Upper part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on February 16, 1933 in the foundation of a modern house in Section H.

Height, 0.35 m.; diameter, 0.23 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inv. No. 4000 I 472.

Λ Ε Ν Σ
 Μ Ε Ν Ε Ι Τ Ο
 Κ Ε Ι Ρ Ι Α , Ο
 Θ Υ Γ Ι Τ Ρ

No. 90

Αγν[α]ῖς
 Μενε[κρ]άτο[υς]
 Κειριάδου
 θυγάτ[ρ]η

91. Upper right corner of a stele of Pentelic marble, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 631/15 in Section H.

Height, 0.18 m.; width, 0.19 m.; thickness, 0.15 m.

Height of letters, 0.033 m.

Inv. No. 3548 I 309.

Ω Ν Ι Ο Υ
 Ε Ν

No. 91

[- - - Ἀπολ]ωνίου
 [ἐκ Κερ]αμ[έων]
 - - - - -

92. Grave monument of Pentelic marble with a scene in low relief on the main field of the stele below the inscription. Found in 1932 in Section E. The sculptured surface has now been largely broken away.



No. 92

Height, 0.37 m.; width, 0.38 m.;
 thickness, 0.10 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. 1076 I 119.

Ἱεροφ[ῶν] : Κράτητος : ἐκ Κοίλης

The letters are of the fourth century B.C.

93. Columnar grave monument of bluish marble, found in 1931 in the wall of a modern house 634/12 in Section ΣΤ.

ΓΑΙΣΚΑΡΡΕΙΝΑΣ
ΔΙΟΥΜΗΔΗΣ
ΚΟΛΛΥΤΕΙΣ

ΚΑΡΡΕΙΝΑ
ΤΙΑ ΦΙΛΗΤΗ

No. 93

Height, 0.50 m.; diameter, 0.40 m.
Height of letters, in lines 1–3
ca. 0.03 m., in lines 4–5, *ca.* 0.05 m.
Inv. No. 1389 I 172.

Γαῖς Καρρεῖνας
Διουμήδης
Κολλυτεύς
Καρρεῖνα
ΤΙΑ ΦΙΛΗΤΗ

The last two lines may be the result of vandalism.

94. Fragment of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble; found on February 3, 1933 in the wall of a modern house 646/6 in Section Ι.

Ι Ε Ο Υ Σ
ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝΟΣ
ΠΑΙΑΝΙΕΥΣ

No. 94

Height, 0.32 m.; diameter, 0.20 m.
Height of letters, 0.03 m.
Inv. No. 3650 I 392.

Ἰβους
Μοσχίωνος
Παιανιεύς

95. Fragment from the upper left corner of an inscribed monument of Pentelic marble, found on February 5, 1932 in the wall of a modern house in Section Ε.

Height, 0.19 m.; width, 0.263 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.

Height of letters, 0.022 m.

Inv. No. 1158 I 144.

ΠΡΟΠΟΣΙΣ ΙΟΥΛ
ΓΑΙΟΥ ΕΚΤΕΙΡΑ

No. 95

Πρόποσις Ἰουλ[ίου]
Γαῖον ἐκ Πειραε[ως]

96. Fragment from the upper part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 636/31 in Section Θ.



No. 96

Height, 0.295 m.; diameter, 0.17 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

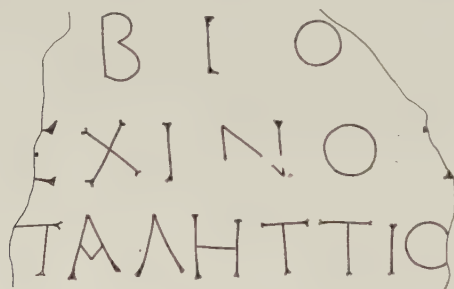
Inv. No. 3526 I 295.

Ἀρισ - - -

Ἰερο - - -

Σου[εύς]

97. Fragment of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 636/25 in Section Θ.



No. 97

Height, 0.41 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.38 m.

Height of letters, 0.035 m.

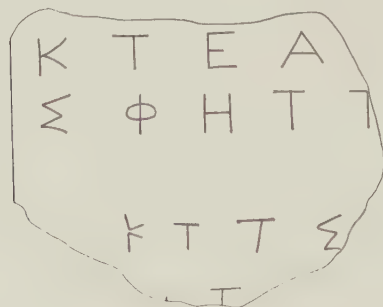
Inv. No. 3510 I 284.

[Εῖ]βιο[ς]

[Ἀ]σχίνον

[Συ]παλήττιο[ς]

98. Fragment from the left side of a stele of Pentelic marble, found on February 29, 1932 in Section Δ.



No. 98

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.23 m.; thickness, 0.085 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. 1453 I 177.

Κτεά[τος?]

Σφήττι[ιος]

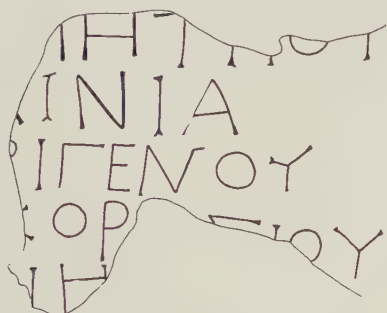
This fragment belongs to a grave stele of the latter part of the fourth century B.C. I interpret the crude letters below the name as the result of later vandalism, perhaps an attempt to imitate some of the letters of the inscription proper. It was once thought that the name *Κρέατος* appeared in *I.G.*, III, 1233, but the new reading in *I.G.*, II², 1999 gives *Κέλσος* instead. I have examined the stone and found the new reading correct.

99. Part of a large columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on April 22, 1932 in Section ΣΤ.

Height, 0.195 m.; approximate diameter, 0.30 m.

Height of letters, 0.032 m. (or less).

Inv. No. 2402 I 225.



No. 99

[Λη]μήτριον
- - λινία
[Πε]ριγένον
[Τρι]χορ[υ]σίον
[γυ]νή

100. Fragment of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on February 25, 1933 in a modern foundation wall in Section Ι.

Height, 0.32 m.; width, 0.31 m.; thickness, 0.15 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.—0.04 m.

Inv. No. 4098 I 495.



No. 100

[Λ]ημήτριος
[Φ]ωκέως
[Τ]ρίν[ε]μεύς

101. Columnar grave monument of bluish marble, found in 1931 in the wall of a modern house 631/B4 in Section B.

Α Π Ο Λ Λ Ο Φ Α Ν Η Σ
Α Π Ο Λ Λ Ο Φ Α Ν Ο Υ
Υ Β Α Δ Η Σ

No. 101

Height, 0.82 m.; diameter, 0.27 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.—0.025 m.

Inv. No. 1656 I 185.

Ἀπολλοφάνης

Ἀπολλοφάνου

Ὑβάνης

The inscription is now published as *I.G.* III, 2049, but the patronymic should be read without final sigma.

102. Stele of Pentelic marble, found on April 11, 1932 in Section ΣΤ.

Height, 0.51 m.; width, 0.29 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. 2159 I 210.

Ν Ι Κ Ο Μ Α Χ Ο Σ
Ν Ι Κ Ο Κ Λ Ε Ι Δ Ο Υ
Φ Ρ Ε Α Ρ Ρ Ι Ο Σ

No. 102

Νικόμαχος

Νικοκλείδου

Φρεάρριος

Nikomachos may be the son of that Nikokleides of Phrearrhoi (*P.A.*, 10885) who was one of the *συνπρόεδροι* mentioned in a decree of the year when Heliodoros was archon (*I.G.*, II², 832, line 8).

103. Fragment of white marble broken from the upper right corner of a stele surmounted by a pediment, found on February 16, 1932 in the wall of a modern house 631/24 in Section E.

Height, 0.18 m.; width, 0.25 m.; thickness, 0.11 m.

Height of letters, 0.014 m.

Inv. No. 1260 I 160.

Ε Π Ι Γ Ν Ο Υ Χ Ο Λ Α Ρ Γ Ε Σ

No. 103

Ἐπιγ[έν]ου Χολαργέ[ως]

104. Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on December 6, 1932 in the wall of a modern house 636/18 in Section Θ.

ΜΗ ΤΡ Ω
ΑΛΕΞΙΜΑΧΟΥ
ΑΝ ΚΥΡΑΝΗ

No. 104

Height, 0.715 m.; diameter, 0.30 m.

Height of letters, 0.023 m.

Inv. No. 3488 I 267.

Μητρὶ
Ἀλεξιμάχου
(Ἀ)κυράνη

The cross-bar of the initial alpha of Ἀκυράνη was never cut upon the stone.

105. Complete stele of grayish marble, found early in 1933 in the wall of a modern house 646/7 in Section I.

Height, 0.585 m.; width, 0.23 m.; thickness, 0.045 m.

Height of letters, 0.019 m.

Inv. No. 3606 I 356.

Η Ρ Μ Α Ι Ο Σ : Α Ι Γ Υ Π
Τ Ι Ο Σ : Ε Χ Θ Η Β Ω Ν
Ν Α Φ Α Λ Λ Ο Υ Φ Α Ν
Ι Η Σ

No. 105

(Ε)ρμαῖος : Αἰγύπ-
τιος : ἐχ Θηβῶν
[γ]ναφαλλοῦφάν-
της

This grave monument belongs to the fifth or early fourth century B.C., and was erected in memory of Hermaios, an Egyptian from Thebes, a wool-weaver. The word [γ]ναφαλλοῦφάντης may also be restored [κ]ναφαλλοῦφάντης, but in either case represents a new addition to Greek lexicography. A similar word, ἐριοῦφάντης, has been found recently in the Tebtunis papyri (cf. Liddell and Scott, *s.v.*). The inscription is published as *I.G.*, II, 2754, where Koehler interprets the last lines as [γ]ναφάλλου φάντης.

106. Top of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on February 8, 1933 in Section Ζ.

ΕΡΜΑΙΟΣ
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΥΣ

No. 106

Height, 0.245 m.; diameter, 0.178 m.

Height of letters, 0.027 m.

Inv. No. 3817 I 408.

Ερμαῖος
Ἀντιοχεύς

107. Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on February 10, 1933 in Section Θ.

Height, 0.35 m.; diameter, 0.245 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. 3850 I 426.

XANTOXEYΣ
ΑΡΤΑΞΙΟΥ
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΥΣ

No. 107

Χάλιτρο[ς]

Ἀρταξίου

Ἀντιοχεύς

108. Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on February 10, 1933 in Section Θ.

Height, 0.25 m.; diameter, 0.165 m.

Height of letters, 0.018 m.

Inv. No. 3851 I 427.

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ
ΠΟΛΥΚΛΕΟΥΣ
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΥΣ

No. 108

Μοσχίων

Πολυκλέου[ς]

Ἀντιοχεύς

109. Columnar grave monument of bluish-white marble, found in November of 1932 in the wall of a modern house 631/13 in Section Η.

ΑΛΑΧΗΣ
ΑΛΑΧΗΤΟΣ
ΑΝΤΙ

No. 109

Height, 0.30 m.; diameter, 0.25 m.

Height of letters, 0.022 m.

Inv. No. 3598 I 348.

Ἀάχης

Ἀάχητος

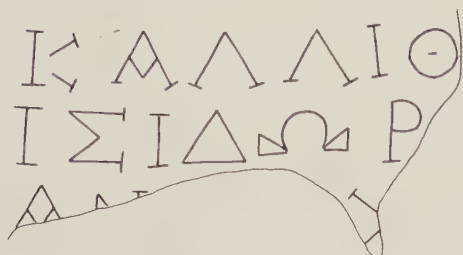
Ἀντι[οχεύς]

110. Top of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on February 7 1933 in the wall of a modern house in Section Θ.

Height, 0.306 m.; diameter, 0.206 m.

Height of letters, 0.028 m.

Inv. No. 3841 I 420.



Καλλιθ[έα]
Ἰσιδώρα[ον]
Ἀν[τιο]χ[ίς]

No. 110

111. Small columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on February 6, 1933 in the wall of a modern house 646/5 in Section I.

Height, 0.24 m.; diameter, 0.19 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. 3649 I 391.



Ἀ[.]ία
Ἀν[τι]όχισσα

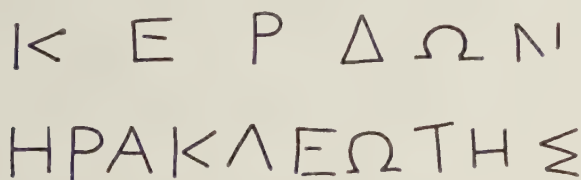
No. 111

112. Columnar grave monument of blue marble, found on August 1, 1931 in Section A.

Height, 0.17 m.; diameter, 0.20 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. 508 I 89.



Κέρδων
Ἡρακλεώτης

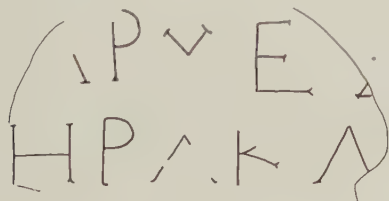
No. 112

113. Fragment of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 632/17B in Section Z.

Height, 0.17 m.; approximate diameter, 0.17 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.028 m.

Inv. No. 3485 I 265.



Ἀρχεῖδ[- -]
Ἡρακλ[εώτης]

No. 113

114. Fragment of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 631/15 in Section H.

Height, 0.26 m.; diameter, 0.16 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. 3550 I 311.



[- - -] χοῦς
Ἀπολ[λ]οδ[ωρ]οῦ
Ἡρακλ[εώτης]

No. 114

115. Upper part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 636/29 in Section Θ.

Height, 0.33 m.; diameter, 0.155 m.

Height of letters, 0.023 m.

Inv. No. 3519 I 291.



Κίβης
Θοῦς

No. 115

116. Small stele of Pentelic marble, broken at the bottom, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 636/22 in Section Θ.

Height, 0.34 m.; width, 0.34 m.; thickness, 0.056 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.012 m.

Inv. No. 3501 I 277.

Μ Ε Τ Ω Γ Α
Κ Ε Ρ Κ Υ Ρ Α Ι Α

Μετώπα
Κερκυραία

No. 116

The type of stele and the lettering indicate a date in the fifth or fourth century B.C.

117. Fragment of a columnar grave monument of blue marble, found in November of 1932 in the wall of a modern house 631/15 in Section Η.

Height, 0.27 m.; estimated diameter, 0.29 m.

Height of letters, 0.022 m.—0.028 m.

Inv. No. 3556 I 316.

Α Ο Δ Ι Κ Ι

- - // // // // - - -
Λαοδικί[ς] or
Λαοδίη[σσα]

No. 117

118. Top of a columnar grave monument of bluish marble, found early in 1933 in the wall of a modern house 646/6 in Section Ι.

Height, 0.22 m.; diameter, 0.33 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.—0.03 m.

Inv. No. 3626 I 375.

Ν Ι Κ Ω Ν
Ε Ι Κ Α Δ Ι Ο Υ
Λ Υ Σ Ι Μ Α ' Γ ' Σ

Νίκων
Εἰκαδίου
Λυσιμαχέως

No. 118

119. Fragment from the top of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 632/17 B in Section Z.

Ν Υ Σ Ι Α
 Ρ Λ Λ Ω Ν Ι Ο Υ
 Η Λ Ι Α

No. 119

Height, 0.26 m.; diameter, 0.166 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.022 m.

Inv. No. 3484 I 264.

[Λιο]ννσία
 [Ἀπ]ολλωνίου
 [Μ]ηλία

120. Fragment from the top of a large columnar grave monument of Pentelic marble, found in the wall of a modern house in Section Θ.

Height, 0.258 m.; width, 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.235 m.

Height of letters, 0.022 m.

Inv. No. 4009 I 478.

Ε Υ Τ Υ Χ
 Δ Ι Ο Ν Υ Ε
 Μ Ε Ι Λ Η Ε Ι Ο

No. 120

Εὐτυχ[ς]
 Διονυσί[ον]
 Μειλήσιο[ς]

The inscription here recorded was above the ring on the columella. Below the ring are traces of the first line of another inscription, but the name cannot be deciphered.

121. Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 636/20 in Section Θ.

Height, 0.45 m.; approximate diameter, 0.30 m.

Height of letters, 0.027 m.

Inv. No. 3500 I 276.

Ξ Υ Β Ι Ο Σ
 Δ Ι Ο Γ Ν Η Τ Ο
 Μ Ι Λ Η Σ Ι Ο Σ

No. 121

Ξώβιος
 Διογνήτου
 Μιλήσιος

The name may have been wrongly cut for Ζώβιος.

122. Fragment of Hymettian marble, found on February 11, 1933 in a modern wall in Section Θ.

Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.265 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.—0.036 m.

Inv. No. 3857 I 430.



*Τρυφέρα Ἐπ[αφροδ]
[ε]ῖτου Μειλ[ησία]*

No. 122

Parts of the left edge and rough-picked back of the stone are preserved, and immediately above the inscription a moulding runs across the top of the stele.

123. Upper part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 631/12 in Section Η.

Height, 0.39 m.; diameter, 0.31 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.—0.04 m.

Inv. No. 3587 I 339.

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΑ
ΦΙΛΑΡΓΥΡΟΥ
ΜΕΙΛΗΣΙΑ

*Ἀφροδισία
Φιλαργύρου
Μειλησία*

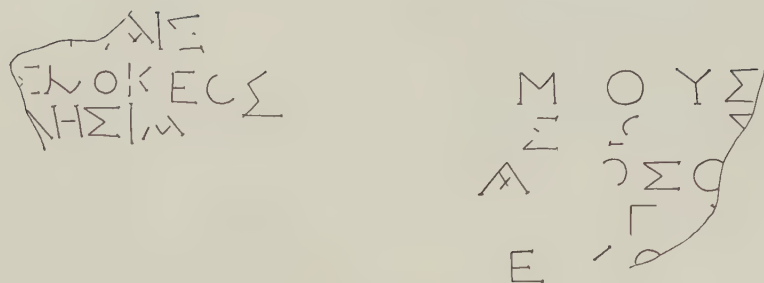
No. 123

124. Fragment of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on February 5, 1932 in the wall of a modern house in Section Δ.

Height, 0.325 m.; diameter, 0.23 m.

Height of letters, 0.027 m.

Inv. No. 1134 I 136.



No. 124

----- αἶς

----- σμόκεος

[Με]λησία

Μουσ - - - -

Σωσ[ίου?]

Α. σοσο - - - -

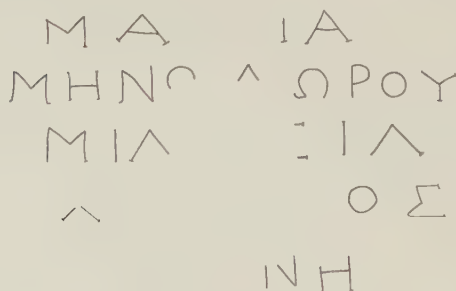
γυ[νί]

Εἰθ[υ - - - -]

[θυγάτηρ]

The monument contains two funerary inscriptions, cut by different hands and apparently of different date.

125. Columnar grave monument of blue marble, found on July 2, 1931 in the wall of a modern house 631/19 in Section E.



No. 125

Height, 0.37 m.; diameter, 0.23 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. 189 I 50.

Μα[ν]ία

Μηροδώρου

Μηλ[ι]σία

Χ - - - - ος

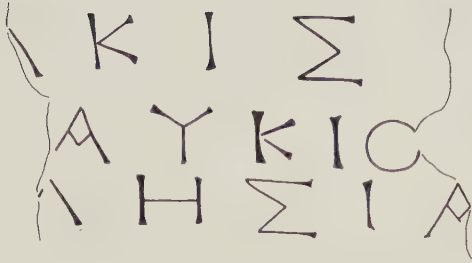
[γυ]νή

126. Columnar grave monument of blue marble, found on July 17, 1931 in Section A.

Height, 0.49 m.; approximate diameter, 0.26 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.03 m.

Inv. No. 205 I 66.



No. 126

Ἀκίς
[Ιλ]ανκίς[v]
[Με]λησία

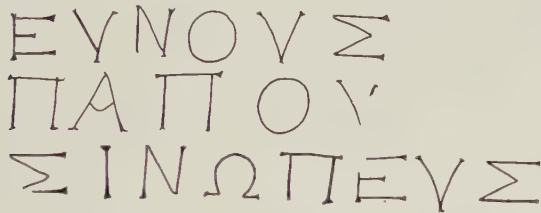
For the name Akis cf. Lucian, *Dialogi Meretricii*, 4, 3.

127. Columnar grave monument of blue marble, found on February 11, 1932 in a modern wall in Section E.

Height, 0.40 m.; diameter, 0.28 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.04 m.

Inv. No. 1307 I 163.



No. 127

Εὔρους
Πάπου
Σινωπεύς

128. Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found early in 1933 in the wall of a modern house 646/6 in Section I.

Height, 0.49 m.; diameter, 0.17 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.018 m.

Inv. No. 3624 I 373.



No. 128

Διογένης
Νικίου
Ταρσεύς

This inscription is already published as *I.G.*, III, 2927.

129. Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in a modern wall in Section Z.

Height, 0.263 m.; diameter, 0.144 m.

Height of letters, 0.014 m.

Inv. No. 3974 I 460.

ΕΡΩΤΙΣ
ΦΟΙΝΙΣΣΑ

Ἐρωτὶς
Φοίνισσα

No. 129

130. Part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, broken at top and bottom, found on February 23, 1933 in a modern foundation in Section I.

Height, 0.27 m.; diameter, 0.165 m.

Height of letters, 0.016 m.

Inv. No. 4093 I 490.

ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΣ
ΟΥΓΑΤΥΡ

[-----]
Ἀπο[λ]λ[ο]δώρο[υ]
Χαλκιδέως
θυγάτηρ

No. 130

131. Fragment from the upper left side of a stele of Pentelic marble, surmounted by a pediment and broken at the right and bottom, found on February 23, 1933 in the wall of a modern house in Section Θ.

Height, 0.25 m.; width, 0.26 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.

Inv. No. 4048 I 482.

ΝΟΜΗΝ

Νομήν[ος-----]

No. 131

The date of the monument is early in the fourth century B.C.

132. Fragment from the left side of a small stele of Pentelic marble, found on February 15, 1933 in the wall of a modern house in Section Θ.

Height, 0.30 m.; width, 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.156 m.

Height of letters, 0.014 m.

Inv. No. 4007 I 476.



Εὐφάνης Μυρ[αἰνούσιος?]

No. 132

The stele belongs to the fourth century B.C.

133. Fragment from the upper part of a grave stele of Pentelic marble, crowned by a palmette in low relief, broken on all sides, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 636/24 in Section Θ.



Height, 0.288 m.; width, 0.23 m.; thickness, 0.105 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.012 m.

Inv. No. 3507 I 281.

Ἀριστο -----
Ἀρι[στ -----

No. 133

134. Fragment from the top of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 636/22 in Section Θ.



Height, 0.30 m.; approximate diameter, 0.34 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inv. No. 3502 I 278.

[- - -] δης
 [- - -] σίου
 [- - -] εἰδης[ς]

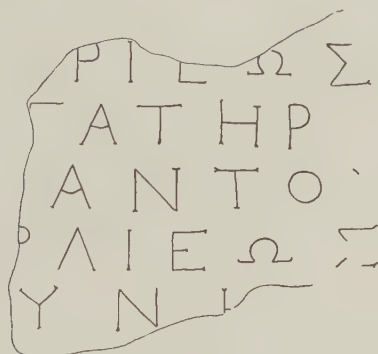
No. 134

135. Fragment of a columnar grave monument of whitish-blue marble, broken at the top and at the left of the inscription, found on June 9, 1931 in Section A.

Height, 0.23 m.; approximate diameter, 0.38 m.

Height of letters, 0.023 m.

Inv. No. 158 I 19.



 // // // // // // //
 [- -]οιέως
 [ην]γάτιο
 [- - -]άντων
 [- - -]οιέως
 [γ]νή

No. 135

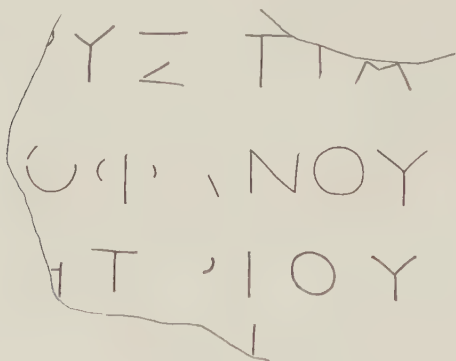
In line 3 the demotic may be restored either as [Στε]οιέως or [Ικα]οιέως. No demotic of Athens now known can be supplied in line 6, unless the lambda was intended as alpha (the cross-bar being omitted by error); in this case the restoration [Ηε]ο(α)ιέως is possible.

136. Fragment of a columnar grave monument of blue marble, found on June 5, 1931 in the wall of a modern house in Section A.

Height, 0.38 m.; diameter, 0.38 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. 150 I 11.



// // // // // // //
 [Κα]ρυσία
 [- -]οιέως
 [Ιη]οιέως
 [γ]νή

No. 136

137. Fragment of a columnar grave monument of blue marble, found on May 25, 1931 in the wall of a modern house 631/22 in Section E.



No. 137

Height, 0.14 m.; estimated diameter, 0.30 m.

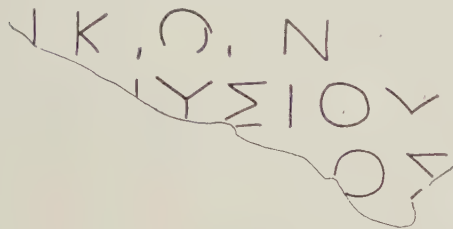
Height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inv. No. 143 I 4.

[Ζ]ωῆλος

[Ὁ]λβίου

138. Fragment of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on May 22, 1931 in the wall of a modern house 631/22 in Section E.



No. 138

Height, 0.19 m.; estimated diameter, 0.22 m.

Height of letters, 0.021 m.

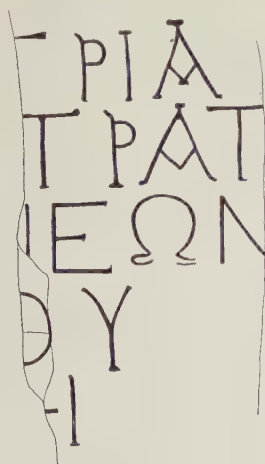
Inv. No. 142 I 3.

[Ν]ίκων

[Ἰο]νσίου

[- - -]ος

139. Fragment of a columnar grave monument of Pentelic marble, found on June 11, 1931 in Section E.



No. 139

Height, 0.42 m.; width, 0.165 m.; thickness, 0.135 m.

Height of letters, 0.05 m.

Inv. No. 165 I 26.

[Ἀρμη]τρία

[- - -]τράτ[ου]

[ἐξ - -]ιέων

[- - - - -]ου

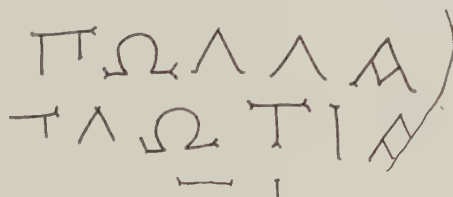
5 [γυν]ή

140. Fragment of a columnar grave monument of blue marble, found on June 26, 1931 in the wall of a modern house 631/19 in Section E.

Height, 0.17 m.; diameter, 0.20 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

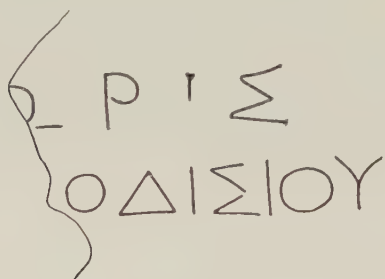
Inv. No. 182 I 43.



No. 140

Πῶλλα
Πλωτῖα
- - - ι - -

141. Fragment of a columnar grave monument of blue marble, found on February 4, 1932 in Section Δ.



No. 141

Height, 0.26 m.; diameter, 0.16 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. 1133 I 135.

[Δ]ωρὶς
[Ἀφρ]οδισίου

142. Fragment of a columnar grave monument of whitish marble, found on February 4, 1932 in Section A.

Height, 0.17 m.; width, 0.16 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

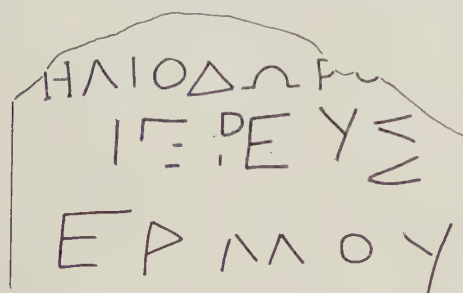
Inv. No. 1142 I 143.



No. 142

Νιζοῦ - - -
Ξε - - -
- - -

143. Fragment of Pentelic marble, with part of the left margin preserved, found on March 14, 1932 in the surface soil in Section Δ.



No. 143

Height, 0.25 m.; width, 0.22 m.;
thickness, 0.115 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.—0.025 m.

Inv. No. 1776 I 194.

Ἡλιόδωρο[ς]

ἱερεὺς

Ἐρανοῦ

144. Fragment of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 632/3B in Section Z.

Height, 0.18 m.; diameter, *ca.* 0.32 m.

Height of letters, 0.035 m.

Inv. No. 3474 I 254.



No. 144

[Α]θηνοδώρα

[Α]νητροί[ου]

145. Part of a columnar grave monument, found on February 4, 1932 in a late wall in Section ΣΤ.

Height, 0.23 m.; estimated diameter, 0.24 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m. and 0.038 m.

Inv. No. 1130 I 133.



No. 145

Κλαυδία - - - - -

Νοῦᾶ Σ - - - -

- - - // // - - - -

146. Fragment from a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 636/26 in Section Θ.



Height, 0.29 m.; estimated diameter,
ca. 0.50 m.

Height of letters, 0.06 m.

Inv. No. 3516 I 288.

Εἰσὶδ[ωρος]

[.]αφα[- - -]

No. 146

147. Fragment of a large columnar grave monument of Pentelic marble, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 636/31 in Section Θ.

Height, 0.105 m.; width, 0.39 m.; thickness, 0.22 m.

Height of letters, 0.035 m.

Inv. No. 3527 I 296.



'Ιπ[λ]ωρίον
[- - -]τένης

No. 147

148. Fragment of a large block of Pentelic marble, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 631/27 in Section Η.

Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.27 m.; thick-
ness, 0.15 m.

Height of letters, 0.04 m. and 0.024 m.

Inv. No. 3564 I 323.



----- ων
[- - -]θυ]γάτηρ
[- - -]εοφά[ν - -]

No. 148

149. Fragment from the left side of a block of Pentelic marble, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 631/12 in Section H.

Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.13 m.; thickness, 0.115 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.013 m.

Inv. No. 3589 I 341.



Κλα - - - -

Σθε - - - -

Θεογ - - - -

’Ονη - - - -

γυ[νῆ]

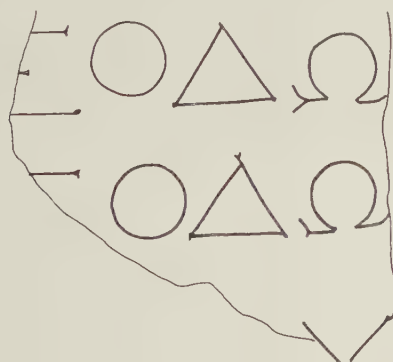
No. 149

150. Fragment from the top of a large columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 631/9 in Section H.

Height, 0.19 m.; width, 0.17 m.; thickness, 0.105 m.

Height of letters, 0.037 m.

Inv. No. 3591 I 342.



[Θ]εοδω[ρος]

[Θ]εοδω[ρος]

[- - -]ψ[- -]

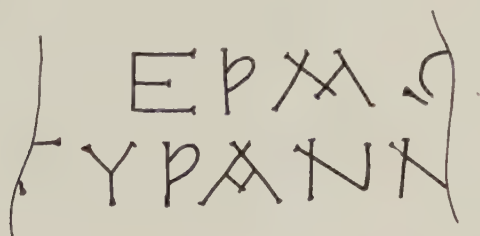
No. 150

151. Fragment of Pentelic marble, found early in 1933 in the wall of a modern house 646/6 in Section I.

Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.17 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.022 m.

Inv. No. 3620 I 369.



^εΕρχω[v]
Τυράν[ου]

No. 151

152. Fragment of a pedimental stele of Pentelic marble, broken in all sides, found on February 25, 1933 in a modern wall in Section I.

Height, 0.245 m.; width, 0.27 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. 4099 I 496.



[M]ηρώ Διονσοδ[ώρον - -]

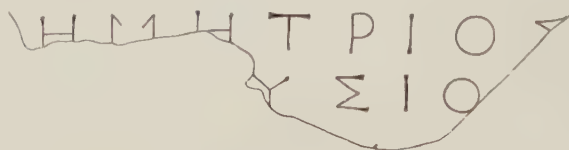
No. 152

153. Fragment from the top of a columnar grave monument of Pentelic marble, found on February 24, 1933 in a modern wall in Section I at 19/Γ.

Height, 0.295 m.; width, 0.39 m.; thickness, 0.23 m.

Height of letters, 0.033 m.

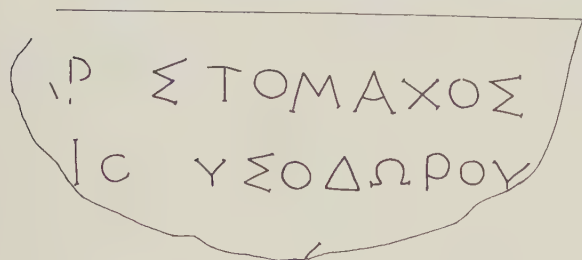
Inv. No. 4097 I 494.



[Δ]ημήτριος
[Διον]υσίο[v]

No. 153

154. Fragment from the top of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found early in 1933 in the wall of a modern house 646/3 in Section I.



No. 154

Height, 0.16 m.; diameter, 0.155 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.—0.019 m.

Inv. No. 3635 I 379.

Ἰσο[ι]στόμαχος

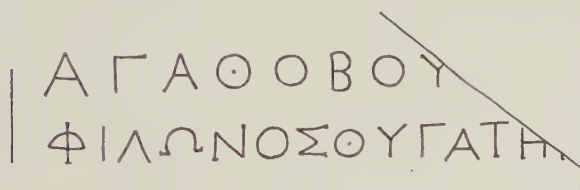
[Ι]σο[υ]υσοδώρου

155. Grave stele of Pentelic marble, found early in 1933 in the wall of a modern house 637/1 in Section M.

Height, 0.52 m.; width, 0.215 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.012 m.—0.015 m.

Inv. No. 3662 I 403.



No. 155

Ἀγαθοβού[λη]

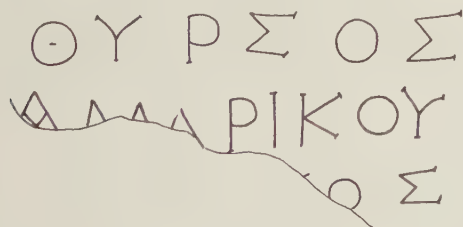
Φίλωνος θυγάτηρ

156. Top of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on February 8, 1933 in a modern wall in Section Z at 58/B.

Height, 0.28 m.; diameter, 0.185 m.

Height of letters, 0.018 m.

Inv. No. 3816 I 407.



No. 156

Θύρσος

Ἀλλήρικου

-----ος

157. Part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on February 11, 1933 in the wall of a modern house 646/2 in Section I.

Height, 0.34 m.; diameter, 0.145 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. 3884 I 454.

Ι Σ Ι ^ Σ
Η Λ Γ ^ Υ
Λ

Ἰσίδης
Ἡλ[ι]οδ[ώ]ου
Α-----

No. 157

158. Fragment of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on February 9, 1933 in the wall of a modern house 646/7 in Section I.

Height, 0.285 m.; width, 0.22 m.;
thickness, 0.12 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. 3871 I 441.

Α Π Ο Λ
Ο Λ Λ

Ἀπολλ[-----]
[Ἀπ]ολλο[δω]ρου
-----|-----

No. 158

159. Fragment of Pentelic marble, with a small part of the top surface preserved, found on February 9, 1933 in the wall of a modern house 646/7 in Section I.

Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.235 m.; thickness, 0.165 m.

Height of letters, 0.013 m.—0.023 m.

Inv. No. 3872 I 442.

Α Ξ Α Γ Ο Ρ Α

[Ἀν]αξαγόρα[ς]

No. 159

160. Fragment of bluish-white marble, with the upper edge preserved but broken on all other sides, found on January 29, 1932 in Section E at 10/KZ.

Height, 0.08 m.; width, 0.13 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.

Inv. No. 1073 I 116.

[E] *πίκτητος*

No. 160

161. Columnar grave monument of blue marble, found on July 16, 1931 in a drain in Section E at 20/Λ.

Height, 0.528 m.; diameter, approximately 0.16 m.

Height of letters, 0.017 m.

Inv. No. 204 I 65.

Σύρε[ος]

No. 161

162. Top part of a small columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on February 17, 1933 in Section H at 56/Γ.

Height, 0.37 m.; diameter, 0.13 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.—0.03 m.

Inv. No. 3986 I 464.

Σώσος

No. 162

163. Columnar grave monument of bluish-white marble, found in November, 1932 in the wall of a modern house 631/16 in Section H.

No. 163

Height, 0.25 m.; diameter, 0.13 m.
Height of letters, 0.022 m.
Inv. No. 3547 I 308.

Θεμ[ι]σων

164. Upper right corner of a block of bluish-white marble, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 631/27 in Section H.

Height, 0.115 m.; width, 0.165 m.; thickness, 0.025 m.
Height of letters, 0.025 m.
Inv. No. 3562 I 321.

No. 164

Λοκρ[ω]ς

This is probably the grave monument of a slave who was named after the place of his birth.

165. Upper right corner of a sculptured grave monument of Pentelic marble, found on July 9, 1931 in the wall of a modern house 631/25 in Section E.



No. 165

Height, 0.285 m.; width, 0.227 m.;
thickness, 0.119 m.
Height of letters, 0.012 m
Inv. No. 194 I 55.

[- - ε]ρθάδε κεῖται

166. Columnar grave monument of bluish marble, found on June 19, 1931 in Section A 23/1 at 2.25 m.

Height, 0.26 m.; diameter, 0.13 m.

Height of letters, approximately 0.022 m.

Inv. No. 177 I 38.

ΠΕΡΙΓΕΝΗΣ
ΣΑΤΥΡΙΣΚΟΥ
ΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ

Περγένης
Σατυρίσκου
χρηστός

No. 166

167. Fragment of a small columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 632/18 B in Section Z.

Height, 0.228 m.; diameter, 0.167 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. 3478 I 258.

ΡΗΣΙ

χρησι[ός]

No. 167

168. Columnar grave monument of bluish marble, found in November of 1932 in the wall of a modern house 631/27 in Section H.

Height, 0.28 m.; diameter, 0.14 m.

Height of letters, approximately 0.02 m.

Inv. No. 3561 I 320.

ΕΥΗΜΕΡΟΣ
ΧΑΙΡΕΙ

Ευήμερος
χαίρει

No. 168

169. Small columnar grave monument of Pentelic marble, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 631/13 in Section H.

Height, 0.40 m.; diameter, 0.125 m.

Height of letters, 0.014 m.

Inv. No. 3596 I 346.

Ι Ω Π Υ Ρ Ι Ω Ι Ν
Χ Ρ Η Σ - - Ο Σ

Ζωπυρίων
χρηστός

No. 169

170. Fragment of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found early in 1933 in the wall of a modern house 646/6 in Section I.

Height, 0.25 m.; diameter, 0.50 m.

Height of letters, 0.023 m.

Inv. No. 3628 I 377.

Α Σ Τ Ρ
Χ Ρ Η Σ

Ἀστρο[- -]
χρηστ[ός]

No. 170

171. Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found early in 1933 in the wall of a modern house 646/6 in Section I.

Height, 0.24 m.; diameter, 0.15 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.—0.035 m.

Inv. No. 3629 I 378.

Ε Ρ Μ Α Η Σ Κ Ο Σ
Χ Ρ Η Σ - - Ο Σ

Ἐρμούχοος
χρηστός

No. 171

172. Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in February of 1933 in Section H.

Height, 0.30 m.; diameter, 0.19 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.—0.025 m.

Inv. No. 3996 I 469.

ΠΛΑΤΩΝ
ΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ

Πλάτων
χρηστός

No. 172

173. Fragment of an inscribed stele, broken at the right and bottom, but with the original thickness preserved, found on February 23, 1933 in a modern wall in Section I.

D.
PUBLIC
LIBER.

Height, 0.255 m.; width, 0.345 m.;
thickness, 0.10 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.—0.035 m.

Inv. No. 4090 I 488.

D. [M.]
PublicI - - -
Liber(tI) - -
- - - - -

No. 173

The stone is a grave stele of a freedman, who had once been a *servus publicus*, and to whom freedom had been granted by a colony or municipality. Cf. Cagnat, *Épigraphie Latine* (3rd ed.), p. 83.

174. Upper right corner of a stele of Pentelic marble, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 631/13 in Section H.

Height, 0.30 m.; width, 0.45 m.; thickness, 0.18 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inv. No. 3595 I 345.

ΥΕΣΟΙΟΥ

[- - - - -] υ ἐξ Οὔου

No. 174

175. Fragment from the upper right corner of a stele of Pentelic marble, found early in 1933 in the wall of a modern house 646/6 in Section I.

Height, 0.215 m.; width, 0.125 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.—0.018 m.

Inv. No. 3617 I 366.

(ΑΔ|ΟΝΥC|ΟΥ|

[-----] α Διονυσίου
----- vacat

No. 175

MISCELLANEOUS

176. Plaque of blue marble, found on February 5, 1932 in Section E.

Height, 0.64 m.; width, 0.41 m.;
thickness, 0.14 m.

Height of letters, 0.04 m.

Inv. No. 1160 I 145.

Ε Π Α Γ Α
Θ Ω Τ Η Ι
Ο Ι Κ Ι Α

Ἐπ' ἀγα-
θῶ(ι) τῆς
οἰκίας

No. 176

177. Fragment of a block of Pentelic marble, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 631/9 in Section H.

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.45 m.; thickness, 0.18 m.

Height of letters, 0.05 m.

Inv. No. 3592 I 343.

ΥΦΡΟΛΥΝΝΙ
ΝΛΗΓΑΙΤΕΙΟΥ

No. 177

178. Part of a block of Pentelic marble, broken at both sides, but with top and bottom surfaces preserved, found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 636/24 in Section Θ.



No. 178

Height, 0.215 m.; width, 0.22 m.;
thickness, 0.27 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m. and
0.042 m.

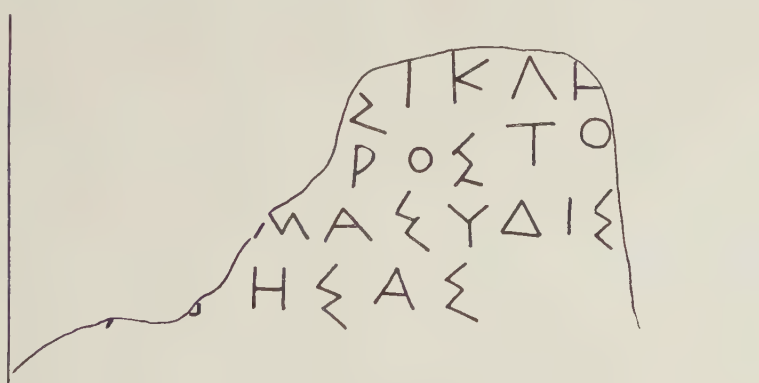
Inv. No. 3505 I 279.

179. Stele of Pentelic marble, broken away at the top, found in 1931 in Section Δ in the wall of a modern house.

Height, 0.342 m.; width, 0.18 m.; thickness, 0.113 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.01 m.

Inv. No. 1058 I 102.



No. 179

Note: For the sake of complete final publication, students of the documents here printed are earnestly requested to send reprints of articles they may write concerning them, or comments by letter, to Professor Benjamin D. Meritt, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, U.S.A.

BENJAMIN D. MERITT

The Johns Hopkins University

INDEX

NAMES OF MEN AND WOMEN

- Α* --- (Φλυεύς), councilor of Kekropis middle 3rd cent. B.C., 50 10.
Α.ια Ἀντιόχισσα, 111.
Ἀβους Μοσχίωνος Παιανιεύς, 94.
Ἀγάραχος (Κυδαθηναίεύς), councilor of Pandionis in 155/4, 21 71.
Ἀγαθο ---, father of [...7...]ς, 49 8.
Ἀγαθοβούλη Φίλωνος θυγάτηρ, 155.
Ἀγαθοκλῆς (Ἀτηνεύς), father of Κηφισόδωρος, 86.
Ἀγαθόστρατος (Ἀλμοούσιος), councilor of Leontis ca. 165 A.D., 42 22.
Ἀείστρατος (Κυθήριος), councilor of Pandionis in 155/4, 21 58.
Ἀθηνοδώρα Δημητρίου, 144.
Αἰαντίδης (Παιανιεύς), councilor of Pandionis in 155/4, 21 48.
Αἶ(λιος), cf. Πυθαγόρας.
Αἰσχίνης (Συπαλήτιος), father of Εὐβιος, 97.
Αἰσχίνης Αἰσχίνου (Φαληρεύς), councilor of Aiantis 1st cent. B.C., 41 6.
Αἰσχίνης (Φαληρεύς), father of preceding, 41 6.
Αἶσχω, father of Ἀρχέλεως, non-Attic, 6 12.
Αἶων (Παιανιεύς), councilor of Pandionis in 155/4, 21 49.
Ἀνίς Γλανκίου Μιλησία, 126.
Ἀλέξανδρος Εὐβούλου Στειριεύς, treasurer and councilor of Pandionis in 155/4, 21 6, 15, 19, 34.
Ἀλέξανδρος, 45 2.
Ἀλεξι ---, 19 13.
Ἀλεξιμαχος, father of Μητρού, 104.
Ἀλεξίς Χολαργεύς, 17 124.
Ἀμάριος, father of Θύρσος, 156.
Ἀναξαγόρας, 159.
Ἀναξίφρων Εὐφραγόρου Μαγαθώνιος, orator in 171/0, 17 9.
Ἀνδρον ---, father of [...6...]δης, 49 6.
Ἀνθεμίων Ἀντιλ --- (Φλυεύς), councilor of Kekropis middle 3rd cent. B.C., 50 8.
Ἀντιγένης, archon in 171/0, 17 2, 43, 61.
Ἀντικλῆς, archon in 325/4, 60 4.
Ἀντιλ --- (Φλυεύς), father of Ἀνθεμίων, 50 8.
Ἀντίοχος (Φαληρεύς), councilor of Aiantis 1st cent. B.C., 41 4.
Ἀντιπατρος (Ἀγγεληθεν), councilor of Pandionis in 155/4, 21 86.
Ἀντιφάνης, non-Attic, 6 11.
Ἀπήμαντος Ἀπημάντου (Φλυεύς), councilor of Kekropis middle 3rd cent. B.C., 50 6.
Ἀπήμαντος, father of preceding, 50 6.
Ἀπολ --- (Κυδαθηναίεύς), councilor of Pandionis in 155/4, 21 62.
Ἀπολλ --- Ἀπολλοδώρου, 158.
Ἀπολλόδωρος (Παιανιεύς), councilor of Pandionis in 155/4, 21 52.
Ἀπολλόδωρος, father of Ἀπολλ ---, 158.
Ἀπολλόδωρος, father of ---χος, 114.
Ἀπολλόδωρος Χαλκιδεύς, 130.
Ἀπολλοφάνης ---ον Σφήττιος, ca. 180 A.D., 43 4.
Ἀπολλοφάνης Ἀπολλοφάνου Ὑβάδης, 101.
Ἀπολλοφάνης Ὑβάδης, father of preceding, 101.
Ἀπολλώνιος (Ἀγγεληθεν), councilor of Pandionis in 155/4, 21 85.
Ἀπολλώνιος ἐκ Κεραμείων, 91.
Ἀπολλώνιος Εἰσιδώρου (Λευκοσεύς), councilor of Leontis ca. 165 A.D., father of Ἀφροδείσιος, 42 10, 13.
Ἀπολλώνιος, father of Διονυσία, 119.
Ἀπολλώνιος, 147.
Ἀρι ---, father of Ἀριστο ---, 133.

Ἀρίμνηστος (Φλυνεύς), father of Πολύμνηστος, 50 3.
 Ἀρισ --- Ἱερο --- Σουνιεύς, 96.
 Ἀριστείδης Θεογένου (Φρεάριος), councilor of
 Leontis ca. 165 A.D., 42 19.
 Ἀριστο ---, father of --- ιος, 41 12.
 Ἀριστο --- Ἀρι ---, 133.
 Ἀριστόβουλος, father of Ἡγήτωρ, 16 10.
 Ἀριστόδημος, priest in 339/8, 38 6.
 Ἀριστοκλῆς Διονυσ ---, councilor of Aiantis
 1st cent. B.C., 41 11.
 Ἀριστοκράτης Ἀφιδναῖος, 6 6.
 Ἀριστομ --- (Κυθήριος), councilor of Pandionis
 in 155/4, 21 59.
 Ἀριστόμαχος Διονυσόδωρου, 154.
 Ἀριστομένης Μαραθώνιος, treasurer ca. 200 B.C.,
 16 4.
 Ἀριστοφῶν, councilor of Aiantis in 166/5, 19 36.
 Ἀριστοφ[.]ν ---, 22 8.
 Ἀρίστων Ἀρίστανος, councilor of Aiantis 1st cent.
 B.C., 41 18.
 Ἀρίστων, father of preceding, 41 18.
 Ἀρίστων, father of [..⁶..]S, 49 7.
 Ἀρριος, cf. Τορκονάτος.
 Ἀρταξίας, father of Χάλινος, 107.
 Ἀρτεμίδωρος, councilor of Aiantis i 166/5, 19 42.
 Ἀρχεδ --- Ἡρακλεώτης, 113.
 Ἀρχέδημος (Φλυνεύς), father of Ἀρχέδικος, 50 9.
 Ἀρχέδικος Ἀρχε[δήμου] (Φλυνεύς), councilor of
 Kekropis middle 3rd cent. B.C., 50 9.
 Ἀρχέλεως Αἰσχρωνος, non-Attic, 6 12.
 Ἀρχιπνος (=Ἀρχιππος?) (Κυδαθηναεύς), councilor
 of Pandionis in 155/4, 21 68.
 Ἀσκλάπων Πειραιεύς, 21 26.
 Ἀσκληπιάδης, councilor of Aiantis in 166/5, 19 38.
 Ἀστεῖος, archon in 373/2, 3 1.
 Ἀστρα ---, 170.
 Ἀστύλοχος Ἡγησ(ίου), councilor of Aiantis in
 166/5, 19 44.
 Ἀστύλοχος, councilor of Aiantis in 166/5, 19 40.
 Ἀστύφιλος, orator in 373/2, 3 4.
 Ἀστύφιλος, non-Attic, 6 10.
 Ἄτταλος, of Pergamon, 18 14, 15.
 Ἄτταλος Θορίκιος, 89.
 Ἀττακός, son of P. Vibullius Rufus, 74 1, 2.

Ἀϋρ., 30 2, 48 5, cf. Εἰσιδωρος.
 Ἀϋρηλιανός) νε(ώτερος), councilor of Leontis
 ca. 165 A.D., 42 4.
 Ἀϋρηλιανός) πρ(εσβύτερος), councilor of Leontis
 ca. 165 A.D., 42 3.
 Ἀϋτίας (Ἀχαρνεύς), father of Ἀντοκλῆς, 5 2.
 Ἀντοκλε ---, father of --- ος, 3rd cent. B.C., 49 2.
 Ἀντοκλῆς Ἀντίου Ἀχαρνεύς, secretary in 327/6,
 5 2.
 Ἀφροδεῖσιος Εἰσιδώρου (Λευκονοεύς), councilor of
 Leontis ca. 165 A.D., 42 9.
 Ἀφροδεῖσιος Ἀπολλωνίου (Λευκονοεύς), councilor
 of Leontis ca. 165 A.D., 42 13.
 Ἀφροδεῖσιος (Κολωνήθεν), councilor of Leontis
 ca. 165 A.D., 42 16.
 Ἀφροδισία Φιλαργύρου Μειλησία, 123.
 Ἀφροδίσιος Ἐπαφροδίτου, ca. 180 A.D., 43 6.
 Ἀφροδίσιος, father of Δωρίς, 141.
 Ἀχαιός, archon in 166/5, 19 1.

 Πό(πλιος) Βιβούλλιος Ροῦφος, 74 1.
 Βόηθος (Κηφισιεύς), father of Ἱερώννυμος, 18 4.
 Βούλων (Κηφισιεύς), father of --- λος, 22 4.

 Ἰούλιος Γάιος ἐκ Πειραιέως, 95.
 Γάις, cf. Καρρεῖνας.
 Γλανκίας, father of Ἀκίς, 126.

 Δ ---, father of Θεόπομπος, 63 3.
 Δ ---, father of Δάχης, 63 4.
 Δ[.]ιδας, 45 8.
 Δημ --- (Φαληρεύς), father of Θεόφιλος, 41 8.
 Δημητρία, 139.
 Δημήτριος Ξένωνος Ἐπισηφίσιος, secretary in
 163/2, 20 2.
 Δημήτριος (Κυθήριος), councilor of Pandionis in
 155/4, 21 57.
 Δημήτριος Πόριος, 26 2.
 Δημήτριος, ephebos 2nd cent. A.D., 47 2.
 Δημήτριος, archon in 50/49, 66 4.
 Δημήτριος Διονυσίου, 153.
 Δημήτριος Φωκέως Τρινημερεύς, 100.
 Δημήτριος, 99 2.
 Δημήτριος, 136.

- Δημήτριος*, 144.
Δημόφιλος, 45 10.
Δημοφῶν Ἀναγράσιος, father of *Σόφων*, 85.
Δίκαιος, councilor of Pandionis in 155/4, 21 78.
Διογένης Νικίου Ταρσεύς, 128.
Διόγνητος, father of *Ξόβιος* (?), 121.
Διοκλῆς Διοκλέους Θυματιάδης, orator in 166/5, 19 5.
Διοκλῆς (Θυματιάδης), father of preceding, 19 5.
Διομίδης Κολλυτεύς, cf. *Καρρεῖνας*.
Διονυσ --- ("Οαθεν), councilor of Pandionis in 155/4, 21 89.
Διονυσ ---, father of *Ἀριστοκλῆς*, 41 11.
Διονυσία Ἀπολλωνίου Μηλία, 119.
Διονύσιος, councilor of Aiantis in 166/5, 19 41.
Διονύσιος Στράτωνος, councilor of Aiantis 1st cent. B.C., 41 16.
Διονύσιος), councilor of Leontis ca. 165 A.D., 42 5.
Διονύσιος Ἀθμονεύς, 83.
Διονύσιος Ῥαμνούσιος, 64 4.
Διονύσιος (Φαληρεύς), father of *Κρα[.]ίδης*, 41 7.
Διονύσιος, father of *Δημήτριος*, 153.
Διονύσιος, father of *Εὐτυχῆς*, 120.
Διονύσιος, father of *Νίκων*, 138.
Διονύσιος, 175.
Διονυσιογένης (Παιανιεύς), councilor of Pandionis in 155/4, 21 41.
Διονυσόδωρος, father of *Μνησώ*, 152.
Διονυσόδωρος, 154.
Διόφαντος, 23 2.
Δωρίς Ἀφροδισίου, 141.
Δῶρος Προβαλίσσιος, 17 118.

Ε ---, father of --- ος, 46 2.
Εικάδιος, father of *Νίκων*, 118.
Είρηνη ---, 53 4.
Εισίδωρος, cf. *Ἰσίδωρος*.
Εισίδωρος Εὐκάρπου (Λευκονοεύς), councilor of Leontis ca. 165 A.D., father of *Ἀπολλώνιος*, *Ἀφροδείσιος*, and *Εὐκαρπος*, 42 7-10.
Εισίδωρος) (Λευκονοεύς), councilor of Leontis ca. 165 A.D., 42 11.
Εισίδωρος Ὀν --- Ἀναγράσιος, ca. 180 A.D., 43 2.

Εισίδωρος, 68 4.
Εισίδωρος, son of preceding, 68 5.
Εισίδωρος [.]αρα ---, 146.
Εὐρ. Εισίδωρος, 48 4.
Ἐπάραθος Α ---, 80.
Ἐπαμεινων (Προβαλίσσιος), father of *Θεόμνηστος* and [...]*αρχος*, 19 14, 15.
Ἐπαφροδίτεος, 122.
Ἐπαφροδίτος, father of *Ἀφροδίσσιος*, 43 6.
Ἐπιγένης Χολαργεύς, 103.
Ἐπικτητος, 160.
Ἐραστος, archon in 163/2, 20 2, 32.
Ἐρμαιῆσκος, 171.
Ἐρμαῖος Σπένδοντος (Φρεάριος), councilor of Leontis ca. 165 A.D., 42 18.
Ἐρμαῖος Αἰγύπτιος, 105.
Ἐρμαῖος Ἀντιοχεύς, 106.
Ἐρμείας) *Ἀξηγιεύς*, ca. 180 A.D., 43 8.
Ἐρμιοκλῆς [...]λείδου Ἐρμείος, treasurer in 166/5, 19 17, 49.
Ἐρμων Τυράννου, 151.
Ἐρωτὶς Φοίνισσα, 129.
Εὐ ---, 47 6.
Εὐάνδρος, archon late 3rd cent. B.C., 14 2.
Εὐάνθης (Ῥαμνούσιος), 76.
Εὐβ --- (Φλυεύς), father of *Νικηράτος*, 50 5.
Εὐβιος Αἰσχίνου Συναλήττιος, 97.
Εὐβίσιος (Φλυεύς), father of --- δης, 64 3.
Εὐβουλος (Στειριεύς), father of *Ἀλέξανδρος*, 21 19.
Εὐήμερος, 168.
Εὐθύμαχος Θορίκιος, 84 5.
Εὐκαρπος Εισιδώρου (Λευκονοεύς), councilor of Leontis ca. 165 A.D., 42 8.
Εὐκαρπος (Λευκονοεύς), father of *Εισίδωρος*, grandfather of the preceding, 42 7.
Εὐκαρπος) (Λευκονοεύς), councilor of Leontis ca. 165 A.D., 42 12.
Εὐκλείδης, councilor of Aiantis in 166/5, 19 32.
Εὐκλῆς Βεργενικίδης, herald, [16 13].
Εὐκλῆς Τριγεμεεύς, herald in 155/4, 21 25.
Εὐνικος, archon in 169/8, 18 2.
Εὐνομος, councilor of Pandionis in 155/4, 21 82.
Εὐνους Πάπου Σινωπεύς, 127.
Εὐπορος, 45 9.

Εὐρυκλείδης Μυκίωνος Κηφισιεύς, 61 2.
Εὐτυχὴς Διονυσίου Μειλήσιος, 120.
Εὐτυχίδης (Παιανιεύς), 46 9.
Εὐτυχος, 45 5.
Εὐφάνης Μυρρινούσιος, 132.
Εὐφίλητος Ἐλευσίνιος, father of Ὀλυμπιάς, 88.
Εὐφραγόρας (Μαραθώνιος), father of Ἀναξίφρων, 17 9.
Εὐφρόνιος (Παιανιεύς), councilor of Pandionis in 155/4, 21 38.
Ἐχέφυλος (Ἀχαρνεύς), father of Θεοφανίδης, 17 7.

Ζήνων Με ---, 63 5.
Ζωῖλος Ὀλβίου, 137.
Ζωπυρίων, 169.
Ζώπυρος (Παιανιεύς), councilor of Pandionis in 155/4, 21 39.

Ἡγήμων, archon in 327/6, 5 [1], 8.
Ἡγήσιος, father of Ἀστύλοχος, 19 44.
Ἡγήτωρ Ἀριστοβούλου, treasurer *ca.* 200 B.C., 16 10.
Πομ. Ἡγίας Φαληρεὺς, 44 3.
Ἡλιόδωρος, 143.
Ἡλιόδωρος, father of Ἰσίας, 157.
Ἡρακλείδης, father of --- ξίδης, 46 4.
Ἡρακλείδης Μενεκράτους Ἀφιδναῖος, 87.
Ἡράκλειτος Κηφισιεύς, 13 5.
Ἡράκλειτος Στράτωνος Φλυνεύς, orator in 155/4, 21 13.
Ἡρακλέων Ναν(ν)άκου Εὐπυρίδης, secretary in 166/5, 19 1.

Θεμισών, 163.
Θεογ ---, 149.
Θεογείτων (Γαμνούσιος), father of Πάμφιλος, 6 3.
Θεογένης (Φρεάριος), father of Ἀριστείδης, 42 19.
Θεόδωρος (Πλωθεύς), father of Νικων, 7 4.
Θεόδωρος, 22 7.
Θεόδωρος Θεοδώρου, 150.
Θεόδωρος, father of preceding, 150.
Θεοκλείδης, councilor of Aiantis in 166/5, 19 27.
Θεόμνηστος Ἐπαμεινονος Προβαλίσσιος, a secretary in 166/5, 19 14.

Θεόξενος --- εἰς . . ρος Ἀχαρνεύς, proedros in 166/5, 19 4.
Θεόπομπος Α ---, 63 3.
Θεόφημος (Κυδαθηναιεύς), councilor of Pandionis in 155/4, 21 70.
Θεόφιλος Δημ --- (Φαληρεὺς), councilor of Aiantis 1st cent. B.C., 41 8.
Θεοφανίδης Ἐχεφύλου Ἀχαρνεύς, proedros in 171/0, 17 6.
Θουδαιτής Διομεύς, secretary in 373/2, 3 2.
Θράσων Τισάνδρου, councilor of Aiantis 1st cent. B.C., 41 15.
Θύρσος Ἀμαζίκου --- ος, 156.

Ἰάσων Ἰάσωνος, councilor of Aiantis 1st cent. B.C., 41 2.
Ἰάσων, father of preceding, 41 2.
Ἰερο --- (Σουνιεύς), father of Ἀρισ ---, 96.
Ἱεροφών Κράτητος ἐκ Κοίλης, 92.
Ἱερώνυμος Βοήθου Κηφισιεύς, secretary in 169/8, 18 3.
Ἰούλιος cf. Γάιος.
Ἰσίας Ἡλιοδώρου Α ---, 157.
Ἰσίδωρος cf. Εἰσίδωρος.
Ἰσίδωρος, father of Καλλιθέα, 110.

Καλλίας, councilor of Pandionis in 155/4, 21 83.
Καλλιθέα Ἰσιδώρου Ἀντιοχίς, 110.
Καλλιμαχος (Παιανιεύς), councilor of Pandionis in 155/4, 21 45.
Καλλιφάνης Φυλάσιος, 18 13.
Καλπ ---, 70 6.
Κάρπος) (Ἀλμοσύσιος), councilor of Leontis *ca.* 165 A.D., 42 21.
Γάϊς Καρρεΐνας Διονυμίδης Κολλυντεύς, 93.
Κέρδων Ἡρακλεώτης, 112.
Κηφισο --- (Φλυνεύς), father of [...] τελος, 50 4.
Κηφισογένης Ἀχαρνεύς, 6 9.
Κηφισοδόωρος Ἀγαθοκλέους Ἀθηνεύς, 86.
Κηφισοφών Λυσίου Λαμπρεὺς, late 3rd cent. B.C., 49 5.
Κίθυς Θραξ, 115.
Κινέας Νικομάχου Λαμπρεὺς, late 3rd cent. B.C., 49 3, 4.

Κίττος, 59.

Κλα ---, 149.

Κλανδία, 145.

Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος, --- κρᾶ...δον υἱός, Κυρεῖνα(ι),
Οινόφιλος Τροκοῦσίος, 70.

Κλέαρχος (Κυθήριος), councilor of Pandionis in
155/4, 21 56.

Κλειδήμος, councilor of Aiantis in 166/5, 19 28.

Κλέων, father of Λάδοκος, 41 13.

Κόροιβος, archon in 306/5, 6 1.

Κρᾶ...ίδης Διονυσίου (Φαληρεύς), councilor of
Aiantis 1st cent. B.C., 41 7.

Κράτης ἐκ Κοίλης, father of Ἱεροφῶν, 92.

Κράτης (Παιανεύς), father of Φιλίσκος, 21 9.

Κράτων (Κυδαθηναεὺς), councilor of Pandionis
in 155/4, 21 65.

Κριτόλαος (Παιανεύς), councilor of Pandionis in
155/4, 21 46.

Κρώμαχος Παλληνεύς, 17 124.

Κτέατος (?) Σφήτιος, 98.

Κτησυκλῆς Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, 84 2.

Κυδίας, councilor of Aiantis in 166/5, 19 33.

Λάδοκος Κλέωνος, councilor of Aiantis 1st cent. B.C.,
41 13.

Λάχης Α ---, 63 4.

Λάχης Λάχητος Ἀντιοχεύς, 109.

Λάχης, father of preceding, 109.

Λέαργος Ἀσκληπίωνος Πειραιεύς, treasurer in
155/4, 21 26.

Λευκ ---, 45 13.

Λεχίδημος (Κυθήριος), councilor of Pandionis in
155/4, 21 55.

Λεωφ --- (Λευκονοεύς), 10 4.

Ληναῖς Μενεκράτους Κειριάδου θυγάτηρ, 90.

Λοκρός, 164.

Λυκο --- (Λευκονοεύς), 10 3.

Λύκων), 53 5.

Λυσιμαχίδης, archon in 339/8, 38 5.

Λυσίνος (Λαμπρεύς), father of Κηφισοφῶν, 49 5.

Μανία Μηροδώρου Μιλ[ησ]ία, 125.

Μᾶρκος, cf. Π[...].κος, Φιλ ---.

Με ---, father of Ζήνων, 63 5.

Μεριστόδωρος) (Λευκονοεύς), councilor of Leontis
ca. 165 A.D., 42 14.

Μενεκράτης (Ἀφιδναῖος), father of Ἱεραικλείδης,
87.

Μενεκράτης Κειριάδης, 90.

Μενίσκος Κολωνῆθεν, paidotribes, 27 3.

Μένυλλος, councilor of Aiantis in 166/5, 19 37.

Μετώπα Κερκυραία, 116.

Μηνόδωρος Στι(ριεύς), father of --- ης, 46 6.

Μηνόδωρος, father of Μανία, 125.

Μητροδόωρος, 54 4.

Μητρῶ Ἀλεξιμάχου Ἀνκυράνη, 104.

Μικίων Κηφισεύς, father of Εὐρυκλείδης, 61 2.

Μνησίθεος, archon in 155/4, 21 8.

Μνήσιος, 39 1.

Μνησῶ Διονυσοδώρου, 152.

Μοσχίων Πολυκλέους Ἀντιοχεύς, 108.

Μοσχίων (Παιανεύς), 94.

Μουσ ---, 124.

Μουσικὸς (Εὐπυριδῆς), father of Σώστρατος, 46 10.

Μύρων (Εὐπυριδῆς), 46 11.

Μύρων Λαμπρεύς, ca. 180 A.D., 43 9.

Νάν(ν)ακος (Εὐπυριδῆς), father of Ἱεραικλέων,
19 2.

Νέανδρος ἐκ Κεραμέων, 17 124.

Νει ---, father of Φειδίας, 47 3.

Νευκίας, 79 1.

Νεοκλῆς Βερενικίδης, 16 13.

Νεο[...]σης (Κυδαθηναεὺς), councilor of Pandionis
in 155/4, 21 73.

Νικανδρος (Κυδαθηναεὺς), councilor of Pandionis
in 155/4, 21 61.

Νικήρατος, 45 3.

Νικήρατος Εὐβ --- (Φλυεύς), councilor of Kekropis
middle 3rd cent. B.C., 50 5.

Νικησία Σιτ[...]ου, non-Attic, 6 13.

Νικήτης, councilor of Aiantis in 166/5, 19 31.

Νικίας, 39 21.

Νικίας, father of Διογένης, 128.

Νικίας, father of --- χος, 46 3.

Νικόβουλος (Παιανεύς), councilor of Pandionis in
155/4, 21 40.

Νικόδωρος, 23 3.

Νικοκλειδης (Φρεάριος), father of *Νικόμαχος*, 102.

Νικοκλης, archon in 302/1, 7 2.

Νικόμαχος Ἀφιδναῖος, 17 118.

Νικόμαχος Κινέου Λαμπιτρέως, late 3rd cent. B.C., 49 4.

Νικόμαχος (Λαμπιτρέως), grandfather of preceding, father of *Κινέας*, 49 3.

Νικόμαχος Τελε --- Μυρρινοῦσιος, priest in 155/4, 21 21.

Νικόμαχος *Νικοκλείδου* Φρεάριος, 102.

Νικος --- Ξε ---, 142.

Νικόστρατος (Παιανιεύς), councilor of Pandionis in 155/4, 21 51.

Νικων Θεοδώρου Πλωθεύς, secretary in 302/1, 7 4.

Νικων (Κυδαθηναιεύς), councilor of Pandionis in 155/4, 21 63.

Νικων Διονυσίου --- ος, 138.

Νικων Εἰκαδίου Αὑσισμαχεύς, 118.

Νουτα, 145.

Νομήμιος — *Νομήμιος*, 131.

Νομήμιος, councilor of Pandionis in 155/4, 21 80.

Ξε ---, father of *Νικος* ---, 142.

Ξένων, councilor of Aiantis in 166/5, 19 39.

Ξένων (᾽Οαθεν), councilor of Pandionis in 155/4, 21 88.

Ξένων (᾽Επικηφτίσιος), father of *Δημήτριος*, 20 3.

Ξώβιος (?) Διογνήτου Μιλήσιος, 121.

Οινόφιλος, cf. *Τιβέριος* Κλαύδιος.

Ὀλβιος, father of *Ζωῖλος*, 137.

Ὀλυμπιάς Εὐφιλήτου ᾽Ελευσινίου θυγάτηρ, 88.

Ὀν --- (᾽Αναγνώσιος), father of *Εἰσίδωρος*, 43 2.

Ὀνη ---, 149.

Ὀνομακλῆς Σμικύθου, non-Attic, 6 10.

Ὀῦφριος, 45 12.

Μᾶρκος Π[...]*κος*, councilor of Aiantis 1st cent. B.C., 41 10.

Πα --- ος, 45 6.

Πάμφιλος, proedros in 327/6, 5 5.

Πάμφιλος Θεοργέτονος ᾽Ραμνοῦσιος, secretary in 306/5, 6 2.

Πάπος (Σινωπεύς), father of *Εὐνους*, 127.

Πε...δρος (Παιονίδης), 54 3.

Πείρων, 33 2.

Περγιένης Τρικορούσιος, 99.

Περγιένης Σατυρίσκου, 166.

Πλάτων, 172.

Πλωτία, 140.

Πόδιππος, councilor of Aiantis in 166/5, 19 29.

Πολε ---, 45 1.

Πολυκλῆς, father of *Μοσχίων* ᾽Αντιοχεύς, 108.

Πολυκράτης (Κυδαθηναιεύς), councilor of Pandionis in 155/4, 21 69.

Πολύμνηστος Ἀρμυνίστου (Φλυεύς), councilor of Kekropis middle 3rd cent. B.C., 50 3.

Πολύστρατος Πολυστράτου (Φλυεύς), councilor of Kekropis middle 3rd cent. B.C., 50 7.

Πολύστρατος, father of preceding, 50 7.

Πολύστρατος, councilor of Aiantis in 166/5, 19 25.

Πομπήριος, cf. ᾽Ηρίας.

Πό(π)λιος, 46 11, cf. *Βιβούλλιος*.

Ποσειδιππος (Παιανιεύς), councilor of Pandionis in 155/4, 21 50.

Publicius, 173.

Πυθαγόρας Ἀμαξαντεύς, 21 24.

Αἰ(λιος) Πυθαγόρας (Βησαιεύς), 52 6.

Πῶλλα Πλωτία, 140.

᾽Ροῦφος, cf. *Βιβούλλιος*.

Σαβῖνος, 67 1.

Σατυρίσκος, father of *Περγιένης*, 166.

Σάτυρος Σατύρου ἐκ Κολωνοῦ, orator in 169/8, 18 12.

Σάτυρος, father of preceding, 18 12.

Σθε ---, 149.

Σιληνός Παιανιεύς, a secretary and councilor of Pandionis in 155/4, 21 20, 37.

Σιμωνίδης, councilor of Pandionis in 155/4, 21 79.

Σιτ[...]ος, non-Attic, father of *Νικησίας*, 6 13.

Σμικνθος, non-Attic, father of ᾽Ονομακλῆς, 6 10.

Σοντιάδης (, councilor of Aiantis 1st cent. B.C., 41 14.

Σόφων Δημοφώντος ᾽Αναγνώσιος, 85.

Σπένδων (Φρεάριος), father of ᾽Ερμαῖος, 42 18.

Στέφανος Ἀττάλου Θορίσιος, 89.

- Στησίχορος*, 16 2.
Στράτιος, councilor of Aiantis in 166/5, 19 26.
Στράτων (*Φλυεύς*), father of *Ἡράκλειτος*, 21 13.
Στράτων, father of *Διονύσιος*, 41 16.
Σύρος, 161.
Σω ---- (*Ἀλωπεκῆθεν*), father of *Σώσανδρος*,
 17 3, 41.
Σωκράτης (*Κυδαθηναεύς*), councilor of Pandionis
 in 155/4, 21 66.
Σωκράτης (*Κυθήριος*), councilor of Pandionis in
 155/4, 21 54.
Σωκράτης *Κηφισιεύς*, 28 9.
Σωσ --- (*Κηφισιεύς*), father of [...σ]τρ[α]τος,
 22 3.
Σώσανδρος *Σω*[...]μ[.]ου[ς] *Ἀλωπεκῆθεν*,
 secretary in 171/0, 17 3, [44].
Σωσίας (*Ἀχαρνεύς*), 21 12.
Σωσίας, 124.
Σωσίβιος (*Κυδαθηναεύς*), councilor of Pandionis
 in 155/4, 21 67.
Σωσιγένης, archon in 172/1, 17 10, [27], 51, 83.
Σώσος, councilor of Aiantis in 166/5, 19 35.
Σώσος, 162.
Σώστρατος (*Παιανεύς*), councilor of Pandionis in
 155/4, 21 44.
Σώστρατος *Μουσικῷ Εὐπυρίδης*, ephebos of Leontis
ca. 100 A.D., 46 10.
Σώτας, councilor of Aiantis in 166/5, 19 43.

Τειμ ---, ephebos 2nd cent. A.D., 47 5.
Τελε --- (*Μυρρινούσιος*); father of *Νικόμαχος*,
 21 21.
Τελεσ --- (*Δενκονοεύς*), 10 5.
Τελεσοκράτης, 39 25.
Τέχων *Φηγαιεύς*, 21 25.
Τιβέριος, cf. *Κλαύδιος*.
Τιμασίθεος, councilor of Pandionis in 155/4, 21 81.
Τιμοκ ---, *ca.* 325 B.C., 32 2, [8].
Τιμοκράτης (, councilor of Aiantis 1st cent. B.C.,
 41 17.
Τιμόστρατος, 63 6.
Τίμων (*Παιανεύς*), councilor of Pandionis in 155/4,
 21 43.
Τίσανδρος, father of *Θράσων*, 41 15.

Ἄρριος *Τορκονᾶτος*, 70 5.
Τρυφέρα *Ἐπαφροδείτου Μειλησία*, 122.
Τρύφων, 45 11.
Τυραννίς, 78.
Τύραννος, father of *Ἐρμών*, 151.

Φανίας (*Κυδαθηναεύς*), councilor of Pandionis in
 155/4, 21 64.
Φειδίας *Νει* ---, ephebos 2nd cent. A.D., 47 3.
Μᾶρκος *Φιλ* --- (*Βησαιεύς*), 52 7.
Φιλάργυρος, father of *Ἀφροδισία*, 123.
Φιλήμων, archon 1st or 2nd cent. B.C., 64.
Φιλήμων, 25 6.
Φίλιππος (*Βησαιεύς*), 52 8.
Φιλίσκος *Κράτητος Παιανεύς*, secretary in 155/4,
 21 9.
Φιλιστίδης (*Πειραιεύς*), father of¹⁰...., 33 1.
Φιλοκλῆς *Τρινεμεεύς*, herald in 166/5, 19 16, 52.
Φιλοξενίδης, councilor of Aiantis in 166/5, 19 30.
Φίλων, father of *Ἀγαθοβούλη*, 155.
Φυρταῖος (*Κυδαθηναεύς*), councilor of Pandionis
 in 155/4, 21 72.
Φωκεὺς *Τρινεμεεύς*, 100.

Χαιρέδημος *Λαμπτρέυς*, a secretary in 155/4,
 21 23.
Χαιρώνδης, archon in 338/7, 38 11, 57 1.
Χάλινος *Ἀρταξίου Ἀντιοχεύς*, 107.
Χαρ --- *Ἀθμονεύς*, 82.
Χάρης (*Παιανεύς*), councilor of Pandionis in
 155/4, 21 42.
Χαρίας, archon in 164/3, 20 9.
Χαρῖνος, councilor of Aiantis in 166/5, 19 34.

[.]ι ---, archon, 12.
[.]ινίας (*Στειριεύς*), councilor of Pandionis in
 155/4, 21 35.
[.]ίων (*Παιανεύς*), councilor of Pandionis in
 155/4, 21 47.
[.]σιγένης, 45 4.
[.]τελος *Κηφισο* --- (*Φλυεύς*), councilor of
Kekropis middle 3rd cent. B.C., 50 4.
[....]αρχος *Ἐπαμεινονος Προβαλίσσιος*, 19 15, 46.

[...]*λειδης* (*Ἐρμειος*), father of *Ἐρμουκλῆς*, 19 17.
 [...]*σ*[*τ*]*α* *τος* *Σωσ* --- (*Κηφισιεύς*), 22 3.
 [...⁶...] *δης* *Ἀνδροκ* ---, *ca.* 200 B.C., 49 6.
 [...⁶...] *ς* *Ἀρίστων*[*ος*], *ca.* 200 B.C., 49 7.
 [...⁷...] *ς* *Ἀγαθο* ---, *ca.* 200 B.C., 49 8.
 [...¹⁰...] *Ἀρισ* *τοκράτον* *Ἀφιδναί*[*ος*], proedros
 in 306/5, 6 6.
 [...¹⁰...] *ς* *Φιλιστίδου* (*Πειραιεύς*), 33 1.
 --- *α* *Διονυσίου*, 175.
 --- *αῖς* --- *σμός* *εος* [*Με*] *λησία*, 124.
 --- *άνης*, *ca.* 200 B.C., 49 1.
 --- *άντης* (or --- *αντος*) *Πειραιεύς*, 135 5.
 --- *άτης*, 22 9.
 --- *δης*, archon, 81 2.
 --- *δης* *Εὐβιότου* *Φλυεύς*, 64 3.
 --- *δης* --- *σίον* --- *εῖδης*, 134.
 --- *διος* *Φιλαΐδης*, 66 3.
 --- *δισκος*, councilor of Leontis, *ca.* 165 A.D., 42 2.
 --- *ης* *Μηροδώρου* *Στι(ριεύς)*, ephēbos of Pan-
 dionis, *ca.* 100 A.D., 46 6.
 [--- *ι*] *μβροτος*, 53 1.
 --- *ιος* *Φα* ---, 69 2.
 --- *ιος* *Ἀρ*[*ισ*]*ο* ---, councilor of Aiantis
 1st cent. B.C., 41 12.
 --- *ις* *Ἐπαγάθου* *Ἀ* ---, 80 1.

--- *λος* *Βούλω*[*νος*] (*Κηφισιεύς*), 22 4.
 --- *λωτος* (*Φαληρεύς*), 80 2.
 --- *ν* --- *τοχάρου* *ἐκ* *Κεραμέων*, *ca.* 200 B.C.,
 16 11.
 --- *ξίδης* *Ἡρακλείδου*, ephēbos of Pandionis
ca. 100 A.D., 46 4.
 --- *ογένης*, 45 12.
 --- *ος* *Ἀντοκλε* ---, *ca.* 200 B.C., 49 2.
 --- *ος* *Ε* ---, ephēbos of Pandionis, *ca.* 100 A.D.,
 46 2.
 --- *ος*) *Παι(ανεύς)*, ephēbos of Pandionis
ca. 100 A.D., 46 5.
 --- *οφάνης*, 136.
 --- *ς* *Στησιγόρ*[*ου*], orator *ca.* 200 B.C., 16 2.
 --- *σιος*, father of --- *δης*, 134.
 --- *σμός* *εος* (gen.), father of --- *αῖς*, 124.
 --- *στρατος* *Εἰλην* ---, 53 4.
 --- *τος*) *Στι(ριεύς)*, 46 7.
 --- *τοχάρης* *ἐκ* *Κεραμέων*, 16 11.
 --- *τρατος*, 139.
 --- *χος* *Ἀπολλοδώρου* *Ἡρακλεώτης*, 114.
 --- *χος* *Νικίου*, ephēbos of Pandionis, *ca.* 100 A.D.,
 46 3.
 --- *Σωσίου* *Ἀχαρνεύς*, proedros in 155/4, 21 11.
 --- --- *ωνος* *Σκ[αμβωνίδης]*, 51.

EMPERORS AND THEIR FAMILIES

Trajan: [*Ἀντοκρά*]*τορα* *Καί*[*σαρα*, *θε*] *οὔ* *Νέρου*[*α*
νίου], *Νέρουαν* [*Τραϊανό*]*ν* *Σεβασ*[*τόν* ---], 72.
 Hadrian: *Ἀντοκράτορι* *Ἀδριανῶ(ι)* *Ὀλυνπίω(ι)*, 73.
 [*Ἀντ*]*ο(κ)ράτω*[*ρ* *Καῖσαρ*, *θεοῦ* *Τραϊανοῦ* *Παυ-*
θικοῦ *νιός*, *Τραϊανός* *Ἀδριανός* *Σεβασ*] *τός*, *ἀρχ-*
ιε[*ρ* *εὐς* *μέγιστος*, *δημαρχικῆς* *ἐξουσίας* *τὸ* ---,
ἕπατος *τὸ* ---, *πατήρ* *πατρ*] *ίδος*, 29 A 6.

Julia Domna, see Geta.

Pertinax, see Geta.

Geta: [*Ἀντοκράτορα* *Καῖσαρα* *Λονκίου* *Σεπτιμίου*
Σ] *εονή*[*ρου* *Εὐσεβοῦς*] *Περτίν*[*ακος* *Σεβα*] *στοῦ*
Ἀ[*ραβικοῦ* *Ἀδ*] *ιβήν*[*κοῦ* *Παρθικοῦ* *μεγίστου*]
Εὐτυχ[*οῦς* *καὶ* *Ἰουλίας*] *Δόμν*[*ας* *Σεβαστῆς*
νίου], *Πό*[*πλιον* *Σεπτίμιον* *Γέταν*], 75.

GEOGRAPHICAL

Ἀ[.] *οσο* ---, 124.

Ἀγγεληθεν, 21 84.

Ἀζημιεύς, 43 8.

Ἀθηναίος, 9 13, 62 2.

Ἀθμιονεύς, 51 3, 82, 83.

Αἰαντίς, [16 3], 17 101, 19 6.

Αἰνύπτιος, 105.

Ἀκαμαντίς, [3 1].

- Ἀλμιούσιος*, 42²⁰.
Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, 17³, [44], 84³.
Ἀμαξαντεύς, 21²⁴.
Ἀναγυράσιος, 43³, 85.
Ἀγκυράνη, 104.
Ἀντιοχεύς, 106, 107, 108, 109.
Ἀντιοχίς, 110.
Ἀντιόχισσα, 111.
Ἀντιοχίς, Athenian phyle, 17¹⁰⁶.
Ἀπολλωνία, 65⁶.
Ἄρειος πάρος, 67, 68³, 69.
Ἀσία —, 18¹⁴.
Ἀτηνεύς, 86.
Ἀτταλίς, 17¹⁰⁹, 18².
Ἀττι[κ —], 30⁸.
Ἀττιή, 24¹¹.
Ἀφιδναῖος, 6⁷, 17¹¹⁹, 87.
Ἀχαρνεύς, [5²], 6⁹, 8¹⁴, 17⁷, 19⁴, 21¹².

Βερεινικίδης, 16¹³.
Βησαιεύς, 52⁵.

Δηκελεύς (= *Δεκελεύς*?), 57⁴.
Δήλος, 34⁶.
Δημητριάς, Athenian phyle, 6¹.
Διομεεύς, [3²].

Ἐλευσίνιος, 88.
Ἐπικηφίσιος, 20³.
Ἐρεχθίδης, 17², [84].
Ἐρμειος, 19 [18], 50.
Εὐπυριδής, 19², 46 [10], 11, 14.

Ἡρακλεώτης, 112, 113, 114.

Θήβαι, 65⁹, 105.
Θορίκιος, 84⁶, 89.
Θοῦξ, 115.
Θριάσιος, 5⁷, 55³.
Θυμαιάδης, 19⁵.

Ἰκαριεύς, 135³.
Ἰπποθωντίς, 17⁹⁵, 21⁸.

Καρυστία, 136.
Κειριάδης, 90.
Κεραμεύς, 16¹¹, 17¹²⁵, 91.

Κερκυραία, 116.
Κηφισιεύς, 13⁶, 18⁴, 22², 28¹⁰, 61².
Κοίλη, 92.
Κολλαντεύς, 93.
Κολωνήθεν, 27⁴, 42¹⁵, 47⁴.
Κολωνός, 18¹².
Κυδαθηναϊεύς, 21⁶⁰.
Κυθήριος, 21⁵³.
Κυρεῖνα, Roman tribe, 70².

Λ — — —, 157.
Λακεδαιμόνιος, 9, 6, 16.
Λαμπρεύς, 21²³, 43¹⁰, 49³, 4, [5].
Λαοδυίς or *Λαοδυίσση*, 117.
Λευκονοεύς, 10², 42⁶.
Λεωντίς, 20², 46¹⁰.
Λυσιμαχεύς, 118.

Μακεδονία, 18¹⁹.
Μαραθώνιος, 16⁴, 17⁹.
Μελήσιος, 120; *Μιλήσιος*, 121; *Μειλησία*, 122,
123; *Μιλησία*, 124, 125, 126.
Μηλία, 119.
Μουνιχία, 31³.
Μύρωνα, 31⁶, 62².
Μυρρινοῦσιος, 21²², 132.

᾽Οαθεν, 21⁸⁷.
Οἰνής, 5¹, [17⁸⁴].
Οἶον: ἐξ *Οἶον*, 46¹³, 77³, 174.
Οἰχαλία (?), 35²⁵.

Παιανεύς, 21⁹, 21, 36, 46⁵, 9, 94.
Παιονίδης, 54³.
Παλληνεύς, 17¹²⁵.
Πανδιονίς, 21¹⁴, [46¹].
Πειρα(ι)εύς, 18⁷, 21²⁶, 24¹², 33⁵, 8, 9, 95, 135⁶.
Περγασῆθεν, 81¹.
Πλαταιαί, 65².
Πλωθεύς, [7⁴].
Πόριος, 26⁴.
Προβαλίσιος, 17¹¹⁹, 19¹⁵, 47.

Ῥαμνούσιος, 6³, 64⁴, 76.
Ῥωμαῖος, 18¹⁸.

- Σαλαμίς*, 24 8.
Σινωπεύς, 127.
Σκαμβωνίδης, 51 1.
Σκιάς, 43 8.
Σουνιεύς, 96.
Στειριεύς, 21 7, 16, 19, 33, 135 3; *Σπριεύς*, 46 6, 7.
Συπαλήττιος, 97.
Σφήττιος, 43 5, 98.
Ταρσεύς, 128.
Τρικορύσιος, 70 3, 99.
Τρινεμεεύς, 19 16, 53, 21 25, 100.
Υβάδης, 101.
Φα ---, 69.
Φαληρεύς, 19 11, 41 3, 44 3, 80 2.
Φηγαιεύς, 21 25.
Φιλαΐδης, 66 3.
Φλυεύς, 21 13, [50 1], 64 3.
Φοίνισσα, 129.
Φρεάριος, 10 6, 102; *Φρεάριος*, 42 17.
Φυλάσιος, 18 13.
Χαλκιδεύς, 130.
Χολαργεύς, 17 125, 103.
Χολλείδης, 46 12.
 --- εἶδης, 134.
 --- λινία, 99.
 --- ος, 138, 156.
 --- τεύς, 147.

FESTIVALS, MONTHS, GAMES, AND DEITIES

- Ἀνθεστηριών*, 20 3.
Ἀπόλλων, 34 7.
Βοηδρομιών, 33 14.
Γαμηλιών, 6 4.
Δι: cf. *Ζεύς*.
D. [M.] = Dis Manibus, 173.
Ἐλαφηβολιών, 17 45.
Ἐλευθέρια, 65 1.
Ἐλευσίνα, 20 15, 65 1.
Ἐρμῆς, 61 4, 63 2, 143.
Ζεύς, 24 9.
Ἡράκλεια, 65 8.
Ἡρακλῆς, 56 2.
Μαιμακτηριών, 19 2.
Μεταγεινιών, 21 9.
Μονιχιών, 5 3.
Μοῦσαι, 64 2.
Νέμεα, 65 1.
Νυμφαῖα, 65 5.
Παναθήναια, 20 15.
Ποσειδών, 34 9.
Ποσιδεών, 7 5, 25 4.
Πυανοπιών, 17 4, 33 15.
Σκυροφοριών, 18 5.
Φωσφόροι, 43 7.

GENERAL

- ἀγαθός*: *ἀγαθῆ*, [16 7], 19 10, 21 18; *ἀγαθῆ*, [17 23, 77 1]; *ἀγαθῶ*(ι), 176.
ἀγένειος: *ἀγενείους*, 65 3, 6.
ἄγω: *ἤγε*, 38 9.
ἀείσιτος: *ἀείσιτοι*, 21 14; *αἰσιτοι*, 19 6, 43 1; *αἰσεί- τους*, 44 5.
αἶξ, 34 3.
αἰρέω: *εἶλοντο*, 16 [4], 8, 19 7, 21 15.
αἰσιτος, see *ἀείσιτος*.
ἀκολούθως, 17 14, 20 14.
ἀκοντιστής: *ἀκοντιστήν*, 17 117.
ἄλλος: *ἄλλην*, 31 19, 39 19; *ἄλλαι*, 39 20, 22; *ἄλλων*, 16 6, [19 10], 21 17, 29 B 3; *ἄλλοις*, 29 B 10.
ἀμφιτάπης, 35 24-32.
ἀναγραφή: *ἀναγραφῆν*, [16 15, 19 20], 20 30, 21 [1], 29.
ἀναγράφω: *ἀνέγραψαν*, 44 6; *ἀναγράφαι*, 8 14, 16 13, 19 18, 21 27, 33 16.

ἀνάθεσις: ἀνάθεσιν, [16 15], 21 2, 29.
 ἀνάλωμα, [16 16], 19 21, 20 31, [21 8], 21 31.
 ἀνατίθημι: ἀνέθηκε, 59; ἀνέθηκεν, 61 3, 79 4;
 ἀνέθηκαν, 24 14, 66 5; ἀνέθεσαν, 38 8, 60 1.
 ἀνεγκλήτως, 24 13.
 ἀνὴρ: ἄνδρας, 65 3, 10, 13.
 ἀντιγραφεύς, 43 4.
 ἄξιος: ἄξιον, 29 B 3.
 ἄξιος, 24 5.
 ἄπαξ, 29 B 1.
 ἀπαρχή: ἀπαρχήν, 33 14.
 ἄπας: ἀπάντων, 16 6, [19 10], 21 17; ἀπάσαις, 24 6.
 ἀποτίμημα, 57 5; ἀποτιμήματος, 58 2.
 ἀποφαίνω: ἀποφαίνουσιν, [16 3, 19 7], 21 15.
 ἄρετή: ἀρετῆς, 60 3, 66 4.
 ἀρχή: ἀρχήν, [32 4].
 ἀρχιερεὺς, 29 A 7.
 ἄρχω: ἄρχει, 32 4.
 ἄρχων: ἄρχοντος, 3 1, 5 1, [8], 6 1, 7 2, [12],
 [14 2], 17 2, 10, 28, 43, [51], 83, 18 2, 19 1, 20 2,
 10, 32, 21 8, 39 3, 44 1, 57 1, 61 1, [63 1], 64 1,
 66 4, 81 2; ἄρχοντι, 31 12.
 ἄστυ, 31 8.
 αὐλητής: αὐλητήν, 16 13, 19 16, 21 25.
 αὐτοκράτωρ, 29 A 6; αὐτοκράτορι, 73 2; αὐτο-
 κράτορα, 72 1, [75 1].
 αὐτός: αὐτοῦ, 25 2; αὐτόν, [16 7]; αὐτῶν, [19 18],
 33 11.
 βῆμα, 43 2.
 βουλευτήριον: βουλευτηρίῳ, 19 3, 21 11.
 βουλή: 13 1, 16 17, 17 78, 115, 122, 19 45, 48, 51, 21 4, 11,
 26 1, 62 1; βουλῆς, 16 5, 10, [11], 12, [17 26], 19 2,
 [14, 16], 17, 21 22, 24, 26, 39 24, 60 2; βουλῆι, 1 8,
 [16 2, 4, 7], 17 [8, 24], 27, 48, 18 11, 19 5, 7, [11],
 21 [12], 18; βουλῇ, 19 3, 20 6, 54 2; βουλῇν, 8 11.
 βουλὴ ἢ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου, 67 1, 69; βουλῆς (ἐξ
 Ἀρείου πάγου), 68 4.
 βούλομαι: βούληται, 33 6.
 γάμμα, 39 19.
 γίγνομαι: γενόμενον, [16 16], 19 21, 20 31, 21 3, 30;
 γενομένης, 25 7; γενομένη, 18 18.
 γναφαλλοῦφάντης, 105.
 γνώμη: γνώμην, 17 25.

γραμματεὺς: γραμματεὺς (of prytanes), 53 6;
 γραμματεὺς ἄρχοντι, 31 12; γραμματεὺς ἐπὶ τὸν
 μισθὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλην οἰκονομίαν, 31 18;
 γραμματεὺς ἱππάρχους φυλετῶν, 31 14; γραμμα-
 τεὺς σιτοφύλαξιν εἰς ἄστυ, 31 8; γραμματεὺς
 συνηγόροις, 31 10; γραμματεὺς φυλῆι, 31 16;
 γραμματεῖα (of prytanes), 13 4, 16 8, 19 8, 12,
 21 20; γραμματεῖα (τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου),
 [16 11, 19 14], 21 22; γραμματεῖα (τὸν κατὰ
 πρυτανείαν), 8 16, [16 14, 19 19], 21 28.
 γραμματεὺς: ἐγραμμάτενε, 20 3; ἐγραμμάτενεν,
 [3 2], 5 3, 6 3, 7 4, 17 4, 44, 18 4, [19 2, 21 9].
 γυνή, 83, 84 6, 99, 124, 125, 135, 136, 139, 149;
 γυναικῶν, [16 6], 33 11.

δέκα, 20 4.
 δέκατος: δεκάτει, 6 4, 17 5, [45]; δεκάτηι, 20 4.
 δεύτερος: δευτέρως, [21 8].
 δημοαρχικός: δημοαρχικῆς, [29 A 8].
 δήμος, 17 73, 116, 123, 21 4, [62 1], 67 1; δήμον, 9 8,
 [16 6, 11, 13, 19 14, 16], 20 9, 14, 21 22, [24], 25,
 [24 5], 60 3, [71 4]; δήμοι, [3 1], 5 6, 6 8, 9 7, [13]
 17 8, 48, 18 11, 33 4; δήμον, [8 11], 9 8, [17 26].
 δημότης: δημόται, 33 13.
 διαίτια: διαίτιας, 29 B 8.
 διατελέω: διετέλεσαν, 17 10.
 δικαιοσύνη: δικαιοσύνης, 60 4, 66 5.
 δίμουν, 40.
 διοικήσις: διοικήσει, 22 1; τὸν ἐπ[ὶ] τῇ διοικήσει],
 16 16.
 δοκέω: δοκεῖ, [17 26]; ἔδοξεν, 2 2, [3 1, 5 6], 6 8,
 [16 2], 17 8, 48, 18 11; 19 5, 20 6, 21 12; δεδόχθαι,
 [16 7], 17 24, 19 10, 21 18.
 δραχμή: δραχμάς, 33 10, 39 20, 22, 23.
 δύο, 39 11, 13.
 δωδέκατος: δωδεκάτης, 18 3.
 δωρεά: δωρεάς, [8 16].

εἰς αὐτοῦ, 29 B 11; εἰς αὐτῶν, 16 4, [9], [19 8], 21 15;
 ἐ[[ι]] αὐτῶν, 41 19; εἰς αὐτοῦς, 17 16, [44 5].
 ἐβδομος: ἐβδόμης, 6 2, 7 3; ἐβδόμει, 17 5.
 ἐγώ, 29 B 4; ἐμοί, 29 B 5.
 εἰκάς: εἰκάδας, 5 4, [7 6].
 εἵκοσιν, 39 17, 20.
 εἵκοστός: εἵκοστῇ, 18 5.

εἰκόν: εἰκόνα, 25 3.
 εἰμί: εἶναι, 33 14.
 εἶπον: εἶπεν, [3 4], 5 7, [6 9, 16 3], 17 9, 18 12, 19 5, 21 13, 33 1.
 εἶς, [5 9, 8 11], 9 10, [16 15], 17 25, [26, 50], [19 20], 20 9, 21 29, 24 8, 31 [3], 6, 8, [33 16].
 εἰσοδος: εἰσοδον, 33 18.
 ἐκ, 16 11, 18 12, 38 12, [91], 92, 95; ἐξ, [16 4, 8, 19 8], 38 7, 41 19, 46 13, 67 1, 68 3, 69, 77 3, [139], 174; ἐχ, 105.
 ἕκαστος, 33 6, 20; ἕκαστον, [19 18], 21 27.
 ἑκάτερος: ἑκατέρων, 24 5.
 ἐκκλησία, [6 5]; ἐκκλησία ἐν Πειραιεῖ, 18 6; ἐκκλησία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, [5 3], 17 46; ἐκκλησία κυρία, 11 3; ἐκκλησία κυρία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, 17 5, 20 4; ἐκκλησίαν, [17 25].
 ἕκτος: ἕκτη, 19 3.
 ἐμ, see ἐν.
 ἐμαντοῦ, 29 B 9.
 ἐν, [5 4, 8 17, 18, 16 5, 14, 15], 17 6, 46, 19 3, [9], 19, [20], [20 5], 21 [17], 28, 29, 24 6, 12, 34 6, 38 [6], 11, 65 9, 66 4; ἐμ, 18 7, 19, 21 11, 62 2, [65 2].
 ἔνατος: ἐνάτης, [5 1]; ἐνάτει, 5 4, [7 5], 17 45, 18 5; ἐνάτην, 25 5.
 ἔνεκα, [8 9], 60 3; ἔνεκεν, 66 5.
 ἐνθάδε, 165.
 ἐνιαντός: ἐνιαντῷ, 66 4; ἐνιαντόν, 17 51, 20 9, 25 12.
 ἔνος: ἔνει, [17 4], 18 5.
 ἐξ, see ἐκ.
 ἐξ, 31 4.
 ἐξουσία: ἐξουσίας, [29 A 8].
 ἐορτή: ἐορτάς, 29 B 6.
 ἐπαινέω: ἐπαινέσαι, 8 [12], 13, 16 7, [8], 9, [17 27], 19 [11], 12, 21 18, 20, 32 8; ἐπαινέσαντες, 16 3, 19 6, 21 14.
 ἐπάροχομαι: ἐπήρξατο, 33 21; ἐπάροξονται, 33 19.
 ἔπειμι: ἐπιούσαν, 17 25.
 ἐπί (with genitive), [3 1], 5 1, 8, 6 1, [7 2], 12, 14 2, 17 2, 10, [27], 43, [51], 83, 18 2, 19 1, 20 2, 9, 32, 21 8, [33 17], [38 5, 11], 39 17, 43 7, [44 1], 57 1; ἐπ', 60 4; ἐπί, 61 1, 63 1, 64 1, 66 4, [81 2]; ἐφ', [5 1], 39 6, 9, 10, 13, 24; (with dative), 16 15, [20 4, 22 1]; ἐπ', 176; (with accusative), 31 18, [19], 44 2.

ἐπιγράφω: ἐπιγράφεται, 39 12.
 ἐπιδίδωμι: ἐπέδωκεν, 9 14; ἐπέδοσαν, 33 7; ἐπιδόντων, 33 19.
 ἐπίδοσις: ἐπιδόσεις, 33 18.
 ἐπιμέλεια: ἐπιμελείας, 5 9.
 ἐπιμελέομαι: ἐπιμελείται, 32 5; ἐπεμελήθησαν, 17 12; ἐπιμεμελήσθαι, 16 6, 19 9, 21 17.
 ἐπίχυσις: ἐπίχυσιν, 25 4.
 ἐπιρρηφίζω: ἐπερρηφίζεν, [3 3], 5 5, 6 6, [16 1], 17 [6], 47, 18 7, 19 4, 20 5, [21 11].
 ἐπώνυμος: ἐπωνύμου, [16 10], 19 13, 21 21.
 ἔτερος: ἔτερον, 29 B 14.
 εὐκοσμία, 17 19.
 εὐνοία —, 71 7.
 εὐρίσκω: εὕρον, 30 9.
 εὐσέβεια: εὐσεβείας, 8 9.
 εὐσχημόνως, 24 10, 14.
 εὐτακτέω: εὐτακτοῦντες, 17 11.
 ἐφ', see ἐπί.
 ἐφηβέω: ἐφηβέουσιν, 17 20; ἐφηβεύσαντες, 17 10, 83, 63 1.
 ἔφηβος: ἔφηβοι, 17 10, 27 1; ἐφήβων, 17 55; ἐφήβους, [17 27].
 ἐχ, see ἐκ.
 θαλλός, [16 8], 19 [12, 18], 21 20, 27.
 θεά: θεαῖς, 17 17, 24 13.
 θεάτρον: θεάτρῳ, [5 4], 17 6, 46, 20 5.
 θεός: θεοῦ, 24 7, [29 A 6], 72 2; θεοί, 2 1, 7 1, 14 1, 17 1, 18 1, 20 1; θεοῦς, 8 10, 25 4.
 θεσμοθέτης, 32 2.
 θυγάτηρ, 70 5, 84 4, 88, 90, [124], 130, 135, 148, 155.
 θυσία: θυσίαις, 24 6; θυσίας, [16 5], 19 8, 21 16.
 θύω: ἔθυσαν, 24 11; τεθυκέναι, [16 5], 19 8, 21 16.
 ιδιώτης: ιδιώται, 38 7.
 ἱερὰν, 43 6.
 ἱερεὺς, 38 6, [43 7], 143; ἱερεῖα, 16 9, 19 13, 21 21.
 ἱερὸν, 34 5, 8, 56.
 ἱεροφαντέω: ἱεροφαντήσαντα, 70 4.
 ἱππαρχος: ἱππάρχους, 31 14.
 ἴστημι: στήσαι, [8 17], 16 14, [19 20], 21 29, 33 17; ἵσταμένου, 17 45, 19 3, 21 10, 25 5.

καθ', see κατά.

καθήκω: καθηκούσας, [16 5], 17 18, [19 9], 21 16.

καθίστημι: κατέστησε, 77 5.

Καῖσαρ, [29 A 6]; Καίσαρα, 72 1, [75 1].

καλῶς, [16 6], 17 52, [19 10], 21 18, 24 10, 32 3.

κατά: καθ' (with accusative), 68 1; κατά (with accusative), 8 16, [16 14, 19 19], 21 28, 24 4, [32 6].

κεῖμαι: κεῖται, 165.

κήρυξ: κήρυκα, 16 12, [19 16], 21 24.

κοινός: κοινῇ, 33 12; κοινῶν, 25 9.

κοσμητής: κοσμητῆι, 17 11.

κρατήρ: κρατήρος, 39 18.

κριός, 34 10.

κτῆμα: κτημάτων, 33 4.

κτίστης: κτίστη(ι), 73 2.

κύριος: κυρία, [11 3], 17 5, [20 5].

λαγχάνω: λαχών, [32 2]; λαχόντας, 17 24; εἰληχώς, 31 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 20.

λαμπάς: λαμπάδα, 24 10.

λευκός, 35 24, 26—32.

libertus: liber(tī), 173.

λίθινος: λιθίνει, 8 17, 16 14, 19 19, 21 28; λιθίνην, 33 16.

λίθος: λίθους, 33 7.

λόγος, 29 A 9.

λοιπός: λοιπά, 33 7.

μακρός: μακρότερον, 29 B 13.

μέγας, 38 5; μέγιστος, [29 A 7].

μελλέφηβος: μελλέφηβοι, [64 1].

μερίζω: μερίζαι, 16 15, [19 21], 20 30, 21 [2], 30.

μετά, 29 B 12, 33 13; (with genitive), 18 14; (with accusative), μετ', 5 4, [7 6]; μετά, 25 10.

μήν: μηνός, 25 14.

μισθός: μισθόν, 31 18.

ναύκληρος: ναύκληροι, 66 2.

ναῦς, 9 14.

νέος: νέαι, 17 4, 18 5.

νίκη: νίκηι, 18 18.

νόμος: νόμοις, 17 14; νόμους, 24 4, 32 7.

νῦν, 30 7.

ξόανον, 29 B 4.

ξυμβάλλω: ξυμβάλλεσθαι, 17 26.

ὀγδοος: ὀγδόει, 17 45; ὀγδόη, 20 4.

οἰκέω: οἰκούντων, [62 2].

οἰκία: οἰκίας, 57 2, 176.

οἰκοδομία: οἰκοδομίαν, 9 10, 33 10, 21.

οἰκονομία: οἰκονομίαν, 31 19.

ὀπισθε, 39 18.

ὀπλίτης: ὀπλείτας, 44 2.

ὀπλον: ὀπλα, 29 B 12.

ὄρος, 57 2, 58 1.

οὔτος: τούτων, [17 25], τούτοις, 29 B 11.

παγκράτιον, 65 4, 11.

πάγος: πάγον, 67 1, 68 3, 69.

παιδοτριβής: παιδοτριβήν, 27 2.

παῖς: παίδων, [16 6].

πάλη: πάλην, 65 4, 7, 14.

παραγίγνομαι: παραγενόμενοι, 24 9.

παραπέτασμα, 35 33, 34.

πάρεμι: παρούσης, 29 B 8.

πᾶς: πᾶσιν, 25 7; πάσας, [16 5, 19 9], 21 16.

πατήρ, [29 A 8].

πάτριος: πάτρια, 25 13.

πατρίς: πατρίδος, 29 A 8; πατρίδι, 18 17.

πειθαρχέω: πειθαρχοῦντες, [17 11].

πέμπτος: πέμπτης, 19 1; πένπτει, 19 3.

πέντε, 31 5.

περί (with genitive), [17 25]; (with accusative), [29 A 8], 32 5, [43 2].

περιμένω: περιμενοντ —, 29 A 10.

πλαισίον: πλαισίωι, 38 6, 11.

πλοῦς: πλοῦν, 24 8.

ποιέω: ἐποιήσατο, 38 7, 12; ἐποίησαντο, 24 3, 8;

πεποίημα, 29 B 13.

ποίησις: ποιήσιν, 19 20, 20 30.

ποικίλος: ποικίλη, 35 35; ποικίλον, 35 33.

πόλις: πόλεως, 9 12; πόλει, 30 5; πόλιν, 31 5.

πολλάκις, 29 B 10.

πομπεύω: ἐπόνπενσαν, 24 9.

προέδρος: προέδρων, 3 3, [5 5], 6 6, [16 1], 17 6, 46, 18 7, 19 4, 20 5, 21 11; προέδρους, 9 2, 17 24.

πρόθυμος: προθυμότερος, 25 8.

προῖξ: προικώς, 57 4.

πρόποσις, 95.

πρός (with accusative), [8 10], 33 18.

πρόσοδος: πρόσδοον, 30 6.

πρυτανεία: πρυτανείας, [5 2], 6 2, 5, [7 3, 6], 11 1, 17 3, 5, 43, 46, 18 3, 6, 19 1, 3, 20 2, 4, 21 8, [10], [44 3]; πρυτανεῖαι, 16 5, [19 9], 21 17; πρυτανείαν, [8 16], 16 14, 17 5, 19 19, 21 28.

πρυτανεύω: ἐπρυτάνενεν, 3 2.

πρυτανικόν: πρυτανικῶι, 8 18, [16 15, 19 20], 21 29.

πρύτανις: πρυτάνεις, 13 2, [16 3], 19 6, [8], 21 6, 13, 28 7, 44 4, 60 1.

πρώτος: πρώτῃ, 7 6.

ράκία, 35 23.

σεμνός: σεμναῖς, 17 17.

σιτοφύλαξ: σιτοφύλαξιν, 31 8.

σκάφος, 39 23.

σκηνή: σκηνήν, 30 10.

σταθμός: σταθμόν, 38 8, 9.

στέφανος: στεφάνωι, [16 8], 19 [12], 18, 21 20, 27, 24 7.

στεφανώω: ἐστεφανώθησαν, 24 7; στεφανῶσαι, 16 7, [8], 9, [19 12, 13], 21 19, 27; στεφανώσαντες, 16 3, [19 7], 21 14; στεφανωθέντες, 60 2.

στήλη: στήλης, 16 15, 19 20, 20 30, 21 [2], 30; στήλει, [8 17], 16 14, 19 19, 21 28; στήλην, [33 16].

στρατεύομαι: στρατευόμενος, 18 13; στρατευσάμενοι, 66 1.

στρατηρέω: στρατηροῦντος, 44 2; στρατηγήσαντα, 66 3.

στρατηρός: στρατηγοῖς, 17 12, 31 7.

στρατιωτικός: στρατιωτικῶν, 19 21, 20 30, 21 2, 30.

συμβάλλω, see ξυμβάλλω.

συμπρόεδρος: συμπρόεδροι, 6 7, [16 2], 17 [7], 47, 19 4, 20 6, 21 12.

συνήγορος: συνηγόροις, 31 10.

σύνοδος: συνόδω(ι), 29 A 8.

συντηρέω: συνετήρησαν, 24 15.

σωτήρ: σωτήρι, 73 1.

τάλαντον: τάλαντα, 9 11.

ταμίας: ταμίον, 25 11; ταμίαν (of prytanes), 16 [4], 7, 19 7, [11], 21 5, 15, 19, 41 19; ταμίαν (τῆς βουλῆς), 16 10, 19 17, 21 26; ταμίαν (τῶν στρατιωτικῶν), [19 21], 20 30, 21 2, 30; ταμίων, 39 21.

ταξίαρχος, 20 8.

ταπίς, [35 35].

τάττω: τεταγμένα, 18 20.

τέταρτος: τετάρτης, 17 2; τετάρτει, 6 4.

τετράς: τετραδί, 21 10.

τεχνίτης: τεχνιτῶν, [29 A 9].

τιμάω: τειμήσαντες, 44 5.

τοῖχος: τοίχου, 33 17.

τοξότης: τοξότην, 17 117.

τοσοῦτος: τοσοῦτον, 38 4, 10.

τρηραρχέω: τρηραρχήσας, 76.

τύπος, 38 5, 11.

τύχη: τύχει, [16 7], 19 10, 21 18; τύχηι, 17 24;

τύχη(ι), 77 1.

ὕμεια: ὕμειας, 33 3.

υἱός, [29 A 7, 74 1]; υἱόν, 68 6, 70 2, [72 3, 75 9].

ὕμεις: ὕμ(ε)ῖς, 29 B 7; ὕμᾱς, 29 B 2.

ὕπατος, [29 A 8].

ὑπέρ, 9 5, 16 5, 20 14, 33 3.

ὑπηρέτης, 54 4.

ὑπό (with genitive), 20 8, 60 2, 71 4.

ὑπογραμματεύς, 43 9; ὑπογραμματέα, [16 12, 19 15], 21 23.

ὑπομένω: ὑπομένοντος, 25 11.

ὑπομνηματισμός: ὑπομνηματισμόν, 68 1.

φιάλη, 39 9, 10, [13]; φιάλαι, 39 6; φιάλ --, 39 26.

φιλοτιμία: φιλοτιμίας, [8 10]; φιλοτιμίαν, 24 2.

φιλοτίμως, [16 7, 19 10], 21 18, 32 3.

φράττω: φραχθεῖ, 33 8.

φυλακή: φυλακῆς, 17 13.

φυλέτης: φυλετῶν, 31 14; φυλέταις, 32 7.

φυλή: φυλῆς, 20 9, 28 8, [44 4]; φυλεῖ, 31 16;

φυλήν, 32 6.

χαίρω: χαῖρε, 168; χαίρειν, [29 A 9].

χειροτονέω: χειροτονηθείς, 20 8.

χορεία, 39 12.

χορεῖον, 29 A 4, [9].

χοῦμα: χοῦματα, 33 23.

χορηματίζω: χορηματίσαι, [17 25].

χορηστός, 166, 167, 169, 170, 171, 172.

ψηφίζομαι: ἐψηφίσθαι, 32 7, 33 8.

ψήφισμα, 8 15, [16 14, 19 19], 21 28, [33, 16];

ψηφίσματα, 19 2, [24 5]; ψηφίσμασιν, 20 14.

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE MEDIEVAL POTTERY FROM CORINTH

I. THE PROTOTYPE OF THE ARCHAIC ITALIAN MAJOLICA

Among the predominantly *sgraffito* pottery of the Middle Ages at Corinth, painted pieces stand out conspicuously. The most striking of these are patently of one ware, the products, that is, of a single town or district. The whole vases which make up this group are illustrated in Figs. 1–3, and the first seven fragments of Fig. 5 are sherds of similar pots. In brief, the ware has a light buff and distinctly sandy body and is decorated on the upper surface by vitreous colors laid on a thin tin glaze; a closer description of the best pieces will make its characteristics stand out more clearly.

Fig. 1. A plate with a flat rim; the profile is shown in Fig. 4, no. 3.¹ The clay is light yellow in color, very sandy in quality but finely granulated and soft. The inside and the flat rim are covered with a very thin, white tin glaze. The decoration in black (manganese), light blue and brown-orange is laid over the glaze. The lines defining the rim, the outlines of the fish and the ornaments in the field are black; the interlace on the rim and the body of the fish are light blue; the streaks through the ornaments above and below the fish are brown-orange. The exterior of this, and of all other pieces of the ware, is bare. Inside the foot is the potter's mark of Fig. 4, no. 1, painted in matt black.

Fig. 2. A small bowl; the profile is similar to that of Fig. 4, no. 4, except that the rim is notched more sharply.² The clay is the same as in the preceding example. On a light green tin glaze is painted an ornament resembling a seashell. The lines on the rim and below the rim are black, the ornament is drawn in black, filled in with blue, and surrounded by several strings of brown-orange dots. On the exterior is painted the potter's mark of Fig. 4, no. 2, in matt black.

Fig. 3, no. 1. A small bowl; the profile is shown on Fig. 4, no. 4.³ The clay and glaze are similar to those of the plate, Fig. 1. The lines on the rim, the lines below the rim and the circle at the centre are black; the band of chevrons is light blue; the hatching at the centre is brown-orange.

Fig. 3, no. 2. Fragment of a plate showing the head of a boar. The clay is buff at the core. The glaze is yellow with a greenish tinge. The head is drawn in black and

¹ Height: 0.058 m.; diameter of rim: 0.205 m.; diameter of foot: 0.065 m. All the reproductions of the Corinth material are half natural size.

² Height: 0.062 m.; diameter of rim: 0.165 m.; diameter of foot: 0.064 m.

³ Height: 0.058 m.; diameter of rim: 0.154 m.; diameter of foot: 0.067 m.

filled in with a dark brown which seems to be a concentrated application of the usual brown-orange pigment.

Fig. 3, no. 3. Fragment of a bowl showing the snout of a fish. The clay is reddish at the core. The glaze is a light, creamy green. The outline is in black; the fish is

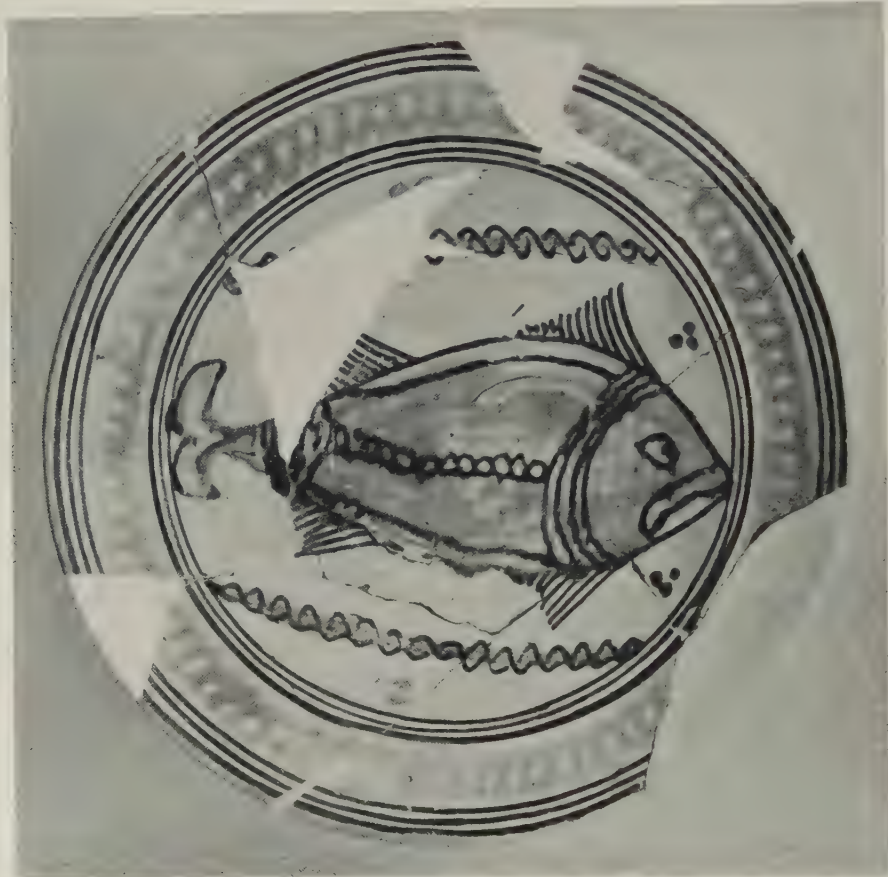


Fig. 1. Painted tin-glazed Plate from Corinth

filled in with a mottled yellow to brown color; the area to the right is a dull, powdery green.

Some of the better pieces of this pottery have a dead white glaze of such thinness that the individual grains of the clay often project under it; the marks of the turning show plainly under that of Fig. 3, no. 2. Naturally so thin a coating has but slight gloss. The black lines were applied rather thick and stand out in noticeable relief; often they remain matt since the glaze was too thin to absorb them. The blue, however, is vitrifiable, apparently a mixture of pigment and the tin glaze. It was applied within the black outlines but occasionally spread over them during the baking, thus causing



Fig. 2. Painted tin-glazed Bowl from Corinth

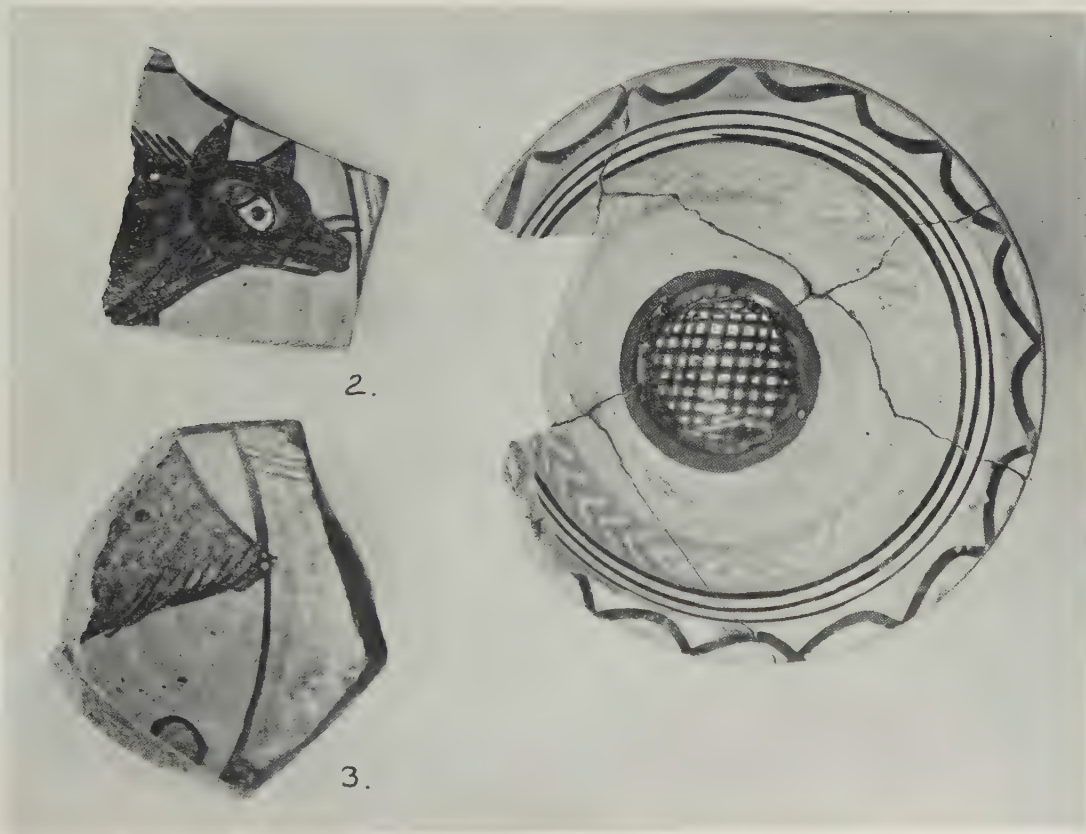


Fig. 3. Painted tin-glazed Ware from Corinth

the otherwise solid black to run and to reveal its manganese content in purple streaks. Usually the blue lies in flat areas lower in relief than the black outlines by reason of its thinner application and spread while in flux. The brown-orange also seems to have been vitrifiable, but its thin and sparing use, except in Fig. 3, no. 2, makes this difficult to determine. In addition to the pieces of Figs. 1–3, the sherds numbered 1–7 on Fig. 5 are similar in all respects; the other fragments of Fig. 5 exhibit peculiarities of one kind or another which will be mentioned later.

After an extensive but fruitless search for exact duplicates of this pottery elsewhere, I wrote an article describing it, noting the patent similarities to the archaic Italian majolica,

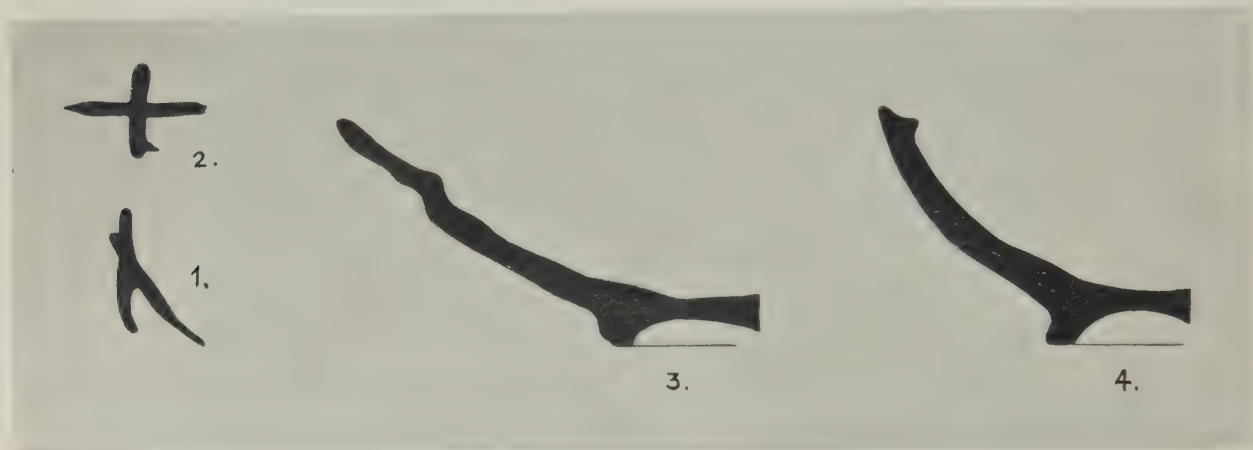


Fig. 4. Potter's Marks and Profiles of tin-glazed Ware from Corinth

and also the differences between them, concluding with the observation that it represented either a hitherto unknown branch of the Italian pottery or,—and this was suggested somewhat timidly,—its actual prototype. For several months other duties prevented the final revision of the manuscript and just as that was about to be undertaken, the latest number of the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* came to hand. Therein, in an article on medieval pottery from 'Atlit, I saw to my amazement the blood-brothers, not to say, the identical twin, of the "archaic majolica" from Corinth.¹ The occurrence of the ware in Palestine, as early as the thirteenth century, changed the aspect of the problem entirely by justifying the cautiously ventured suggestion and so necessitated a complete rewriting of the report.

The identity with the 'Atlit pottery as it is described rests on decoration, shape and clay. The common source of the decoration is so evident even from a casual comparison that a brief mention of the mutual characteristics will suffice. Plates (compare Figs. 1

¹ C. N. Johns, *Medieval Slip-Ware from Pilgrims' Castle, 'Atlit, Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, III (1933), p. 136; the painted pottery is illustrated on pls. XLIX–LIII.

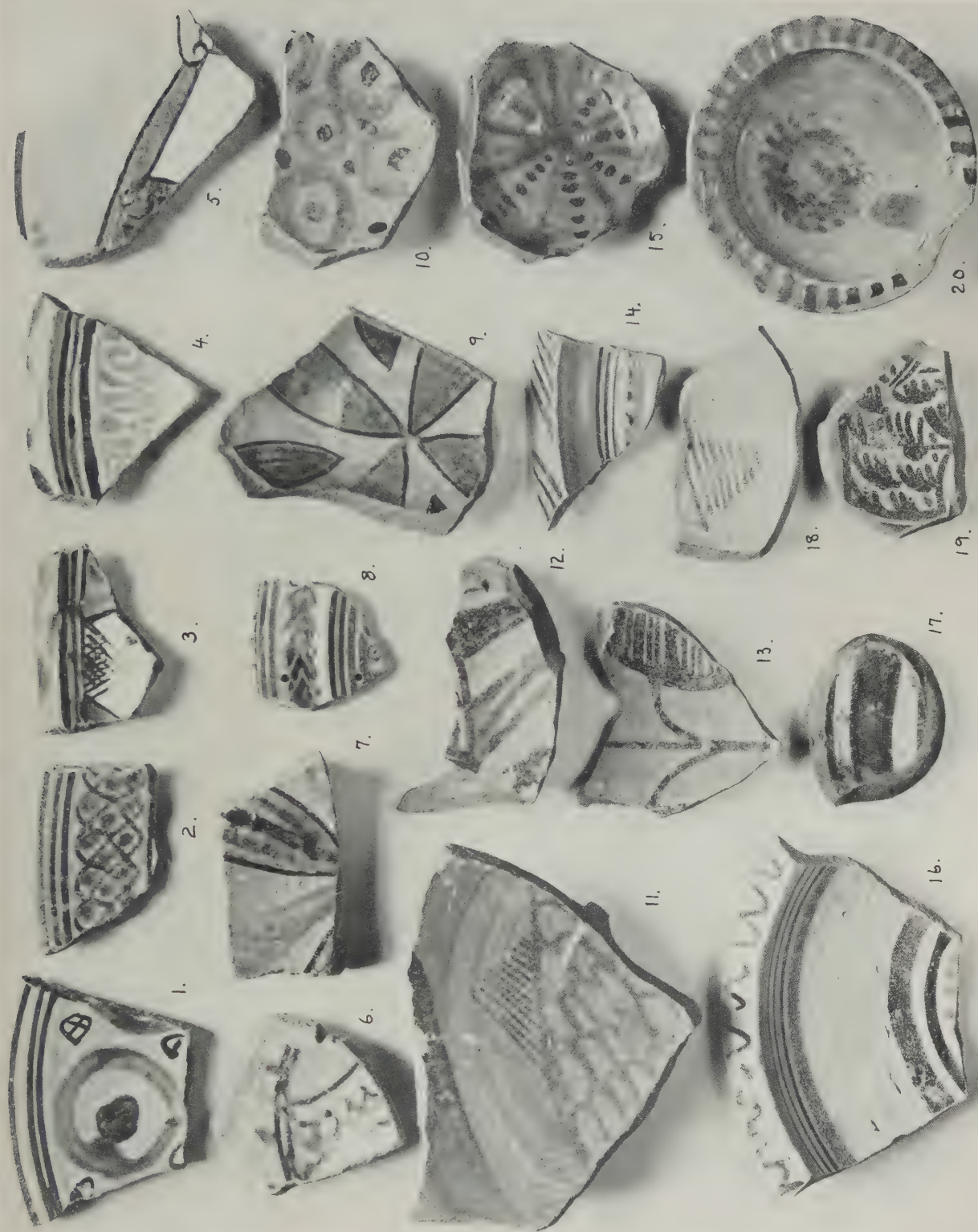


Fig. 5. Tin-glazed Sherds from Corinth (except no. 19)

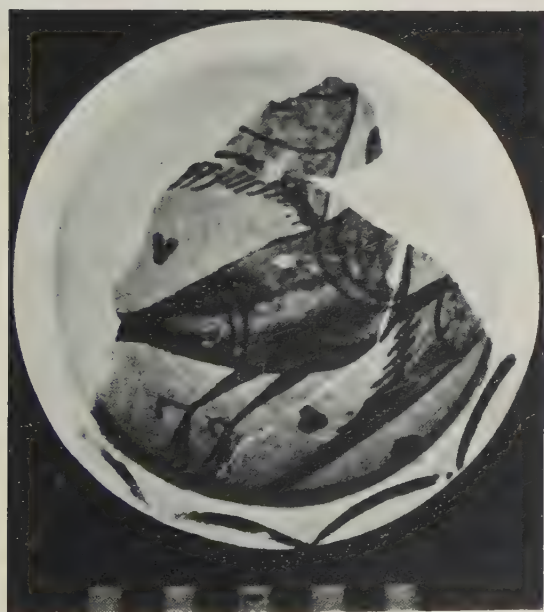
and 6, no. 1) have the rim and the interior marked off by groups of three concentric lines; the rim is decorated by one of the two stock decorative bands, the interlace or the chevron, and the interior is usually given over completely to the main design. Bowls (compare Fig. 2, Fig. 3, no. 1 and Fig. 6, no. 2) have three lines marking off the interior from the rim; the latter is ornamented with short curved lines along its circumference and the former is usually filled by the main design. One notes particularly the identity in the choice and treatment of the subject matter and in the decorative elements. Fish and animals are the most popular and are treated with a naturalism, the simplicity of which renders them pleasingly decorative. Floral designs seem to be rare and suffer considerable stylization. Less common too are human figures and simple geometrical designs. Most convincing of all are the common decorative elements whose minor importance in the design increases their significance in proving relationship. The following occur most frequently and are found at both 'Atlit and Corinth: the three lines bounding the rim and the interior; black chevrons in a row around the rim with a streak of color through them; an enclosed band of chevrons in blue around the centre design; curved lines on the rims of bowls; bands of black interlace above and below the fish on the plates illustrated, a design which tends to break up into rows of hooks; the multiple interlace in black on rims of plates with a colored dot in each interstice; a band of alternately plain and hatched triangles on or below the rim. In view of the fact that we have for comparison a mere dozen of more or less complete pots and about the same number of sherds to represent a century or more of production, these points of resemblance between the decoration of the 'Atlit and the Corinth pottery would in themselves be conclusive of a common origin.

But other factors join to prove their identity. At Corinth, two of the three shapes from 'Atlit have exact counterparts, the plate with a broad rim and the bowl with a narrow rim, and other forms do not occur.¹ Then the clay of the 'Atlit pots is variously described as "light, whitish," "buff . . . coarse and sandy in texture," terms which exactly fit that of the Corinth pieces; even the occasional burning of the clay to a red color is found on a few sherds from Corinth. Furthermore there is an identity in the use and nature of the colors employed, "purple-black" for outlines, "cobalt blue" for filling in, "brown" and "dull orange" for accessory touches; only the rarer "copper green" and the "dull red" are absent on the better Corinth pieces, although they are found on certain inferior and probably later sherds. In view of this correspondence on so many points, it is natural to be suspicious of the one element of difference, namely, that the Corinth pots are painted on a tin glaze while those from 'Atlit are described as "slip-ware" painted under a "colourless glaze." It is extremely likely that this description errs and that Johns, influenced by the abundant slipped *sgraffito* ware found with the painted pottery, has divided a good tin glaze into a white slip and a colorless

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 138, fig. 1, a and c; compare our Fig. 4, nos. 3 and 4. It is possible that some of the sherds from Corinth, Fig. 5, nos. 1 and 2, belong to the third shape, a bowl with a broad rim. The forms are very constant and the only variations at Corinth are in the greater breadth of the rims of plates.



1.



2.



3.

Fig. 6. Painted Pottery from 'Atlit, Palestine. Late twelfth and thirteenth Centuries

(lead) glaze. Note his admission that the presence of the slip cannot be detected.¹ Even the lack of any remarks about the protrusion of the blue areas and the manganese outlines, or about the occasional matt appearance of the latter, does not invalidate our contention. A very few fragments from Corinth have a glaze of good thickness in which the applied colors sink to form an almost even surface. If the 'Atlit pots have a similarly thick coating of glaze, only close inspection would show that the decoration was over, not under, the glaze.

In view of all these considerations, therefore, the identity of the Corinth and the 'Atlit painted pottery may be accepted. Fortunately a date for the ware is indicated by the coins which were found with the fragments at 'Atlit. They cover the whole period of the Crusader occupation and the time immediately thereafter and so include the late twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. There is no external evidence to show that the Corinth pieces are of different date than those from 'Atlit and it is natural to suppose that the bright plates and bowls which caught the fancy of the Crusaders in Palestine were attractive as well to their Frankish kinsmen in the Peloponnese. Yet there is this possibility, that the thinness of the glaze on most of the Corinth pieces and its tendency to be tinged with green or yellow are signs of a slightly later date. Certain fragments from Corinth, which will be described below, indicate that the glaze became thinner and less vitreous as time went on.

The similarity of this Near Eastern ware with the archaic Italian majolica is striking, particularly since most of the specimens of the latter which are available for comparison are not only later but of a different shape. A very little of this Italian pottery, usually assigned to the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, has been published and most of the pieces are jugs, the *boccale* so indispensable to the Italians.² But a few plates and bowls are accessible for comparison and in them the connection is most evident (Fig. 7). First of all, little time need be wasted in discussing similarities of technique; the old story of the Italian invention of tin glaze is now recognized as a patriotic fabrication and the early use of this glaze in the Moslem east has shown whence it was derived. In both wares the colors used are the same, with this exception, that, in the pottery from 'Atlit and Corinth, blue is common and green is rare but in the Italian the opposite is true. The scarcity of the blue until about the second quarter of the fifteenth century

¹ Except in the case of the two pots of light red clay, *loc. cit.*, pl. LIII, nos. 1 and 2 (the latter is illustrated in our Fig. 6, no. 3), which are "coated with a buff slip" (p. 143). On p. 138 it is said of these that "the whole vessel was coated with a smooth buff slip." This may be quite correct, but I have seen a large number of sherds, prehistoric to medieval in date, the very surface of which, although certainly not slipped, is yellow, cream or buff, while the rest of the body is much darker. This light surface color, which is brought about in the firing, is noticeable on the exterior of these painted fragments from Corinth whenever the body is oxidized to a darker buff or reddish color.

² The following comparative material has been available: F. Argenti, *Le Ceramiche e Maioliche Faentine*, Faenza, 1889, chiefly pls. I, III and VII; W. Bode, *Die Anfänge der Majolikakunst in Toskana*, Berlin, 1911, particularly pp. 1-9 and pls. I-IV; E. Hannover, *Pottery and Porcelain I, Europe and the Near East*, New York, 1925, p. 95, fig. 107; Victoria and Albert Museum, *Review of Principal Acquisitions during the Year 1928*, p. 29, fig. 11.

in Italy may very well have been due to the inaccessibility of cobalt whereas the green pigment derived from copper compounds had long been known and was readily obtainable. The shapes of the plates and bowls are identical and the wide flat rim of the plates and the narrow rim of the bowls are occasionally preserved even into the fifteenth century in Italy.

But it is in the decoration that the relationship of the two wares is proved most convincingly. The archaic majolica has the same decorative scheme, that is, a central



1.



2.

Fig. 7. No. 1, Early Majolica Plate from Orvieto in the Victoria and Albert Museum. No. 2, Bowl from Rome in the Kunstgewerbe-Museum, Berlin, about 1400 (after Bode)

design outlined in manganese and filled in with color and accessory ornaments drawn linearly in manganese and color. The same subjects are chosen as motifs,—birds, animals, fish and floral designs,—although, by the time we know it, the majolica has broadened its decorative scope with additions from varied sources. Naturally the style is not identical, for we are dealing with products of the early Italian Renaissance when borrowed elements were assimilated and given an Italian character. Thus it comes as a surprise to see some decorative elements kept unchanged, for instance, rows of triangles alternately hatched, the hatching itself, the bounding of the rim and the interior by groups of two or three concentric lines, the band of chevrons in black, the interlace in

color, the band of hooks in black which is really a broken-down interlace. The interlace and the rows of hooks were especially popular in Italy at all the local centres of manufacture.

In Palestine and the Peloponnese one finds the western Crusaders of the thirteenth century using a distinctive kind of painted pottery. In Italy in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, perhaps going back to the thirteenth, are found pots, some of the same shapes, with a decoration quite similar in technique, subject matter and ornamental detail. There can be no doubt about the conclusion: the Near Eastern ware was brought to Italy and served as the parent and prototype of the Italian. It was not a matter of mere "influence," for the resemblance is too close; the actual pots were imported into Italy, perhaps potters too, and closely imitated in all details. Eastern pottery has already been found in Italy and as late as the fifteenth century foreign wares, in this case Hispano-Moresque, were being reproduced.

The copying of the decoration was not limited to the shapes, plates and bowls, on which it occurred in the Near East, but was applied also to the Italian jugs and pitchers. Soon, however, the native genius made its mark upon the style of decoration and the range of subjects was increased; local centres of production arose, each with its own peculiarities, yet all still bearing the unmistakable marks of the one common source. It is material from this later stage only that we have for comparison and the wonder is that the traits of the parent ware are still so strongly marked in the numerous and several times removed descendants. There can be no possibility of the opposite direction of origin which would make the Crusaders spread the ware from Italy to the East. It is hardly necessary to list the facts which are utterly opposed to such a theory, the earlier date of the Near Eastern ware, the characteristic sandy body which is so common in the Near East and so different from the red, argillaceous majolica, the total absence of the jugs and pitchers so popular in Italy,—there is not one piece of a closed shape among the Corinth fragments,—and finally the fact that, in the thirteenth century and earlier, the East was always the giver, especially in the field of painted pottery. Rather does this discovery of the origin of the archaic majolica explain the enigma of the majolica's existence. No historian of art could accept for a moment the theory of a spontaneous combustion of ceramic genius such as we have been told gave rise to that pottery; more and more students are coming to realize that things do not happen that way. In a land without a steadily evolving ceramic tradition behind it, only sparks from an already glowing culture could kindle such a blaze. Certainly the East, from Constantinople through Persia to Egypt, can claim such a culture and few of its products are more brilliant than its painted pottery.

The problem of the origin and provenience of this Near Eastern ware may take a long time to solve. Johns suggests the Aegean as a possibility and the combination of motives, fish, a boat, a boar, a stag, favor a continental maritime site. Greece can be excluded without hesitation, I think, but in order to present all the evidence on hand a few other sherds from Corinth ought to be described, inasmuch as they are connected directly or indirectly with the ware.

In addition to the pieces from Corinth which have already been discussed, there are two related groups of fragments, one of poorer quality, the other of different kind. The first consists of a few sherds which have the same yellow-buff sandy body but inferior glaze and decoration. Fig. 5, no. 16 is one; the thin cream glaze has some gloss, but the decoration around the missing centre consists of a few concentric bands of brown-black and dull brown-red around green dots. On another sherd the glaze is without any gloss and has become a thin, quite matt slip on which the matt black decoration is drawn. The loose linear decoration of these pieces shows that they are later than the carefully painted plates and bowls and not merely contemporary pieces with a faulty glaze. Therefore they are to be regarded as the later, perhaps the last, products of the centre which made the 'Atlit and Corinth painted ware. If the point is correctly interpreted, it would favor the Aegean, let us say, the Anatolian, origin of the ware, since it is unlikely that inferior pottery would be imported into Greece from any great distance. But then the lack of even the better pieces of this pottery at Constantinople is puzzling, for the painted pottery there shows no influence of it.¹

As a second group there have been classed together fragments of several kinds which possess the one common factor of a buff to red argillaceous body (Fig. 5, nos. 8-15, 17, 18, 20). Although the decoration of some is not very dissimilar from that of the good pieces of the ware, in several cases it is almost certain that a slip is present and that the drawing lies over it and under the yellowish tin glaze. The material is too fragmentary to be of much value so far, but some of it may represent the products of a branch factory of the good ware and the slipped pieces must indicate an adaptation of tin glaze to lead glaze technique.² Further discussion of these homely but interesting bits lies outside the province of this report; for the present we merely note the additional testimony to the influence of the painted tin-glazed ware.

¹ D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, Oxford, 1929. The early Polychrome Ware and its late and degenerate survival, the White Painted Ware, are quite different in both technique and decoration.

² The clay of two of the pots from 'Atlit is red, *loc. cit.*, pl. LIII, but whether sandy or smooth is not mentioned. Both these plates and the sherds from Corinth seem to be later than the sandy pottery, so, if we are dealing with a secondary establishment, it was set up after the best days of the painted ware were over. One of the red ware pots from 'Atlit is reproduced on our Fig. 6, no. 3.

THE LISTS OF ATHENIAN *ARCHONTES*

CONTENTS

	Page
Introductory	140
PART I: REVISIONS	
Technique	141
Lists (Index, p. 189)	144
PART II: CONSPECTUS	
Tables	177
I Beloch's Law	179
II The Law of Duplication	180
III The Creation of Ptolemais	181
IV Privilege (?) of Ptolemais	181
V Privilege of Aiantis	183
Methods, Material, Place	183
Purpose	184
Histories of "Functionaries"	185
ADDENDA ON <i>I.G.</i> ² II 1706	187
CLERICAL ERRORS IN LISTS	187
NOTES ON VARIOUS DEMES	188

In Part I of this study all the lists of *archontes* will be scrutinized except *I.G.*² II 1706, to the recent edition of which (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 418-446) the present study is a sequel, and except also *I.G.*² II 2336, which involves primarily problems of another order.¹ Much of what follows herein is naturally the routine business of readings,

¹ Our knowledge of all that has to do with lists of *archontes* has advanced considerably since Sauppe first studied them as a group (*De Creatione Archontum Atticorum*, Göttingen, 1864), or even since Bates made them a basis for his study of *The Five Post-Kleisthenean Tribes* (*Cornell Studies in Classical Philology*, No. VIII, 1898). Fimmen (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIX, 1914, pp. 133 ff.), Graindor (*B.C. H.*, XXXVIII, 1914, p. 438, n. 2), and Roussel (*Rev. Et. Gr.*, XXXI, 1916, pp. 166 ff.) made additions and corrections. Graindor carried on the study in his *Chronologie des Archontes Athéniens sous l'Empire* (p. 55, n. 1, etc.), *Les Athéniens à l'époque d'Auguste* (*Musée Belge*, XXVII, 1923, pp. 261-304 *passim*), *Athènes sous Auguste* (pp. 109-115), and *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan* (p. 73, n. 5). By excavation Kastriotis (*Ep. Arch.*, 1914, p. 165) and Philadelphus (*Ep. Arch.*, 1921, p. 90) have given us new lists. Keil utilized the lists in his useful posthumous essay, edited by Laqueur, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Arcopags* (*Sächs. Akad. Wiss.*, 1919; pub. separately Leipzig, 1920), p. 64, etc. In the latest fascicule of *I.G.*² II III, *pars alter* (fasciculus posterior), Kirchner has not only set down afresh in texts and commentaries the results of these several studies, but he has also been able to publish first editions of lists hitherto unknown. In the mass of minutely critical detail which follows

prosopography, offices, dates, and the like, familiar to all. During the course of the work, however, a novel element suggested itself. The notion germinated and grew into conviction that these inscriptions,—perhaps more than others,—are integrally related to the stones in which they are cut, so that in fact it is often-times no whit less important to measure a thickness, for instance, than to decipher a letter.¹

PART I: REVISIONS²

We are dealing here with a group of smallish stelae, none of which was too large to be handled if not actually lifted by a man. Although the lettering on some is exquisite, the workmanship was never mechanically exact in other aspects. The design was often laid out by eye, the guiding lines being satisfactory to one's feelings, not to one's meter stick; and the letters were cut usually without being first drawn. Nevertheless such a stele has a curious degree of organic unity. Luck has given us two practically complete stelae, *I.G.*² II 1717 and 1721, so that we may compare the proportions one by one. Naturally a stele must have a thickness roughly corresponding to its width. In 1717 the thickness is to the width as 1:4.7; in 1721 the ratio is 1:4.4. These two dimensions, in this instance, appear to be functions of each other. The tops of such stelae are here, as regularly, surmounted by a moulding. A decorative crowning of the flat surface below the moulding will naturally be given greater height on a wide stele than on a narrow one: in 1717 the thickness (which may stand in place of the width) is to the height of the moulding as 1:0.39; in 1721 the ratio is 1:0.38. It would also be natural to find that thick wide stelae would be cut taller than thinner, narrower slabs. Again

(Part I), that which is good in these productions is mostly passed over in silence, whilst only flaws are dwelt upon. Fortunately only the uninformed will undervalue these predecessors.

The MS has had the benefit of a reading and suggestions by Professor W. S. Ferguson, naturally without commitments. Mr. A. Philadelphus, now Director of the National Museum, and his successor in the Directorate of the Epigraphical Museum, Mr. K. Kourouniotes, have coöperated. I take this opportunity to thank also the Committee on Sheldon Fellowships at Harvard for successive Fellowships which have enabled me to remain in Athens for two years. A study of the sort could not have been written elsewhere.

¹ This point of view is akin to what has been called Architectural Epigraphy in its rather different bearings on fifth and fourth century inscriptions (W. S. Ferguson, *The Treasurers of Athena*, p. VIII). One might define it as "the technique which studies epigraphical texts in integral relation with the stones on which they are cut," or more simply as "the study of design in inscriptions." In this broad sense, some form of the method can be applied to any inscription, though not necessarily with profit. In a low degree it is doubtless as old as Epigraphy itself; but its development has been recent and mostly American.

² For simplicity, the term "list of *archontes*" is retained, as by Graindor, although, as he says, it is not perfectly accurate. It is also convenient to let Archon refer to the eponymous, *archon* to any of the nine.

1717 with a thickness of 0.07 m. and a height of 0.66 m., compared with 1721 which is 0.10 m. thick and 0.90 m. high, confirm one's expectations. A tall stele, finally, will permit taller letters, set in lines farther separated, than a stele less tall. In 1717 the thickness of the stele is to the height of each line-plus-interspace as 1:2.5; in 1721 the proportion is 1:2.4. Naturally this proportion is relevant only where, as in the lists of *archontes*, the total number of lines is similar,—in this case about 21. The widths and horizontal spacings of letters might also be considered.

These proportions were doubtless fixed for the most part by instinct rather than by formula. One should not be surprised at considerable variation for no apparent reason; besides, a sound block of marble would naturally be cut thinner than one with veins; on others at any moment a bad piece might split off, or a chisel sink too deep. Hence the striking similarity of proportions which happens to exist between 1717 and 1721 is perhaps unfortunate, for it may seem from them that one could reconstruct all the dimensions of a stele, given only one of them. The material itself has forced an overstatement of the point, but it is amply clear that the comparative measurements of stelae and of letters-plus-interspaces are worth examining.

The following table embraces all lists of *archontes* on which I am able to offer the data. The brackets enclosing the height of the moulding of 1718 recall that it is not a true moulding but a flat fascia of normal dimension however. Parentheses enclosing widths denote that such measurements were restored on the assumption of the symmetry of the inscription. The height of the inscription, when enclosed in parentheses, was derived from the height of each line. By the height of a line is meant the height of a letter plus the interspace above (or below). The height of each letter-plus-interspace, when multiplied by the number of lines, gives approximately the height of the inscription. The inscription does not cover the entire surface of the stone: a short margin above line 1, and a larger space below the last inscribed line, must be allowed for. This dimension, namely the height of the area occupied by the inscription, plus its margin below the moulding at the top, and plus the margin above the setting line at the bottom, has been called the height of the flat surface. The total height naturally includes as well the pediment and ridge akroterion, the moulding, and the base for setting. Numbers in Roman type denote fractions of meters; in **black-face**, the proportions which other dimensions bear to the thickness, the thickness being rated normally as 1. For several reasons, the thickness is usually the natural basis of reference: chiefly because as a general rule the preserved thickness is original, and hence most inscriptions offer this dimension.

It is not impossible, considering especially the fact that 1721 was cut to be set in some given aperture, that the dimensions can in some cases be converted exactly into Attic or other ancient feet or simple fractions thereof. Five stelae, for instance, seem to have had a width of approximately an ancient foot. One cannot, so far as I know, go farther and make out standard sizes for stelae; it is a pity. Rather we must imagine that the blocks as they came from the quarry largely determined the sizes of stelae, and doubtless sometimes their proportions. If foot-rules were sometimes applied, the cuttings were not exact enough to help us. The foregoing applies to Hellenistic and Roman stelae; what such notions might yield if applied to the very different stelae of the fifth century, I have no idea.

TABLE OF DIMENSIONS AND PROPORTIONS OF STELAE

<i>I.G.</i> ² II	1717	1727	1720	1719	1718	1721	1724	1734	1735	1736
Thickness	.07 1.	.078 1.	.066 1.	.06 1.	.06 1.	.10 1.	(.10) 1.	.088 1.	.055 1.	.075 1.
Width	.33 4.7	.384 5.	(.30) 4.5	(.29) 4.8	(.38) 6.3	.44 4.4	(.40) 4.0	(.30) 3.4	(.33) 6.0	(.38) 5.0
Height of Moulding	.027 .39	.039 .50		.023 .38	[.03] [.50]	.038 .38	.05 .50			
Height of Letter Plus Interspace	.016 .23	.019 .24	.016 .24	.014 .23	.016 .27	.023 .23	.025 ± .25	.025 .28	.016 .30	.022 .30
Total Height of Inscription	.36 5.1	.456 5.8	(.336) 5.0	(.294) 4.9	(.336) 5.6	.48 4.8	(.55) 5.5	(.525) 6.0	(.336) 6.1	(.44) 5.9
Height of Flat Surface	.47 6.7					.66 6.6				
Total Height of Stele	(.66) 9.4					.90 9.				

1730 is lost but we know that it was 0.10 m. thick (**1**) and 0.39 m. wide (**3.9**). The text ends at line 13, and presumably the stone was broken there, but since 0.62 m. of height are preserved, the total height must have been about 0.90 m. (**9**). The heights of letters were not recorded. Also omitted, for various reasons (see *below*) are 1714 and 1722.

On the only measurements which are discordant, three in all, a word may be said here. Of the width of both 1718 and 1735 one may say that both are excellent pieces of marble. The third case is the (restored) width of 1734, which seems to be one of those variations already shown to be natural, although even here an explanation can be given (see *below*, p. 162).

It appears that there has come to light, in the design of stelae, an interesting new tool. Thus far, however, we have no solid reason to hope for results on other stelae than the ten listed; and on them it must be used with caution.

The pattern of the inscription itself is a second and related organic element. Equally simple, the key to it is symmetry. The names themselves, always including the father's and the deme's, spread or tended to spread across the entire width of the stele. Regardless of their length, the first letters of the men's own names stood in an even vertical column near the left edge of the stone. Only one seeming exception to this rule is admitted, *EM* 4692. Hence there is no helpful symmetry in the disposition of the names; although a short name would be widely spaced, and a long name crowded, to fill the lines as evenly as possible. Symmetry then is restricted to the titles. Sometimes the titles began in an even line vertically (e.g., *I.G.*² II 1717); more often not (e.g., *I.G.*² II 1718). In either case, the tendency was to place them in the exact centre

of the stone. Except when titles and names are crowded in order to save space, there are no gross violations of this rule. If for example we have a fragment with part of a title and an edge, we can reckon the approximate width of the stele. To these simple principles there are no true exceptions and no difficult complications, although there are also such other organic elements as mouldings and sizes of letters to be considered, and although many special refinements of method are possible. Facts regarding the pattern of a list may be used more freely and with more assurance than the facts regarding the design of the stele. But to disregard, for instance, the thickness of a stele where it is relevant, or the placing of a title where *it* is relevant, is as gross an omission as to overlook a letter.

Since most of the remarks which follow were written with reference to the inscriptions as they now appear in *I.G.*² II, the reader will naturally turn to the proper fascicule at this point.

*I.G.*² II 1714 of 88/7 B.C. (Fig. 1)¹

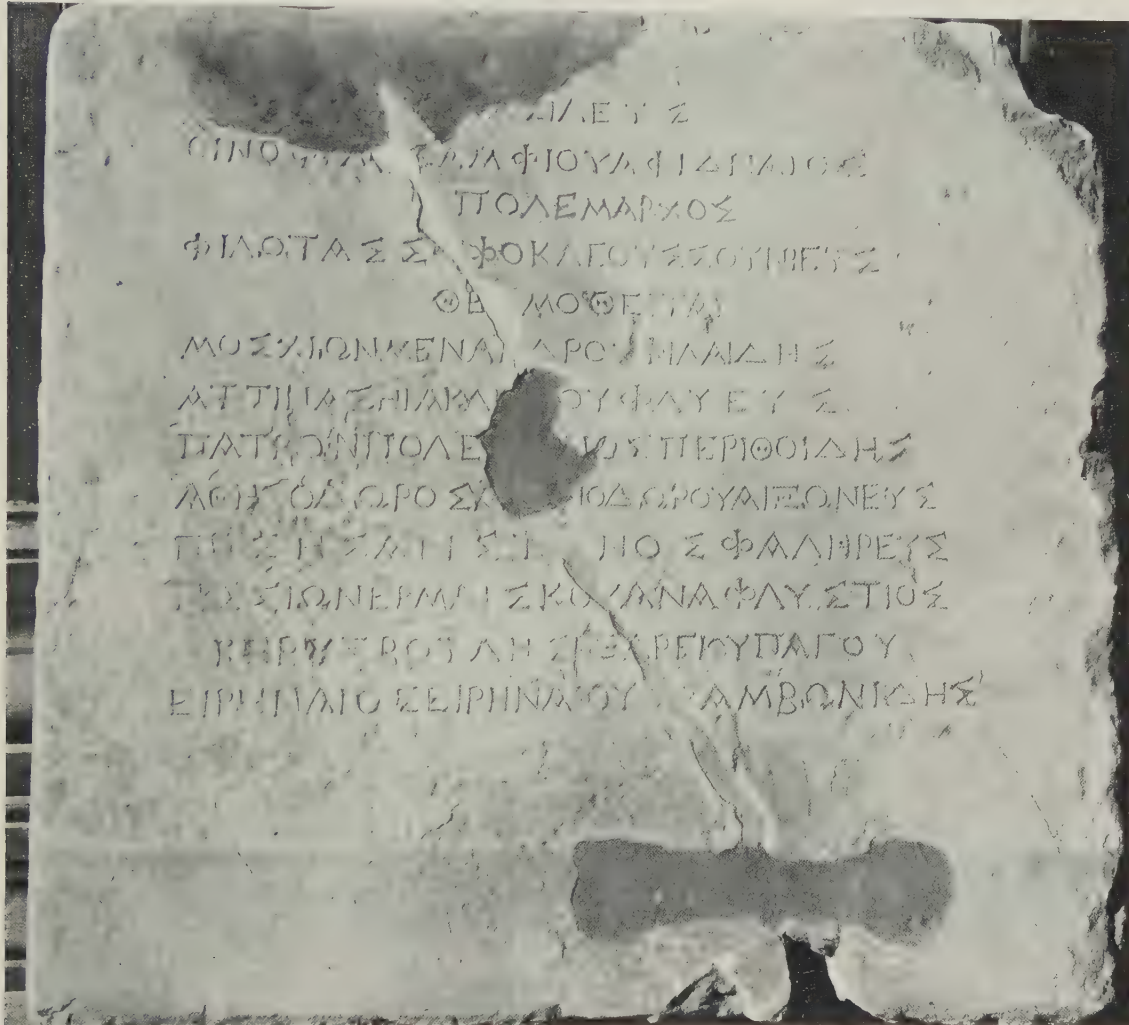
The inscription is on two fragments of a stele of white marble which join and have been clamped together. The sides, finished with light chisel strokes, are undoubtedly original; the bottom is probably original—if so, the stele was not set in a base, for the front is smooth even to the bottom, so that the original height *may* have been greater. The surface of the top is chiselled level, and is original, but a rough bevelling in front leaves it doubtful whether a small moulding has been removed, or whether a separately cut pediment was once superposed. To reduce weight for transport, the thickness was reduced in modern times to 0.045 m. There are at present no cuttings in the sides. The preserved height is 0.58 m., the width 0.615 m. The letters are inscribed between scratched lines (as is not uncommon in this period) 0.014 m. apart, with vertical interspaces of equal height. To the bibliographies of Koehler (*I.G.*¹ II 863) and Kirchner (*I.G.*² II), add Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 448, 449, 462 n. 1, whose views are supported by Part II of the present study.

Readings. Line 5: a bit of the sigma is present; the mason cut the upright of the tau too near the epsilon, and partially erased the erroneous stroke; then he made a new tau. In line 7 the delta is quite gone. *Prosopography.* Line 2: *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 27.

Both squeeze and photograph (Fig. 1) show that no line was scratched above that on which ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ stands. It would seem then that no more lines were planned. Moreover, the space above the line scratched for line 1 measures 0.055 m. to the top of the stone. Since one line plus one interspace occupies 0.028 m., it is certain that there was never any intention of cutting the title and name of the Archon: for no space would be

¹ The stone was "olim Athenis in equili Turcae" (Boeckh, *CIG* 180), and is now in the Louvre. Prof. E. Michon, Conservateur du Département des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, has kindly permitted the publication of the photograph. To Prof. J. Charbonneaux, Conservateur-Adjoint, I am indebted for squeeze, photograph, and a detailed description, transmitted through the good offices of M^{lle} P. de Sampigny.

left for a margin above the title. The only place conceivable for the Archon would therefore be on the hypothetical separately-cut pediment; but inscriptions on pediments were largely abandoned in the early third century, and moreover mouldings of *ca.* 100 B.C. have fascias too narrow for letters of 0.014 m.



Les Archives Photographique d'Art et d'Histoire

Fig. 1. *I.G.² II 1714* of 88/7 B.C. Scale 1:3½

We are compelled consequently to believe, what has passed unnoticed hitherto, that this was a year in which the Archon was not listed: which means, one supposes, that there was no Archon.

The list has been assigned by Kirchner to "*c. a. 90 a.*" on grounds of prosopography. We find in the long Archon-list *I.G.² II 1713* the word *Ἀναρχία* entered for the year 88/7.

Since Ἀναρχία means primarily the lack of the Ἀρχων (Kirchner in *Ditt.*³ 733, n. 4, citing Aristotle *Ath. Pol.*, XIII, 1), it is tempting to assign 1714 to that year. The only possible objection might arise from the fact that we must suppose that the other eight *archontes* nevertheless held office. Is this so strong an objection as to force us to believe that there was an Archon in the year of 1714, whether simply not recorded, or else recorded on some unusual superposed block? Inscriptions from the Roman period do not reveal whether, in any of the six known years of Ἀναρχία, subordinate *archontes* held office (references from Graindor, *Chronologie*, p. 11 and n. 1, p. 12 f.); but it is not necessary to suppose that the causes which brought about Ἀναρχία in 88/7 involved the absence of the whole college and the consequent neglect of their various functions. The eponymous Archonship was now, or was becoming, what it remained under the Empire, a burden demanding wealth (Bergk, *Rh. Mus.*, XIX, 1864, p. 605, n. 22; Graindor, *loc. cit.*; Ferguson, *Klio*, IV, 1904, p. 7, n. 1 and *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 435 f.); indeed that was the cause of later years of Ἀναρχία (Graindor, *loc. cit.*). It is probable that we should distinguish the office from those of the lesser *archontes*, whose duties were doubtless less burdensome. Supporting Kirchner's general date therefore, we may assign 1714 precisely to 88/7.¹

The absence of two usual lines at the top, and the lack of rubrics and names of subordinate functionaries at the bottom, naturally made a considerable difference in the proportions of the stele as compared with later stelae bearing full lists of *archontes*; the original thickness moreover is lost. Hence 1714 was omitted from the table of proportions *above*, p. 143. We may remark its uncommonly wide margins at the sides.

Insofar as this reasoning can be credited, it gives us an interesting new fact about the year of Anarchy: eight *archontes* held office. This may mean that the date of the anarchy was not arbitrarily fixed by the Romans, as if they refused to recognize an Archon of the pro-Mithradatic party (cf. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 440, n. 1, also 444, n. 1), but that the fact of Anarchy, in the technical sense, was generally recognized at the time. An alternative view is that 1714 was set up after the Roman victory in 86, and that the Romans compelled omission of the Archon. In this event, however, it is likely enough that no *archontes* at all would have been recorded. We may conclude tentatively that the Ἀναρχία of 88/7 was due not to foreign interference but to the lack of a rich and willing candidate.

I. G.² II 1727 of "paullo ante 63/2(?)" (Fig. 2)

After its discovery by Philadelphus (Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1921, p. 90), the stone was deposited near the watchman's small house at the Theater of Dionysos, close to the entrance from the Street of Dionysos the Areopagite. It had not been studied since that time until

¹ If this dating of 1714 be acceptable, we have three interesting dates in the career of Attinas son of Herakleides of Phlya: παῖς πύλαιστής in 128/7 (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III 2, 12), age 9; ἔφηρος in 119/8 (*I. G.² II 1009*), age 18; θεσμοθέτης in 88/7 (1714, line 7), age 49. A parallel series of dates is not known, I believe, in the case of any other Athenian.

Dr. Mitchell Levensohn and his wife, Mrs. Ethel Levensohn, examined it in the course of a study of the inscriptions of the South Slope; they have kindly allowed me free use of their *MS*. Their contributions are acknowledged in detail below. The stone itself is now locked in the house.

The Table *above*, p. 143, gives the important dimensions. The original thickness is preserved, and the original width may be measured from the centre of the pediment; 0.28 m. are preserved. The present height is 0.405 m. The pediment is uncommonly high, and the eaves akroterion is hollowed at the side, following the line of the painted floral design with which such akroteria were generally decorated; the paint of course has gone. The side is only partly preserved and it appears that there was little or no taper. Of the tooling or supports there is no good evidence. The titles are within one space of being centred, the excess falling on the left. The demotic of the Archon must have been 7 full letters or less. The demotica in lines 4, 6, 8, 9, and 10 had each more space than the Archon's.

The text given by Philadelphus and the Levensohns can be only slightly enlarged:

	Ἄρχων
	Νικόστρατος Νικοστρά[του - - ⁷ or less - -]
	Βασιλεύς
	Σωσίθεος Κλεομένους Μ[αρθώνιος?]
5	Πολέμαρχος
	Θεογένης Δημητρίου ΕΕ
	Θεσμοθέται
	Θεωρικὸς Συνδρόμου Στ[ειριεύς]
	Μενεκράτης Ἀγνωνος Φ[- - -]
10	Σέλευκος [Ἀγί?]ον Ἀ[θμ]ο[ρεύς]
	Νικ[όσ]τρ[ατος] - - - - -

Line 4. Read by the Levensohns, except the last preserved letter; the slant of the preserved stroke makes M practically certain. The name Kleomenes was restricted to a few families in Athens (*PA* 8590–8595, *NPA*, pp. 112–113). The demotica of only two are known: one is of Melite (fourth century), the other of the prominent deme Marathon, Kleomenes son of Mantias, of whose family tree several members are now known (*PA* 8594, stemma under 9668, Theogenes son of Menippos in *NPA*, p. 92, Menon son of Menippos in *NPA*, p. 127, and *PA* 10043). The *floruit* of Kleomenes is *ca.* 97 B.C.; a son might have been Basileus *ca.* 64 B.C. The name Sositheos is unknown previously in Marathon, and it is very rare (*PA* 13223–13229, *NPA*, p. 155: three demotica). If therefore we choose to connect the father of our Sositheos with the Marathonian family, we must bear in mind how tenuous is the reasoning.

Line 6. The Levensohns point out that the last letter, read by them as Ε, now excludes the identification with the family from Melite (*PA* 6716).

Line 8. Confirming the restoration by Philadelphus and the Levensohns, part of final T is visible. PA 7221 of this name was ephebe in 107/6. NPA, pp. 153–154 gives him a son who was a *πυθαϊστῆς παῖς* in 97/6. Our *Thesmothetes* might be identified either with the ephebe of 107/6, in which case we must date 1727 in the first half of the first

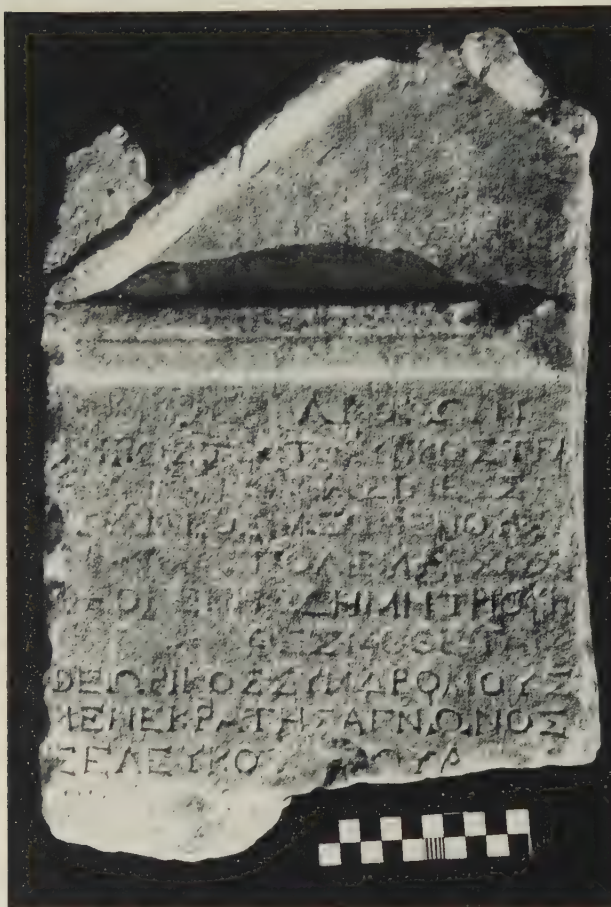


Fig. 2. IG² II 1727 of paullo ante 63/2(?)

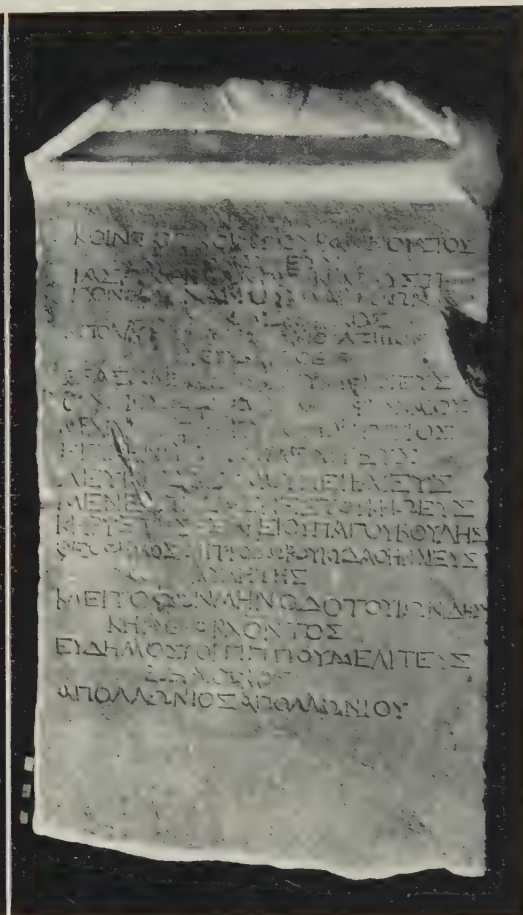


Fig. 3. IG² II 1717 of 56/5 B.C.

century; or with a hypothetical grandson, who might have held office toward the end of the century.

Line 9. The Φ was read by the Levensohns.

Line 10. The A and second O were read by the Levensohns. The patronymic might have four full letters (*Ἰῆος* is excluded), but no such name has been found by me. Among names in 4¹/₂, the one given best fits the space. The deme might be Hagnous were it not that part of the Γ ought to show. Both demes are of Attalis, so that to avoid a violation of Beloch's law, a name in . . OYA . . O[Y] would have to be supplied.

Line 11. The Levensohns' suggestion seems to be confirmed by slight traces which by themselves would not have significance.

An Archon Nikostratos son of Nikostratos is dated by Delphian evidence close to 1 A.D. at the earliest (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III 2, p. 65, no. 64, and pp. 66-69; Graindor, *Chronologie*, p. 52, no. 18). Without regarding this evidence, Philadelphus was led by prosopography to adopt a date near 80 B.C.; Hondius (*SEG* II, p. 6, no. 17) sustained this view, declaring for two Archons both named Nikostratos son of Nikostratos; Kirchner adopted the alternative view, suggesting that the two ephebes of the late second century were not our *archontes* but their grandfathers, thus necessitating only one Archon Nikostratos, namely him of *post ca.* 1 A.D.

As against such a date for 1727 the present study has revealed a new argument. In any case, the absence of the priesthood of the Consul Drusus in connection with an Archon dated soon after its establishment would be surprising. If it be thought that this additional office was not assumed by all Archons, or if assumed was not always inscribed in lists, the answer is that, excluding 1727, all seven of our lists which might show it, do show it; whereas no list dated after 9/8 certainly lacks it. Evidently, therefore, there were two Archons, Nikostratos II of *ante* 9/8, and Nikostratos III of *ca.* 1 A.D. (Nikostratos I was of 295/4). We cannot say whether Nikostratos II was or was not the father of Nikostratos III, the deme of each being unknown.

It remains to determine the period of Nikostratos II. Striking similarities of the stelae 1727 and 1717 of 56/5 at once attract attention (Figs. 2 and 3). Pediments¹ and mouldings are much alike; both stelae were found near the monument of Lysikrates; and curiously, both show the same kind and degree of corrosion by water. The reader may observe, moreover, that in both the lettering is closely similar, though not by the same hand. Resorting finally to the prosopographical evidence, we find it necessary to choose between an earlier date, satisfactory to the data set forth in the commentary on line 4 and especially on line 8, and a later date, making it more easily possible for Nikostratos II to be the father of Nikostratos III. The former evidence being the weightier, it seems better tentatively to set Nikostratos II shortly before the group listed in 1716, in a period now somewhat empty of Archons (*A.J.A.*, 1933, p. 582).

I.G.² II 1717 of 56/5 B.C. (Fig. 3)

It so happens that among all the lists of *archontes*, of which 6 are now lost, most being small fragments and of uncertain date, we do have two which are practically complete and precisely dated.²

¹ Except that 1727 has a peculiarity in the eaves akroteria, and 1717 has a shield. Precisely identical stelae do not exist.

² The dates of both depend upon the overlapping of the two lists of Archons eponymous, *I.G.² II 1713* and 1716. New readings appear to make this secure: *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, pp. 578 ff.

(The other is 1721.) Of 1717 a photograph has been published by Dragoumes, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1905, cols. 183–184. We note that the feeling for a proper stele has almost been lost: there is little taper, the width being close to 0.325 m. just under the moulding, and 0.330 m. at the base; but the moulding still projects a little (0.007 m.) at either side. The preserved height is 0.59 m., so that originally the stele stood some 0.66 m. above ground. The stele was cut 0.07 m. thick. The moulding is short (0.027 m.) and simple. The right side was smoothed as usual, but the left was smoothed below the moulding to a distance of only 0.017 m. Below that it was left very rough. In the same side two holes for leaded attachments were cut, one 0.05 m., the other 0.11 m., from the preserved bottom. We shall find similar treatment in the lists 1720 of *ca.* 56/5 and 1718 of “*inter* 36/5–18/7,” whereas 1721 of 14/3 was supported by clamps attached, not low on the side, but to the top between the akroteria. The precise chronological value of these interesting cuttings cannot be determined until all the other stelae of this size and period have been examined. In earlier times stelae were of course leaded into a base.

The lines of the inscription slant, merely from carelessness, and the symmetrical arrangement of the titles, approximately exact, is abandoned at the end in favor of symmetry over each name. The name *Χαρίων* in line 5 stands in an erasure, and in line 9 we should read *E[ὶ]θ[υ]νάκρον*.

Such is this specimen from the middle of the little known first century B.C. in Athens. More favorably let us note that the lettering itself, with deep, wide strokes forming plump letters, with enough serifs to accent without overweighting the ends of strokes, is as good as any lettering engraved in Athens since the very different styles of the fifth century.

I.G.² II 1720 of ca. 56/5 B.C. (Fig. 4)

The broken top half remains lost, but the preserved lower half shows us the original thickness of 0.066 m.; the right side, badly preserved but apparently once fairly smooth; and a cutting for an iron 0.08 m. from the present lower edge of the stone. This cutting is slightly higher than those in 1717 and 1718, but otherwise it is precisely similar.

In dating this inscription we encounter a dilemma. One horn is this: the Herald of the Areopagos has the name of the Herald of 1721, which is firmly fixed in 14/3. The other horn is this: both the Flute-Player and the Public Slave have the same names respectively (there is some restoration, but it is highly plausible) as the Flute-Player and Public Slave of 1717, which is fixed equally firmly in 56/5. Without exception scholars have preferred to believe that the term of the Herald, Epikrates son of Kallimachos of Leukonoe, was shorter than that of the functionaries, Kleitophon son of Menodotos of Ionidai, the Flute-Player, and Apollonios the son of Apollonios, the Public Slave. Thus 1720 is dated in the age of Augustus, and Kleitophon and Apollonios functioned simultaneously, it is tacitly assumed, some thirty or forty years. This is possible.

In both 1717 (of 56/5) and 1720, the functionaries are listed in this order: Herald of the Areopagos, Flute-Player, Herald of the Archon, Public Slave. From this order the listing in both 1718 and 1721 (of 14/3) differs. As we shall see *below*, p. 157, 1718 must be read and restored with the Flute-Player in line 18, giving in common with 1721 the order: Herald of the Areopagos, Herald of the Archon, Flute-Player (1721 also preserves the *Leitourgos*). 1718 is dated by prosopographical links rather vaguely within 36/5–18/7. With regard then to the order of the functionaries, we may suggest this sequence:—

1717, date 56/5

1720, date Augustan (preferably *ca.* 20?)

1718, date 36/5–18/7 (preferably *ca.* 18/7?)

1721, date 14/3

The dates in parentheses are certainly not to be excluded.

If we examine the style of cutting of 1720, we find that it bears some resemblance to *I.G.*² II 1040: similar are the Α, Π, Ξ, Τ, Υ; mu alone shows a decided variation, and it is not unlikely, though 1720 is too small for it to be proved, that the two inscriptions are by the same hand. Especially notable is the wide spacing in each. I have found no other to which 1720 is thus related, but unluckily *I.G.*² II 1040 is not fixed precisely as to its date between *ca.* 45 and *ca.* 20 B.C.; the latter is favored at present (Graindor, *Chronologie*, p. 37, n. 1; Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 286). 1720 differs almost equally from both 1717 of 56/5 and 1721 of 14/3, but it is notable that in 1720, 1717 and, though the letters are smaller, in *I.G.*² II 1040, the letter rho has the form ϱ whereas in 1721 it is ϱ (see Graindor, *Chronologie*, pp. 31, n. 9 and 55).

Under these circumstances, the neglected horn of the dilemma, namely a date near 56/5, ought at least to be scrutinized. 1720 is tied to 14/3 by the seeming identity of the Herald of the Areopagos; but Epikrates son of Kallimachos of Leukonoe is also the name of the grandfather of the Herald of 14/3.¹ The earlier Epikrates was also a man of eminence. Aged probably between five and thirteen (see Ferguson in *Klio*, IX, 1909, pp. 323 and 307, n. 2) he went as a Pythaist in 106/5 (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III 2, no. 15, pp. 22 and 288). Later he held a monetary magistracy (Kirchner, *Zeit. f. Num.*, XXI, p. 100, no. 26; Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 386; *Cat. Gr. Coins, Attica*, p. 59, no. LXXXIX (2), Sundwall, *Unters. über att. Münzen*, p. 113). This Epikrates, as Graindor rightly says, has not always been sufficiently distinguished from his equally eminent grandson.² It was the latter, for instance, who as Hoplite General a second time was concerned in Lemnian affairs (*I.G.* XII 8, 26): Graindor proved this merely by the style of the letters as they are copied in *I.G.* The later Epikrates, as Archon, also dates a statue base:

¹ For Epikrates and his grandson, see *PA* 4903, etc.; stemma under *PA* 8021; improved by Sundwall, *Nachtr.*, pp. 69, 105 (new stemma); also Roussel, *B. C. H.*, XXXII, 1908, p. 331, no. 222; Graindor, *Musée Belge*, 1923, p. 278, no. 206. The son, Kallimachos, was *Epimeletes* of Delos, *ca.* 80–60 B.C.: *PA* 8021, *Nachtr.*, pp. 105–106; Roussel, *Delos*, p. 115 and n. 9.

² *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 106. Graindor has also dealt with the name in *op. cit.*, pp. 105, 114–115; *Chronologie*, pp. 27–28, no. 1; *Album*, p. 13, no. 3; *Musée Belge*, *loc. cit.*

the letters exhibit such forms as Δ, Ε (also Ε), Μ, and Ρ. Graindor dates it on prosopographical grounds towards the beginning of the Empire (*Chronologie*, no. 1, pp. 27–28; *Album*, p. 13, no. 3 and pl. II; *I.G.*¹ III 136). He appears again in a list of nobles, *I.G.*² II 2464, which has enough prosopographical links to make its date certain, late in the first century B.C.¹ Graindor then ventures to connect this later Epikrates with an Epikrates mentioned in 44 B.C. by Cicero's son Marcus, then a student in Athens (Cicero, *Ep. ad Fam.*, XVI, 21, 5). Marcus called Epikrates "princeps Atheniensium." Such a suggestion, and such a text, are worthy of more than the neglect they have received.

Young Marcus, sowing wild oats in Athens, was criticized by one Leonides in a letter to Cicero, who ordered Marcus to change teachers. Marcus evaded a direct reply; he wrote instead to the secretary Tiro, announcing that he had dismissed Gorgias, and undertaking to prove that better teachers and worthier persons were his hourly companions. The philosopher Kratippos, who had come since 48 B.C. from Mitylene, is made out to be a friend as well as a teacher. Marcus continues, "Utor familiaribus et quotidianis convictoribus, quos secum Mitylenis Cratippus adduxit, hominibus et doctis et illi probatissimis. Multum enim mecum est Epicrates, princeps Atheniensium, et Leonides et horum ceteri similes." The letter then announces the instant dismissal of Gorgias, felicitates "mi Tiro"—and requests a secretary to write out lecture notes.

Marcus was making the most of his acquaintances. Aside from an otherwise unknown Bruttius, who *may* be an older man, all who are mentioned are known to us as pillars of respectability. Leonides, who had brought this trouble upon Marcus, must have been of an age suitable to a guardian.² Graindor asserts that Leonides was assuredly an Athenian, and even proposes to identify him with the Archon of 32 years later.³ There is, however, no positive proof that Leonides was Athenian. The name, moreover, was borne by several Athenian families prominent at this time (*PA* 9123, etc.), and the identity of guardian as well as of Archon is uncertain. As to Marcus' acquaintance Epikrates, the text is somewhat perplexing. The force of *enim* taken by itself is to make one think that Epikrates and Leonides have come with Kratippos recently to Athens from Mitylene. It is not likely, however, that anyone who could be called "princeps Atheniensium" could be either a non-Athenian, or would go to Mitylene for his education. If moreover,

¹ The stone shows extensive erasures: in addition to those necessitated by the change to accusatives in lines 3–13, the first three letters of line 6, the entire second name in line 10, and the entire second name in line 12. Kabbadias, in the first publication, suggested that the *vacats* after lines 12 and 14 were to set off the names of the brothers in lines 13–14 (*Agx. 'Ep.*, 1898, col. 22). This would be unusual. The gaps are each of exactly the proper width to accommodate one line and two interspaces. It is preferable then to suppose that two names were somehow omitted, and that the rest follow each other in a recognized order. If this is true, the position of Epikrates, line 10, might support the notion that he was not yet a "princeps Atheniensium."—In line 15 the second name is TEI¹ which can only be TEIΣ.—Below is just too little space to let us be certain that the list ends in line 16; but this impression would agree with the preserved thickness, which is original, of 0.073 m.

² Leonides is also mentioned in Cicero, *Ep. ad Attic.*, XIV, 16, 3; 18, 4; XV, 16.

³ Graindor, *Chronologie*, pp. 28, 47, and 50, suggests that Leonides became Herald of the Areopagos post 9/8, *I.G.*² II 1722.

Epikrates and Leonides were merely pupils of Kratippos, rather than men of an equal age and dignity, Marcus would not be likely to instance his acquaintance with them. This reasoning would seem to indicate that, as Graindor suggested, we are dealing with a notable Athenian; he may have been obliged like Kratippos to flee with Pompey after Pharsalia in 48 B.C.; or the phrase "enim" may be loosely used, a looseness of style as the young culprit gained confidence in his plea. Leonides, too, if an Athenian, and not a newcomer and pupil, would be a more likely person to assume oversight of Marcus.

It appears on the whole that Graindor's theory of Epikrates and Leonides as Athenians, though without proof, is worth consideration; and I propose that if either Epikrates is to be thought of, it is rather the grandfather who comes in question. We have seen that in 106/5 he was at least five years of age; hence in 44 he was at least sixty-seven. Having been Herald of the Areopagos in some year near 56/5,—the period to which we may give 1720,—he would have attained the years and honors suitable to the "princeps Atheniensium." The later Epikrates was in 44 B.C. still thirty years from the Heraldship, and comparatively a young man.

If we admit that the Herald of 1720 is a different man from the Herald of 1721, we remove the only known second tenure of this office until the time of the Archon of 150/1 A.D. (*Arch. Ep.*, 1883, cols. 137–141, no. 13, l. 13).

Thus an earlier date for 1720 accords better with the terms of the two functionaries, the order of listing the functionaries, the suggested identity of Epikrates, and an annual term of the Heraldship. Let us grant that a chain of such links is not binding, nor is the evidence of style, such as it is, confirmatory.

Line 7. The father was *Ἡρόδο[τος]* and not *Ἡρόδο[ωτος]*—the reading of the first omicron is quite clear and would seem to exclude Graindor's *Ἡρώδ[ov]* (*Musée Belge*, XXVII, 1923, p. 284, no. 282),—the decisive omicron being given us by the large amount of free space after the delta. In this space the base of an Ω, if this were the following letter, must have occurred.

Line 8. The stone reads KHPYΣ (*sic*). All of the letters are cut to an unusual depth. ΞAPE stand *in rasura* but the traces of previous letters are not intelligible.

Line 12. Consonantly with the date suggested above, this line would be restored with *ἔρχομαι*.

Line 13. In the second space an O or Θ is certain. Before it there is the exact space for one letter, and after it, the exact space for three, as measured to the millimeter and compared with other spacings in this line. The only Greek names of any length whatsoever in -στρατος listed by Bechtel (*Hist. Gr. Personennamen*, pp. 408–410) which have O (or Θ) as a second letter are *Μοιρόστρατος*, unknown in Athens, and *Πολύστρατος*. In this context the traces of the lambda are strong enough to be confirmatory, but would not by themselves be good evidence. The photograph (Fig. 2) has revealed the upsilon, otherwise unnoticed. Let us read [*Π*]ολύ[σ]τρατος.

After *line 15* there is a *vacat* of 0.03 m. to the broken lower edge of the stone.

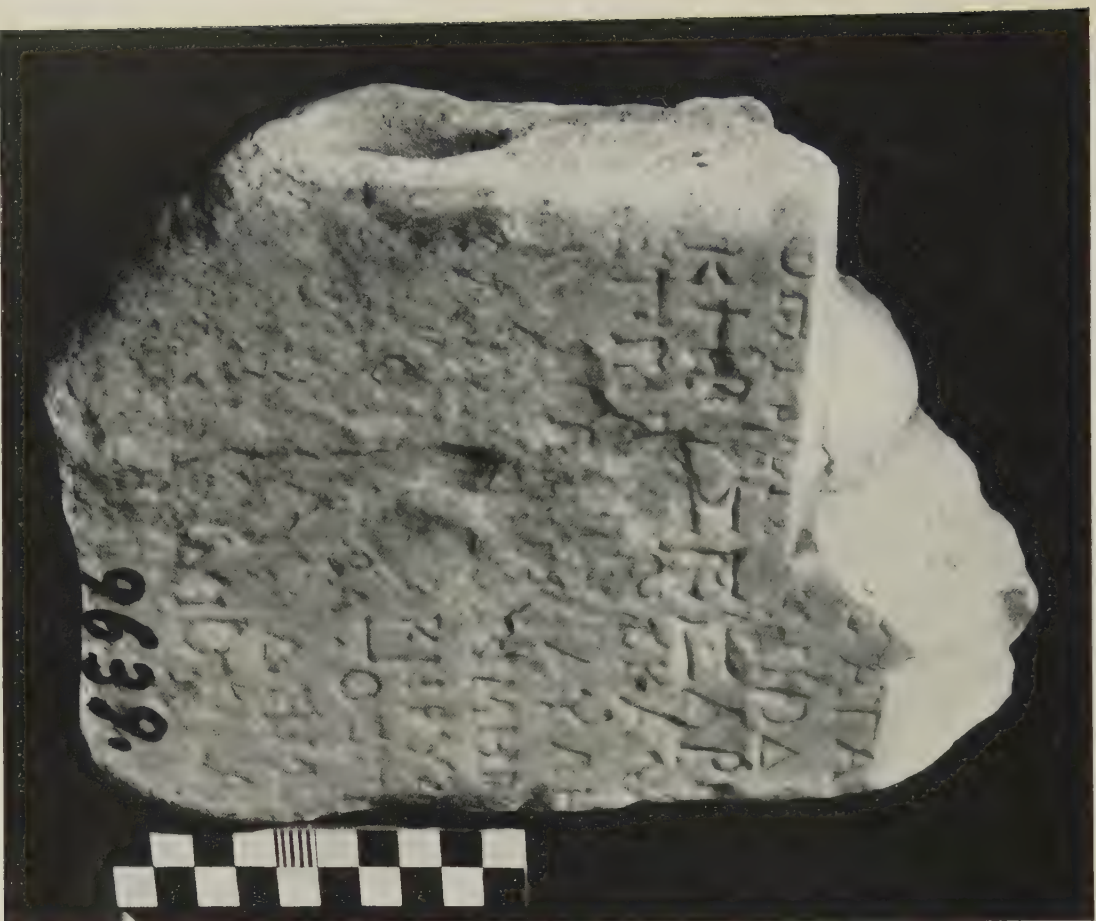


Fig. 4. I. G.² II 1720 of ca. 56/5 B.C., the Preserved Fragment,
Showing the Clamp Cutting



Fig. 5. I. G.² II 1719 of ca. 48/5 B.C. Scale 5:8

I.G.² II 1719 of ca. 46/5 B.C. (Fig. 5)

The marble is Pentelic. It is water-worn in such a way that although traces of a twelfth and even a thirteenth line are visible, they are not legible. It is partly preserved behind to its full thickness, for the greatest thickness preserved, 0.06 m., is in accord with the very small moulding, 0.023 m. high.

In line 11 Kastriotes (*Agx.* ³*Ep.*, 1914, pp. 165–166 and fig. 22) read no letters of the demotic. Graindor (*B.C.H.*, XXXVIII, 1914, pp. 437–441), setting forth the careful text which has rightly been adopted by Kirchner, read $\text{X}\dot{\text{A}}\Sigma\ldots\text{E}$ (Kirchner omits the dots under the first three letters). This gave the only epigraphical mention of the deme Chastieis, known otherwise only from Hesychius (*sub verbo*), who does not give the tribe. Graindor adds, “L’état du marbre ne permet guère de songer à *Μαρ[αθώνιος]* et de restituer le nom de [*Ζήνων Ζήν[ωνος]*, de Marathon, notable athénien du début de l’Empire (Sundwall, *Nachträge*, p. 86).” Examination of the stone and even of the photograph shows that reading X for the first letter means neglecting some of the traces, all of which fit M; that the third letter appears to be doubtful on a squeeze, whereas discoloration in the stone reveals a P; and that, after a gap in which the break by itself suggests an A, are discolorations which give part of the curve of a Θ, and indentations which reveal part of the cross bar. The reading ΜΑΡΑΘ , then, enables us to restore the line as Graindor mentioned.

Such a restoration would, moreover, have other advantages. The inscription was laid out with some strictness, as the relative positions of the letters beginning lines 1, 3, 5, and 7, which are in a vertical line, prove. Hence the names also began, as usual, exactly even vertically. If we restore, with Graindor, ΕΥΚΛΗΣ in line 2, we obtain for line 11 within half a space less than the exact room, disregarding the sizes of letters, for ΖΗΝΩΝΖΗ ; and since the letters in line 2 are 0.011 m. in height, and those in line 11 are 0.008 m. (the Corpus is to be corrected; and line 1 has letters of 0.014 m.), this apparent discrepancy is really proper. With this confirmation, Chastieis disappears from our epigraphic records, and as in 1729 of “*init. s. I p.*” we have in one list of *archontes* two Marathonians.—Further restorations, aided by our conjectural determination of the left edge, must however be mere suggestions from earlier names. For line 6 Graindor offers [*Ἀλέξανδρος*] Σ [*Ἀλεξάνδρος* *v*-----], but the space is insufficient; moreover (see Fig. 5) the O should appear in the space preserved before the Σ , so that we seem rather to have a shorter name in A Σ , such as *Ἀνέας* (Sundwall, *Nachträge*, p. 8: father of an ephebe *Ἀλέξανδρος*, deme unknown, of 106/5 B.C.), with letters widely spaced, as the gap before the first letter implies. In line 9 the space will exactly accommodate the restoration [*Μιλτιάδης* *Μιλτιάδου Βερε[νικίδης]*] (cf. *Nachträge*, p. 129, ephebe of 128/7 B.C., deme unknown), as measured by the spacing of the patronymic.

Reviewing now the evidence for the date, it seems natural to consider with Kolbe (*Archons*, p. 142), the known Archon Eukles II of 46/5 or about then (Kirchner, *I.G.²*

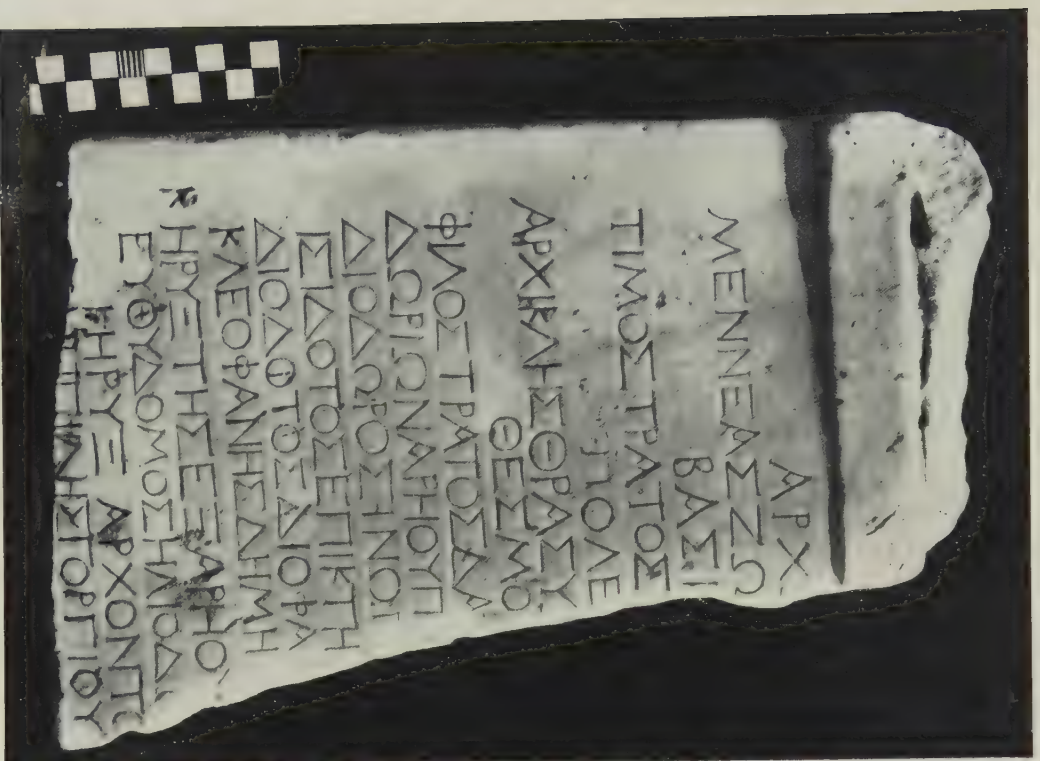


Fig. 6. I.G.² 1718 of 36,5 18,7 m.c.

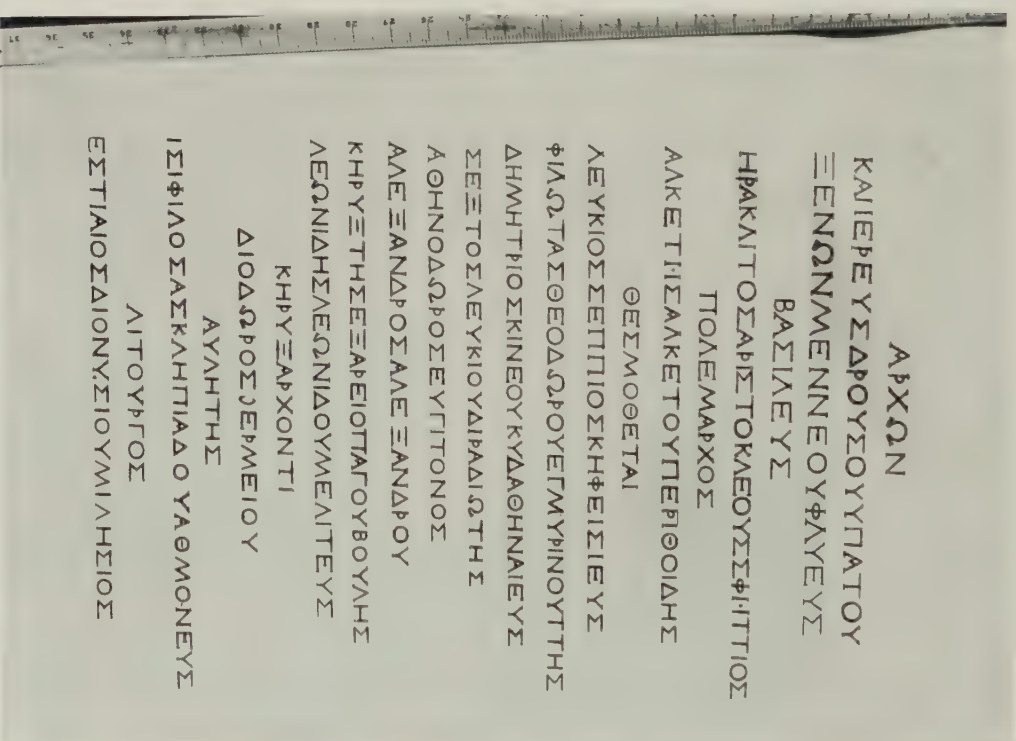


Fig. 7. I.G.² II 1722 of ca. 8 b.c., Montfaucon's Plate

II—III, iv, *Indices*, p. 25; Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 280, 281, 284, 285). With this date accords the absence of the sign for a parent of identical name (which however was used in *I.G.*² II 1754 of “*init. s. I a.*”—Dittenberger *I.G.*¹ III 1066 dated it in the Empire—and *I.G.*² II 1756 of “*med. s. I a.*”). Zenon could be identified with the elderly Zenon (V), son of Zenon (II) of Marathon (*Nachträge*, p. 85); and in fact Graindor was willing to admit that this Zenon, son of Zenon of Marathon, *I.G.*² II 2464, line 11, could be the Archon of 54/3 (*Musée Belge*, 1923, p. 282, no. 244), but since such a date would also presuppose a lengthy career for the young Eukles (IV) (*Nachträge*, p. 78), doubt must remain. In any case, it would seem better in this period not to identify Zenon of Marathon, the *Thesmothetes* of 1719, with the Archon of 54/3 (see Ferguson, *Klio*, IX, 1909, p. 329 on single terms for *archontes*). The career of Eukles may have extended back to 46/5, for we know that he was priest of Pythian Apollo as early as the Archon Euthydomos of 42/1 (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 285). On Eukles see Graindor in *Musée Belge*, 1923, pp. 280–281, no. 228.


*I.G.*² II 1718 of “36/5–18/7” (Fig. 6)

The unusual thinness of the stone (0.05 m.) is near the original, since the Pentelic marble is of excellent quality; its use as a paving slab has removed at least a centimeter. In place of a moulding, a simple fascia 0.03 m. high projects straight out a distance of 0.004 m.; the design above cannot be discerned. The preserved left side has been left rough except for a narrow band cut to make the front edge sharp. The break at the bottom comes just beneath a cutting similar in size and position to those noted under 1717 and 1720. The cutting would fit an iron 0.005 m. thick and 0.015 m. wide, the width being parallel to the front of the stele.

Another unusual feature in the design is the broad (*ca.* 0.03 m.) margin, into which line 14 projects so as to preserve symmetry—in other instances this long line begins even with the names and has to be crowded, which explains the margin here. The delta in line 17 was restruck, but otherwise there are no errors (i.e., erasures). The shapes and the cutting are indeed in their own manner peerless.

By a small error which has crept from Graindor's *Chronologie* (pp. 28, 30 and 291) into *I.G.*² II (text and commentary), the earlier limit for the Archon is given as 36/7; 36/5 was meant.

Line 6. A final K is visible and helps to confirm the restoration.

Line 12. A final upright  is given us by the line of the break: the patronymic must be in any event *Διοφάν[ov]* or *Διοφάντου*; Sundwall (*Nachträge*, p. 54) and Graindor (*Musée Belge*, 1923, p. 275, no. 156) prefer the latter, which is a more common name in all periods and is the only one of the two known in Athens in this period.

Line 18. The faint traces can be read if only it be conceded that the word was either *εὐλητής* or *δημόσιος*. From Graindor's squeeze (*Album*, pl. I b) or Fig. 6 one can see that the various titles are arranged with some regard to symmetry in relation to

the centre of $\text{Ἀρχω}[\nu]$. The symmetry is not perfectly maintained, but assuredly we should read in line 18 $[\alpha\iota\lambda]\eta\tau\acute{\iota}[\varsigma]$ rather than $[\delta]\eta[\mu\acute{o}\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma]$, although the traces by themselves are slight.

I.G.² II 1721 of 14/3 B.C. (see below)

This stele is our only other (see 1717) which is at once complete and accurately dated. Fimmen's photograph (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIX, 1914, p. 131) gives a truer perspective, Graindor's (*Album*, pl. IV) shows the erasures. The dimensions, for practically the entire stele is preserved, exhibit the goodly proportions which go with a thickness of 0.10 m. All are correctly recorded in *I.G.² II*; let us add the height of the moulding, 0.038 m. The sides were not intended to be seen: they were cut back at an angle and left rough behind the sharp trimmed edge. The stele was probably set between other stelae, but—perhaps because the iron supports let into the sides of slightly earlier stelae (1717, 1718, 1720) had pointed the way but had not been satisfactory—1721 was supported instead by clamps (0.015 m. long and 0.005 m. wide) let into the sloping roof between the akroteria. As was foreshadowed in the stele of 56/5 B.C., there is now no taper: it is merely a rectangular slab, from which the moulding does not project at the sides: for such projection there was perhaps no room. Again as in the earlier stele, the first titles (lines 1, 3, 5, 7) begin on the same vertical line, so that the longer of them are approximately centred; but the lower titles (lines 16, 18, 20) have, as not earlier, an even more symmetrical place. The design, then, has advanced a step, and indeed the stele as a whole is excellent work. Particularly sure and delicate in minute detail is the chiselling of some of the omicrons. Even the erasures were so competent,—shallow, smooth, and fairly thorough,—that their exact extent is determined with difficulty. The last 3 letters of *Βασιλεύς* stand in an erasure which extends two spaces beyond them: since traces of $\Upsilon\Sigma$ show at the end of the erasure, and since the entire erasure occupies approximately a length of space equal to 5 letters, Fimmen (*loc. cit.*) correctly inferred that dittography of $\Lambda\epsilon$ occurred. In confirmation, one can read in the erasure with certainty $\Lambda\epsilon\Upsilon\Sigma$. All of lines 9 and 10 has been erased, the latter so carefully that it can be detected in the middle of the line only by touch. Both erasures extend to the right edge. The few traces of previous letters I cannot interpret, but it is clear that they give no ground for supposing that the erasures were made to preserve the tribal order.

I.G.² II 1722 of ca. 8 B.C. (Lost: see Fig. 7)

The plate in Montfaucon, *Palaeographia Graeca* (Paris, 1708), may be taken for a reasonably exact reproduction of letters and contents.¹ It omits the demotics of lines 13 and 14, given however in his text, simply because they would have overrun the edge

¹ Dr. C. G. Lowe, Director of the Gennadius Library of the American School in Athens, kindly permitted the making of this photograph.

(not visible in Fig. 7) of the plate. In line 12 his Σέξτος is probably to be preferred to Spon's Σέξτος (the only instance of this form in *I.G.*¹ III); but in line 15 Spon's Ἀρεῖον is more likely than Montfaucon's Ἀρεῖο, which would be unique in these lists.

For the dimensions Montfaucon reports (p. 146) that it was "duorum circiter ac dimidii pedum longitudinis, latitudinis vero unius ac dimidii." Since he may have measured only the inscribed area, or the stele may have been trimmed or broken, it seems best not to accept these proportions, which would of course be unusual for a complete stele.

*I.G.*² II 1724 of "post 9/8" (Fig. 8)

Since the inventory of the *EM* under 8315 has "Acropolis 2195," evidently 1724 was found there; Pittakys (*Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1859, p. 1866, no. 3612) says southeast of the Parthenon. The moulding, 0.051 m. high, is preserved and near it part of the left side. The preserved thickness (only 0.06 m.) is not original. The letters are large for these documents (line one, 0.020 m.; lines two and three, 0.016 m.; line four, 0.013 m.). The width must have been nearly 0.40 m., as reckoned by the preserved edge and the middle of Ἀρχ[ων]. Obviously this stele was one of the group of larger stelae, of which the prototype is 1721.

Line 1. Only AP is now preserved of Ἀρχ[ων]; Pittakys and Koehler-Dittenberger read no more.

Line 2. If we supply, as in *I.G.*², no word such as Ἐπώνυμος before the preserved words in line 1, we shall be forced to believe that a large margin existed, some 0.035 m. wide, as in 1718. Nevertheless it is better to accept this because with the present restoration line 2 is within 1/2 letter of being symmetrically placed in relation to the centre of APX[ΩN].

Line 3. The same symmetry shows us that some 8 letters including γόνοι should be supplied at the end of line 3, which is spaced more widely than line 2. From this it seems that the patronymic was short. It is worth noting that the AN, supplied at the beginning of line 3, make the line begin exactly even with line 2 and thus confirm the unusual margin. HP (for Praxagoras) would not do this so well (Graindor, *Chronologie*, p. 54), for rho occupies less space.

Line 4. ΔΕ are exactly accommodated at the beginning, and again confirm the margin. To the right there are missing OΥ and some 9 letters.

Line 5. Pittakys and Koehler-Dittenberger both locate the lost Β beneath the Ξ of line 4. This confirms our notion of the approximate symmetry of the design.

*I.G.*² II 1725 of "paullo post 9/8" (*Rev. Arch.*, 1917, p. 8, fig. 6)

The low (0.025 m.) and slightly projecting (0.005 m.) moulding (the moulding projects also at the sides, which are trimmed smooth), and still more the thinness of the stone (0.064 m.), which is original, show that this inscription should be restored with a minimum width. One cannot calculate exactly, because each letter of the alphabet in this ornate

large style has a width of its own; but since APX takes 0.07 m., Graindor's restoration, with ἐπώνυμος in line 1, would make line 1 extend to some 0.49 m. Comparison with other stelae of this class shows that such a width is unthinkable—1717, with a width of 0.44 m., is 0.10 m. thick—and that Ἀρχ[ων καὶ ἱερεὺς], 13 letters requiring some 0.30 m., represent normal proportions (see Table, *above*, p. 143). Since moreover Graindor's authority for restoring ἐπώνυμος was partly its occurrence in 1735, line 1, which is an erroneous reading of that line (see *below*), we may attempt to follow the probably invariable custom in these lists, and omit it.

Line 2. If we omit ἐπώνυμος from line 1, it will have precisely the length of line 2, namely 13 letters. This is in itself a decisive advantage over Graindor's scheme with its excess of 8 letters in line 1.

Line 3. It follows that ΠΑΜ is the beginning of an Archon's name which should be short, *ca.* 13 letters with either the patronymic or demotic, but not both. Thus if Graindor's proposal (*Rev. Arch.*, VI, 1917, p. 8, no. 6; *Chronologie*, pp. 66–67, no. 32) be accepted, namely to identify this Archon with him of 26/7, either the patronymic Νέστορος or the demotic Φλυεύς could be inserted. Lacking analogies for this, we might better think of a different identification, perhaps with the sign [] for a father of identical name.

Line 4. The missing name should consist of some 5 letters.

This scheme, or any scheme, must be highly uncertain in view of the observable variation on the stone between the spacings of the letters in lines 1 and 2; the scheme given is the simplest possible, in keeping with average spacings, the thickness, and the moulding. In order to give the Archon a name of three words, however, we might allow a widely spaced line 1, as indeed the stone indicates; making line 2 more crowded, so as to include a brief Archon's name; spacing line 3 widely to include the patronymic Παμ- and a demotic; and supposing line 4 to have included the adoptive father's name and perhaps his patronymic. This scheme would demand lines some 0.35 m. in length, a maximum.

It is obvious in any event that the stone would have had too little height for a full list of *archontes*, unless the minor *archontes* and functionaries were cut in disproportionately small letters.

I.G.² II 1730 of "init. s. I p. (ante 22/3 p.)" (Lost)

Published in the *Δελτίον* for 1888 (pp. 136–137, no. 1) by Lolling, the stone was thereafter lost. The best that can be done now is to plot the letters on graph paper, making the design conform first to Lolling's printed copy, second to the usual pattern, and third to natural straight lines of breakage. This yields two results. First, it enables one to calculate the size, within flexible limits, of the gaps; it will suffice here to have indicated how this should be done, in case of a proposed restoration. Second, we perceive at once that if Ἀρχων be supplied above, instead of at the beginning of the first line, the design and the natural line of break (which ran obliquely down to the left, not to the

right) are both betrayed; whereas if *Ἀρχων* begins line 1, the full length of this line is within $1\frac{1}{2}$ letters of the length of line 2, and the break appears to be vertical. This is corrected to the proper oblique line by allowing wider spacing in (shorter) line 1. The thickness of the stone (0.10 m.) confirms a long line. In the only preserved instance where *Ἀρχων* is set in a separate line above the priestly title, there is reason to restore a short line (1724). The numbering of the lines in *I.G.*² II should therefore be changed.

Line 12. The numeral for Marathon (Aiantis) in *I.G.*² II should be X, not IX.

Line 13. *I.G.*² II omits Lolling's Σ, the first letter of the line.

In view of the theory that regularly in Roman times the Herald of the Areopagos was an ex-Archon (Ferguson, *Klio*, IX, 1909, p. 329), 1730 should be set before 1728.

*I.G.*² II 1729 of "*init. s. I p.*" (Lost)

Fourmont's copy, as given in Boeckh, *C.I.G.* 182, shows four letters above ΘΕΣΜΟΘΕΤΜΙ (sic) which prove at least that this list had other items: ♂ΗΘΖ.

Line 9. Fourmont (Boeckh, 182) read the demotic thus: ΤΙΟΥΤ . . . ΙΣ, which editors interpret as ΤΙΘΡΑΣΙΟΣ, thus keeping the first three letters and the last at the expense of extreme violence to the second Τ (= Α) and the second Ι (= Ο). Careful search leads to a preference for ΤΥΡΜΕΙΔΗΣ, which involves less violent changes.

After the last *Thesmotheutes* a gap appears of one line only, as Boeckh gives it. No preserved inscription of this class has such a gap (cf. notes on 1723, *EM* 4692, and 1736a), and it occurs where the title and name of the Herald of the Areopagos were commonly inserted. Hence the suspicion arose (*I.G.*¹ III 1008) that this Herald was to be inscribed, or having been inscribed was deleted, although (to be sure) one line would be insufficient for both title and name.

*I.G.*² II 1731 of "*init. s. I p.*" (Fig. 9)

As Graindor noted (*B.C.H.*, 1927, p. 292, no. 18), the stone came from the Acropolis.

The back is not original, so that the thickness may have been well over the present 0.075 m., as would seem to be required by the fact that in every line at least two and probably sometimes three names are to be supplied. On the other hand, the fact that titles and names are set in the same lines would suggest that the stele was of no great height, and hence of no great width. Consonantly, the lines are set very close to each other. We should keep then to a minimum: conceivably a hypothetical sign for a parent of the same name [)], if it were present in lines 3 and 4, explains the difficulty. Erosion has sometimes deepened, but it has also in some places obliterated, the original light strokes.

Line 1. The Ο is clear but the Σ is too doubtful to record. At most we can venture [*Κῆρυξ ἄρχοντος*]ο[ς], widely spaced.

Line 2. The letters are set nearer each other at the end than in the other lines, and there is little margin. The wide gaps between the words as they are printed in *I.G.*² II do not exist in this or the following line; there are no gaps whatever.

Line 3. The lambda is one of those letters which suffered obliteration instead of deepening, but faint traces exist. The iota is quite gone. Kirchner and Graindor read *Αυτογός* but the position of the uncertain strokes suggest instead *Α[ι]τογός*.

Line 4. The Η is clear. The wide space before it toward the top of the line would be explained only by a Λ preceding, were it not for a nick at the top which may be part of a different letter. Hence the restoration [*Μιλ*]ῥσιος is doubtful.

*I.G.*² II 1734 of "init. s. I p." (Fig. 10)

The pattern was the same as in 1717 and 1721, the titles beginning in an even line vertically: this is clear from the positions of the titles in lines 2 and 4. On this basis the width may be estimated at around 0.30 m., an inference which is borne out by the crowding visible in lines 3 and 5. Since the thickness, however, reaches 0.088 m., the stele must have been unusually tall for its width: that it certainly was tall is proved by the size of the letters and interspaces. One letter-plus-interspace is 0.025 m. tall, as in 1721, which is 0.90 m. high. Conjectural limits could easily be set for the lengths of the various names.

The present top is cut exactly at right angles to the preserved smooth left side, and is tooth chiselled; but the top may have been finished along the front edge to support a block above. The front edge has been battered off obliquely, but there is not room for a moulding; instead, the front was doubtless smooth, and measurement shows that exactly the proper space for [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ] was provided. The present top may therefore be regarded as original, but it is not easy to parallel, except from large funerary monuments, a stele in one piece and a pediment in another. The title and name of the Archon might have occurred on this hypothetical pedimental block. Thus may be explained the disproportionate thickness of the stone, for some such thickness would be needed to support a separate block above. As in 1714, the explanation most in accord with the stone is that 1734 refers to a year (hitherto unknown) of Ἀραρχία.

Since there is no trace of *Βασιλεύς*, it is better to number the lines from [*Α*]χαρρεύς.

Line 1. A bit of initial X is visible.

Line 3. Part of initial Ω is visible.

Line 7. Dubious traces would fit --- ΕΥ[Σ].

*I.G.*² II 1723 of "paullo ante 13/4" (Fig. 11)

Roussel excluded this item from his list (*Rev. Et. Gr.*, XXIX, 1916, p. 166, n. 3), because it seemed (as to Dittenberger, *I.G.*¹ III 1006) still "quelque peu énigmatique"; to Graindor, supporting in line 1 a formula not found elsewhere in such lists, and suggesting in line 6



Fig. 8. I.G.² II 1724 of post 9/8 B.C.

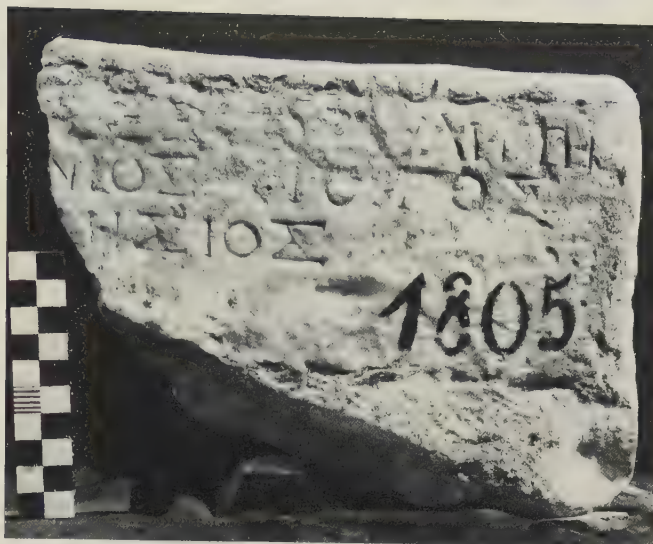


Fig. 9. I.G.² II 1731 of init. s. I A.D.

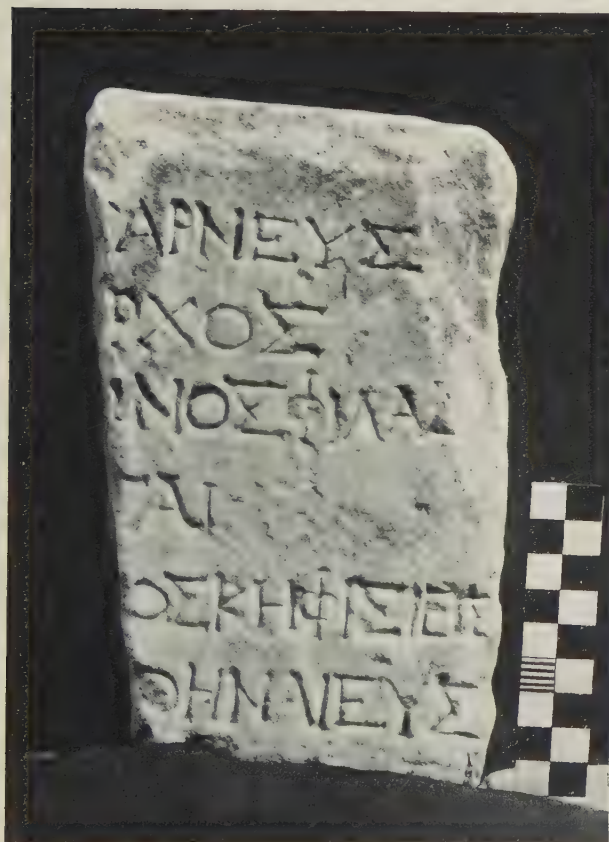


Fig. 10. I.G.² II 1734 of init. s. I A.D.

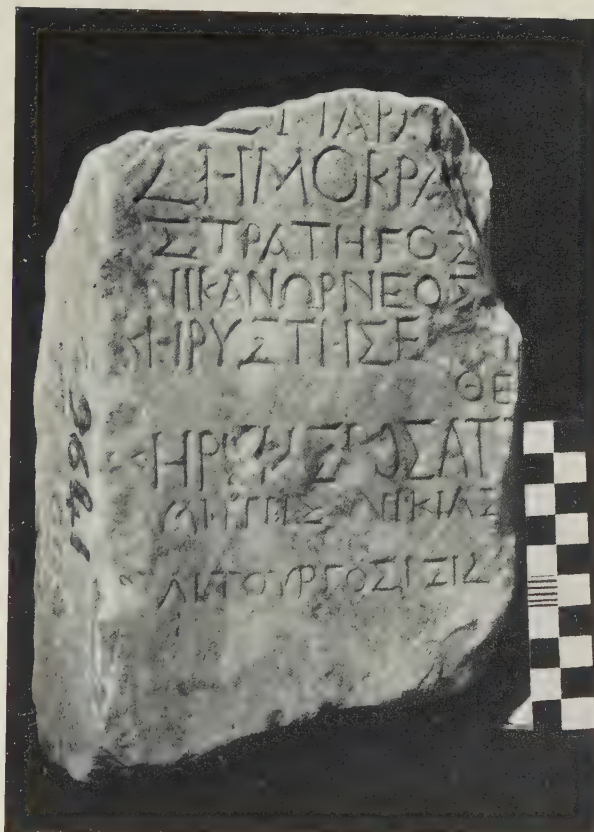


Fig. 11. I.G.² II 1723 of paullo ante 13/4 A.D.

a restoration not since heeded, "ce document n'a rien d'énigmatique" (*Rev. Arch.*, 1917, pp. 9–11; *Chronologie*, p. 62 and n. 2).

The stone is Hymettian, and 0.085 m. thick, which should mean a width of $(0.085 \times 4.5 =) 0.38$ m. more or less (see Table, *above*, p. 143). A curious result follows if we adopt Graindor's restoration of lines 1, 3, 4, and 5 (as copied also in *I.G.*² II). We may hope to approximate accuracy by reckoning I, P, and K as half letters; by measuring from the edge of the stone so as to include in the total the indentations; and by including all the preserved letters, assuming only that the spacing remained the same throughout each line. The results follow:—

<i>Line</i>	<i>Indented</i>	<i>Letters preserved</i>	<i>Space occupied</i>	<i>Total no. of letters demanded</i>	<i>Total space demanded</i>
1	.028	$4\frac{1}{2}$	.08	28	.525
2	.008	6	.105		
3	.011	$8\frac{1}{2}$	.11	$28\frac{1}{2}$	.38
4	.012	$9\frac{1}{2}$	.11	32	.382
5	.004	$10\frac{1}{2}$	.125	26	.315
6	.11	2			
7	.004	9	.125		
8	.004	13	.126		
9	.015	11	.11		

It would therefore seem that, on the basis of crude measurements, the stone was close to the width suggested by its thickness, let us say 0.38 m.; that the other restorations are correct, but that line 1 has been wrongly restored. At first, the calculated length of our only surely restored line (5) did indeed seem to be, I confess, decisively against line 1, but that crowding of letters might permit Graindor's plausible restoration of lines 3 and 4.

Since it is the restoration of the title Priest of the Consul Drusus in line 1 which bears decisively on the date of the document (so that its omission would force us to date the whole before Augustus or after Hadrian), that line must be examined with care. Line 1 has been restored (by Dittenberger, with the assent presumably of Koehler, in *I.G.*¹ III 1006, Addenda, p. 510) as [HΘA]EMAPX[OΣ], but the second letter, as Graindor maintains, cannot be M. Of this there is no doubt, because the preserved uprights do not slant as do those of M in line 2; there is ample space for the middle strokes of M to show; and the wide space between the base of E and the first upright means that the second letter projected to the left at the top, thus: EH. Another proposed restoration (Neubauer, *Curae*, pp. 10 f.) is E[H]Ω(NYMOΣ) APXΩN, hence instead EH(ΩNYMOΣ) might be considered; but we shall see that the epithet *ἐπώνυμος* is unknown in such lists (*below*, under 1725 and 1735). If we take into account the widest possibilities, we shall reckon

that there is space for a letter before the "E"; that the "E" may equally be Z, Ξ, or Σ; that the following uprights may not belong to a Π at all, but that the first may be part of T or Υ, the second being I:

$$? \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{E} \\ \text{Z} \\ \text{Ξ} \\ \text{Σ} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{TI} \\ \text{ΥI} \\ \text{Π} \end{array} \right\} \text{APX}$$

This then exhausts the possibilities, and a glance through Bechtel's *Personennamen*, pp. 80–83, shows that the names Eparchides (or Eparchos) and Histiarchos fit the traces. Despite the fact that neither name is known in Athens, we might urge some such name the more strongly because the formula proposed by Graindor, Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος, does not occur elsewhere in lists of this type; line 1 might be completed by the phrase γόνωι δέ, so as to accommodate line 2. This solution cannot be excluded.

Graindor has, however, made out so clear a case for his dating and restoration of the document that we are bound to accommodate them in any reasonable way. His case can moreover be strengthened. The phrase ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος occurs, for instance, in later prytany lists (*I.G.*² II 1763 of 132/3, 1764–5 of 138/9, and later examples), developing the elision ἐπ' ἄρχοντος only in *I.G.*² II 1794 of 183/4. Earlier we have almost invariably the old form ἐπὶ - - - ἄρχοντος. But in *I.G.*¹ III 68a and 68b, both of which have been plausibly dated late under Augustus (Graindor, *Chronologie*, pp. 55–59), we find ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος καὶ ἱερέως Ἀρούσου Ὑπάτου. Before attempting to date the list before Augustus or after Hadrian it would be well to scrutinize the crude measurements.

Turning again therefore to the inscription itself, we note that it begins with a large blank space and then two large letters, whereas APX take no more space than, for instance, THΣ in line 5. Apparently the mason realized, after a bold beginning, that he was cramped for space. In line 2 he began much nearer the edge, and in line 3 he used smaller letters. Apparently this line too was cramped at the end, for in line 4 he began by setting letters as close together as they can be cut, and in line 5 he actually invaded the small margin so as to use larger letters: he used larger letters because there were to be fewer of them, and the same must be true of line 7; whereas in line 8 title and name again compelled reduction. It seems possible then to use some such explanation to modify the crude measurements. Certainly if in line 1 we regard APX alone and not all the letters, the line would not need to exceed line 5 by more than 6 letters without cramping. If in addition we admit cramping—the final 4 letters could for example be telescoped thus ATOY into the space of $2\frac{1}{2}$ —it is conceivable that the entire formula as proposed by Graindor can be accommodated within 0.38 m. If we did not accept this solution, we should have to dispute either the restoration of lines 3 and 4, or the dating of Julius Nikanor (*I.G.*² II 1069), and with the latter is involved the restriction of Σεβαστὸς καίσαρ to Augustus (Graindor, *Chronologie*, p. 56, n. 2), on which much now depends. Despite the difficulties of spacing and elision in line 1, we must at least explore the consequences of accepting the cramped formula in line 1.

Line 2 was doubtless shorter, about 22 letters. Line 5, even when reckoned by crude measurements, will not fill the space of 38 m.: at the end either the first name of the Herald was included, or the letters were more widely spaced. In line 6 Graindor's restoration $\Theta\epsilon[\sigma\mu\omicron\theta\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\varsigma]$ would fall almost exactly in the middle of a 0.38 m.-line; but it is unlikely and unparalleled. Doubtless we have rather one of the names of the Herald, preferably his father's; some uncertainty caused the space before it to be left blank for later completion. Athenian records remained full of such omissions.

Certain unsuspected enigmatic elements of the pattern are thus resolved. It is the text, however, which has puzzled Roussel. There remained buried in the *Sitzungsber. Berl. Acad.* of 1888 the list *EM* 4692 until the year 1931, when Kirchner recalled it (without giving the text) in his commentary on *I.G.*² II 1723; and quite unpublished was *I.G.*² II 1736 a which Kirchner set forth in the new fascicule. These lists alone provide parallels for 1723. We may tabulate the officials (see *below* under *EM* 4692, pp. 173, 174, and 1736 a, p. 175) as follows:

1723	<i>EM</i> 4692	1736 a
Archon [and Priest]	[Archon and Priest]	[Archon and Priest, King, Pol.]
Hoplite General	Hoplite General	Secretary and 5 <i>Thesmothetae</i>
Herald of the Areopagos	(No Herald of Areopagos)	(No Herald of Areopagos)
<i>Κηρυκίσκος</i>	<i>Κηρυκίσκος</i>	<i>Κηρ</i> [<i>υκίσκος</i>]
<i>Ανκλητής</i>	<i>Ἰεραῦλης</i>	<i>Ἰερα</i> [<i>ύλης</i>]
<i>Αιτούργος</i>	<i>Αιτῶν</i>	(The stone broken away here?)

We shall find reason for setting 1736 a in the second century A.D., and less reliable evidence for placing *EM* 4692 late in the first century. 1723 has been dated by Graindor under Augustus. The titles of the officials clearly make it earlier than *EM* 4692, which is for the same reason earlier than 1736 a. 1723 naturally follows lists which have the Archon's Herald, thus falling at the earliest late in the reign of Augustus—in the very period indeed from which come other instances of the formula $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \delta\rho\chi\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma\ \Delta\rho\omicron\upsilon\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu\ \nu\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\nu$. The Archon *Ἀρχων* (*I.G.*² II 1069; Graindor, *Chronologie*, pp. 59–62) is cited by a different order of words, $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \dot{\Lambda}\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\rho\chi\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota$, etc., but his connection with Julius Nikanor must move him also to that general period. As for the New Homer and New Themistokles himself, we have no more accurate a date than the present study has given (for the references to him, see Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 8, n. 7; the purchase of Salamis and gift of it to Athens doubtless preceded, and perhaps preceded by only one year, his generalship in the year of Demokrates, as has been supposed).

Returning finally to the stele 1723, we may note (as *below* under *EM* 4692) that the height of the inscription is disproportionately small for the probable height of the flat surface, as judged by the Table *above*, p. 143. Hence 1723 (like *EM* 4692) may be one of several such lists on the same stele. The place of breakage at the top suggests that only a moulding has been knocked off; hence 1723 should be the first list. Of course the others may never have been cut.

A band 0.01 m. in width was smoothed along the front edge of the side, the rest of the side being tooth-chiselled. The last line, 9, is preceded by a *vacat* of 0.012 m., which is too small for another line (Fig. 11). The purpose was therefore to set the *λιτουνγκός* slightly apart. This is never seen in lists of *archontes* (cf. note on 1729), and thus helps, together with content, style of cutting, and arrangement, to place 1723 in a somewhat different class from lists of *archontes*.

I.G.² II 1735 of 40/1–53/4 (Fig. 12)

The thickness, 0.055 m., is original. Since the width must be reckoned at *ca.* 0.33 m., the stele was relatively thin. The left edge, though battered, is preserved opposite lines 2–4, and provides a basis for accurate measurement.

Line 1. Inasmuch as the title *Ἐπώνυμος Ἀρχων* does not occur in any other list preserved to us, and cannot in fact even be restored without difficulties (see 1725), its alleged appearance here is of some interest. The previous readings have this in common, that no one of them can be made to fit perfectly into the word ΕΠΩΝΥΜΟΥΣ: Pittakys (*Arch. Ep.*, 1854, p. 1120, no. 2143) read ΝΙΑ, Koehler (for Dittenberger, *I.G.¹ 1011*) read ΝΙΑΙ and Dittenberger restored [ἐπώ]ν[υ]. (sic) ἄρχων, Klaffenbach (for Kirchner, *I.G.² II*) read ΝΙΛ///Λ and Kirchner restored [ἐπ]ών[υ]μ[ος] ἀρχων. Further difficulty would have resulted from the notion of a symmetrical design, for a full line requires (judging from lines 5–6, symmetrically: the 7½ letters of ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΣ, plus the 10 of ΠΟΛΕΜ[ΑΡΧΟΣ], [plus 7½]), some 25 letters, and a two-word title, if shorter, should according to all precedent have been centred. If we examine the stone, or better a delicate squeeze, the Ν, on which all have agreed, is clear: it stands partly over the Ρ and partly over the Ο of Μητροδόωτος. Next the Ν is an upright stroke which cannot by any stretch be even a narrow Υ; and Υ should be broad, as in line 6. Erosion has cut a curved jagged line to the base of the upright: this jagged line has neither the quality nor the position of part of any letter. Closer inspection shows a small line at the centre of the upright, thus †, and although by itself this might allow Η, taken in conjunction with the marks Μ some 0.017 m. distant it can only be the first letter of ΚΑΙ. The Ν, just 3½ full spaces from the margin, can then be part, of course, of the crowded word *Ἀρχων*. As soon as this is seen, other traces immediately explain themselves, and if we dot those traces which by themselves are non-committal, but which lend solid confirmation, we read *Ἀρχων καὶ ἐ[ξεὺς Διούσου Ὑπάτου]*. The total of 26 letters is in agreement with the estimate of 25 derived from lines 5–6, if we make a slight allowance for the crowding already observable in *Ἀρχων*.

The new reading of 1735 thus gives us an Archon who served as priest of Drusus dated plausibly under Claudius, “entre 40/1 et 53/4 (vers 44/5)” (Graindor, *Chron.*, pp. 81–82). By itself this priesthood is of no assistance in establishing dates within the years 9 B.C. and 124/5 A.D. (Graindor, *Chron.*, pp. 18–19); instead, 1735 appears to give

us an instance of the cult in a reign which hitherto lacked any certain mention thereof (working from Graindor's list, *Chron.*, p. 63, n. 1).¹

Line 3. A bit of the B gives us the beginning of B[ασιλεύς] indented slightly further than Πολέμ[αρχος], which in turn is indented more than Θεσμοθέται.

Line 9. Final Σ is certain.

Line 10. Final Σ is not lunate.

Line 11. Leonardos coped vainly with the traces after ... ΚΩΝ (which has always been correctly read), so that we find them set forth now in *I.G.*² II as ... ΚΩΝΙΙΙ^ΛΙ-- and in fact no one has done better than Koehler-Dittenberger's 'Ηλι to interpret them. In reality the stone has ... ΚΩΝΙΙΓ^ΛΙ which may be interpreted without obstacle as [Ἡρά]κων Ἡράκ-- the final K being substantiated by cuttings just at the edge. For the restoration of the first name other possibilities might suggest themselves, all of which must take into account the fact that no stroke appears next to the K, so that the vowel was A, O, or Ω, in all probability. Names with *any* first vowel in ... ΚΩΝ are apparently rare: Sundwall's *Nachtr.* contains only Δράκων (p. 66), two instances, and one Ἡράκων (p. 89). Doubtless PA contains others. There is a slight presumption, however, in favor of Ἡράκων, since it has the same root as the father's name.

If we turn to the index of names in *I.G.*¹ III, we find 5 men called Ἡράκων but only one with a father in Ἡράκ-. This one is mentioned within a wreath as Ἡράκω[ρα] Ἡράκλει[δου] | Μαράθ[ώνιον] in lines 8–10 of *I.G.*² II 1973, the Archon being Metrodoros and the inscription being headed by the name of Claudius. Herakon is here crowned along with three other (of whom one is lost) "friends and co-ephebes." Thus by bonds, none of which is by itself irrefragable, the Archon Metrodoros mentioned in 1735 as being also priest of Drusus, is identified more closely than before with the Archon under Claudius (including possibly the year 40/1, Graindor, *Chron.*, p. 81, n. 5); conversely, the reading and restoration proposed for 1735, line 11 are strengthened.

*I.G.*² II 1736 of "med. s. I p." (Fig. 13)

The text is set forth in *I.G.*² II with lines 1–2 and 12–13 projecting to the left beyond the others, an arrangement not to be found elsewhere among these lists. Actually parts of the first letters of lines 5 and 6 are preserved, and the present edge of the stone is 0.006 m. distant. Kirchner declares that the stone is "undique mutilum," but the edge at just these lines is fairly even and precisely vertical to the inscribed lines. Apparently then we have part of the original edge, worn to be sure, but with most of the margin, giving an exact indication of where the lines began.² If this is so, the un-

¹ *I.G.*² II 1968 (Archon Mithridates), an ephebic catalogue, seems in its general cast and particularly because of the mention of φίλοι γοῦ[γού] to date under Claudius (Dittenberger, Graindor, Kirchner; references in *I.G.*² II).

² Recognizing this, Sauppe went on to miscalculate the gaps at the beginnings of lines, and restored words broken by the ends of lines and continued in the following lines (*De Creatione*, p. 14).

exampled arrangement in *I.G.*² may be questioned, and the usual even vertical beginnings of lines may be substituted. If, in addition, no obstacles occur in restorations, a degree of confirmation may be claimed.

Line X. It is clear from the original publication by Pittakys (*Arch. Ep.*, 1854, p. 1150, no. 2215) that no letters have been lost since then. There is and was no trace of the line numbered 1 in *I.G.*² II, and it is less misleading to restore it without a number.

Line 1. Following ΣΩΣΙ, but not remarked by the editors (Pittakys, Koehler-Dittenberger, Kirchner; nor by Graindor) except Sauppe is a horizontal stroke at the base of the line. Like the base of the nearest Σ, it slants a little. This much of it is not long enough to serve as the base of a letter, but it may have continued to the right, with less depth, into an eroded area. Such variation in depth is natural when letters are made, as here, with a point; the constant difficulty is to maintain an even depth as the chisel is driven along. The Σ in line 7, for instance, lacks half its base line. Since the stroke in line 1 has precisely the quality of chisel work (as opposed to erosion), we may not safely disregard it. Equally clear, but noted already by Pittakys, is an upright next to the final O, which he and all his successors, disregarding the stroke just discussed, restored as part of ΣΩΣΙ[III]O[Σ or Υ]. The other upright of the (second) [II] is, however, totally lacking. Since both would show if one does, the erosion being uniform and very slight, the name of Sosippos may be queried, and the clear indications ΣΩΣΙ. IO may be otherwise explained. In the entire inscription it is noticeable that some letters as wholes are cut deeper than others: the iotas, for instance, had to be cut deeper, for if they were mere scratches like strokes of the more complex letters, they would be in danger of total disappearance. The upright near the end of line 1 is just such a deep stroke; it shows no connecting strokes. Sauppe, reading ΣΩΣΙ[B]IOΣ, used the strokes but neglected a large gap before the second iota, where a delta shows. We have then no choice but to read ΣΩΣΙΣΔIO, the dotted letter having been lightly cut; but reliable confirmatory traces show in the erosion. Preceding ΣΩΣΙΣ, in turn, are the strokes — I Δ, of which the upright is rather more distant from both the other letters than is the iota of ΣΩΣΙΣ: hence by itself it suggests Υ, which in this inscription is a narrow letter. The word one would expect here, now that the genitive Σωσί[ππ]ο[v] cannot follow it, is the title [Βασιλ]εϋς, which indeed Sauppe and Dittenberger restored. The restoration is in some degree confirmed by the spacing, for the missing letters can be neatly accommodated within the margin already determined at lines 5 and 6. Further confirmation derives from the title Πολέμαρ[χος] in line 2, the position of which proves that the mason was trying to save space; otherwise it would occur one line lower. Since line 2 obviously preserves the ending of the King Archon's demotic, it is probable that his father's name was lengthy, Dio(nysodoros) for example.

Line 2. Judged by the line following, which began with four full letters, the demotic occupied five in all. [Ὁῦθ]εν for instance would fit, although we cannot be sure that part of the demotic did not occur in the preceding line. It happens that none of the lists except 1725, l. 5, however, shows a word thus broken. The name Sosis occurs in



Fig. 13. *I.G.² II 1736 of med. s. I A.D.*

PA and *Nachträge* only once, and once also (without demotic) in the Index to *I.G.*¹ III: the former, *PA* 13280, was ephebe in the year of Menander, 39/8 B.C. (*I.G.*² II 1043, l. 96: [Σώσι]ς Σώσιδος Ὀῤῥθεν) as dated both by Kirchner (*I.G.*² II) and Dinsmoor (*Archons*, 84–7). The Sosis of 1736 may have been the grandson of the ephebe.—The *vacat* before Πολέμαρχος] is of one space only.

Line 4. It might have been thought that the title Θεσμοθέ[ται] would more naturally have been set at the beginning of a line, like the two preceding titles. This, however, would have confused the list of *Thesmothetae*. As it is, we are able to determine approximately by its aid the centre of the stele, and thus the right edge (see Fig. 13).

Line 5. Initial Η visible.

Line 6. Initial Φ visible.

Line 7. Faint traces of the first Α. The spacing is wider than in line 5, of course, because the whole line was to be shorter. The principle of filling as much of the line as possible is good design.

Line 8. Again the flexibility of this style enables wide spacing of short words. The final Η is visible.

Line 9. The present reading, *Ναυσιμάχο*[ν], is beset by these partial difficulties: (1) the space preceding the Ν would require a very short (4-letter) name; (2) the name Nausimachos occurs to our knowledge only three times in Athens, all close to 400 B.C. (*PA* 10574, 10575, 10576), disappearing, naturally enough, along with sea power; and (3) the second letter has erosion which was taken for a straight high cross-bar, whereas all other preserved instances of alpha require a bent, low, crossed cross-bar which may and may not have existed on the stone in the erosion. One prefers then to read [... ω]ν *Ανσιμάχο*[ν]. [Ἀρχω]ν would fit the space, and the name is known in association with Lysimachos (*PA* 9520, of Lamptrai, tribe Erechtheis I, ephebe 119/8 B.C.).

Line 10. This is a third instance of expanded letters and spacing, similar to lines 7 and 8.—The reading of the demotic, which violates the tribal order, is absolutely certain.

Line 11. In this line, which included many letters ($26\frac{1}{2}$), the letters are crowded; but [Κῆρυξ] can be supplied without difficulty within the margin. Final Ρ is visible.

Line 12. There is room before the Υ for at most 6 crowded letters, or more likely fewer. Thus the $4\frac{1}{2}$ suggested by Graindor are perfectly accommodated; the whole line would be $25\frac{1}{2}$ letters in length, 1 shorter than line 11.

Line 13. The space is insufficient for γόρωι δέ. None of the titles from other lists (Κῆρυξ Ἀρχοντος, Κηρυκίσιος, Ἀνλητής, Ἱερὰνλης, Δημόσιος, Αἰτουργός) will fit the indications, of which the first letter is Ε, Ξ, Σ, or Τ. It must belong to a title, and the first letter falls directly under the Θ of Θεσμοθέ[ται]. It is difficult not to think of Στρε[ατηγός], and impossible to confirm it.

There have now been supplied the beginnings of 9 lines. No difficulty of spacing has occurred. Rather it has been found that, with proper regard to the rule of flexibility, the first letter falls in every case on the edge of the margin given us by lines 5 and 6. If we measure from the edge to the middle of Θεσμοθέται, we obtain a width of *ca.* 0.38 m.,

which is midway between that of 1717 and 1721; the thickness of 1736 is 0.075 m., which is slightly greater than that of 1717. The total height of the inscription was not 21 lines, but something less; otherwise there would have been no crowding in lines 2 and 3. If computed at 20 lines, the height of the inscription is a maximum within the normal proportions (see Table, *above*, p. 143).

So high a degree of coherence gives pleasing confirmation to the reconstruction generally and hence to Graindor's restoration in line 12, [*Τι Κλ Α*]υσιάδ[ης Αεωνίδου Μελιτεύς], which dates the inscription approximately.

EM 4692 of "fin. s. I p." (Fig. 14, p. 168)

The text on this fragment, mentioned in the commentary on line 7 of 1723 in *I.G.*² II, was published without commentary by Kirchhoff (with the coöperation of Lolling) in the *Sitzungsber. Acad. Berl.* of 1888, p. 318, no. 20, and has been since neglected. It was found on the Acropolis, east of the Erechtheum. Coming from the lower middle of the stele, the width of the preserved face is 0.105 m., the height 0.308 m. It is broken at the top and sides, but the bottom, which shows traces of modern cement, is cut so parallel with the inscribed lines that one is inclined to believe with Kirchhoff and Lolling that it is the original bottom. There are 0.05 m. of uninscribed stone between it and the last line. The marble (Pentelic) is preserved to its original thickness of 0.12 m., which implies a stele of goodish size: no other of our lists for single years was cut on a block with a preserved thickness of over 0.10 m. The preserved letters are cut in two styles, both by the same rude hand. In the first style, the upright strokes are 0.018 m. in height. This style persists for five lines, but we meet sigma as Σ in line 3, as C in lines 4 and 5. The remaining lines show lunate forms (Ε, C, ω) exclusively, and other peculiarities are emphasized (Α, Δ, Λ); the letters are shorter (0.013 m.), but not from absolute necessity, for some 0.07 m. of uninscribed surface remain beneath. In line 7 the letters Ε Ι are cut as Ει. I repeat the somewhat inaccessible text with a few changes:—

- 1 —ΕΙ
- 2 [*Νι*]κομαχ[ο]
- 3 ΣΠΑΛ
- 4 Κηρνίσ[κος]
- 5 ΑΝΟΣ
- 6 Αιτῶν
- 7 ΝΕΙΚΟCΔΗΜ
- 8 Ἰερὰύλης
- 9 Ν Διονυσίο[υ]

In restoring and interpreting this fragment we may assume that the three preserved titles give us the approximate centre of the design. Lines 7 and 9 preserve nominative

endings: line 7 could be restored [Στρατό]ρεικος, prefixing as many as, but not more than, 6 letters; line 9 demands at least 3. The margin which would be arrived at in this straight-forward way, however, we may for once reject, in view of the thickness of the stone. A wider stele is demanded, and we turn for guidance rather to the larger letters above. From the analogy of all other well-preserved lists, and particularly from 1723, we should expect traces in lines 1-3 of the words Κῆρυξ υἱὸς Ἀρείου Πάγου Βουλῆς but even line 1 does not contain them. As apparently in the inadequately preserved 1736a, therefore, this Herald may have been omitted entirely. We may attempt next to insert in line 1, following 1723, the Hoplite General. This is quite feasible: [Στρατηγός] ἐπ[ὶ τοὺς δαλείτας], and it receives some confirmation from the fact that the first iota, occurring directly over the central letter K of Κῆρυκίος[κος], fixes an almost exactly equal number of letters on either side of the centre of the stele. Accepting this lead, we would supply γόνωι δέ after [Νι]κομάχ[ου] and thereby make line 2 only 1½ letters shorter than line 1. Line 2 would then begin with a name of some 6½ letters, line 3 with a name of 9½ plus the preserved Σ, and we would understand the rest of line 3 as Παλ[λῆνός], a populous deme under the Empire. The sole difficulty with this solution is the smaller letters beneath. We might conceive that, rather than throw the design out of balance by a mass of small letters close to the left margin, all these letters were moved nearer to the middle, and that the usual even margin was abandoned. This may explain the one difficulty: which is not to say that the scheme is solid enough to serve as a basis for arguments. Instead of the Hoplite General (see under 1723), for instance, we might of course restore the fourth *Thesmothetes*, although parallels could not be adduced. The scheme outlined above would in any event yield a stele of a width (some 0.50 m. including margins) in keeping with the preserved thickness. To secure the desirable height other lists, or at least several other dignitaries of the same year, must be imagined.

In the list of functionaries, so far as we can judge, no Herald of the Areopagos occurs, but naturally he is not excluded from a position above the [Στρατηγός]. The Κῆρυκίσκος appears also in 1723, instead of an Archon's Herald, and probably also in 1736a. The word Αἴτων is indented so far that there can be no doubt that we have the entire word. It does not occur elsewhere, but obviously stands in place of the Α(ε)πιουργός. A verb λειτορεύω is known in Thessaly, and in an Egyptian(?) papyrus; in Athens we have a λείτωρ; the form λήτωρ occurs elsewhere (see Liddell-Scott-Jones, pp. 1036, etc.: λῖτων is omitted). The Ἱεράρχης is also recorded in 1736a, where he stands in place of the ἀρχηγός. We have then a unique list, but since each of the three subordinates obviously replaces a functionary who appears in other lists, we have a document which belongs in a related class, other members of which are 1723, 1736a, and perhaps 1725.

From the lunate forms of letters in the lower lines, as well as from the peculiarities of the list, one might suggest a date in the first century A.D. The ligature in line 4 (Ϟ) is lacking in Larfeld's list (*Handbuch*², II, p. 513); of course ligatures are rare before Hadrian's time. Possibly EM 4692 falls toward the end of the first century.

*I.G.*² II 1736 a (*ibid.*, pp. 813–814) of *med. s.* II p.

Our only record, in *Codex Venetus Marcianus*, cl. XIV 200, apparently a reliable copy, preserves less than half of the inscription. The design of the whole, however, can easily be made out. The letters of lines 1–6 are indicated as more widely spaced than those below, and were probably larger, as in *EM* 4692. The titles [APXΩN], [B]ΑΣΙΛ[ΕΥΣ], [II]ΟΑΕΜΑ[ΡΧΩΣ], and [I]ΠΑΜΜΑΤΕ[ΥΣ] were each set close to the left edge, and the name followed on the same line, being continued in the line following. The design is thus somewhat similar to that of 1736.

The remaining titles were centred: ΘΕ[ΣΜΟΘΕΤΑΙ] and ΙΕΡΑ[ΥΑΗΣ] present no difficulties. Line 13 has been restored by Kirchner as ΚΗΡ[ΥΞΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ], but this gives an unparalleled and inadmissible excess of letters *on the right* (for an excess of letters on the left, which is not unlikely in itself, see 1717). ΚΗΡ[ΥΞ] alone is also without sanction, so that we think of ΚΗΡ[ΥΚΙΣΚΟΣ], apparently 2½ letters too long; but as in *EM* 4692 we would then have, in company with the otherwise unknown *Ἰερὰνλης*, the *Κηρονκίσκος*, who appears elsewhere only in 1723.

The period suggested by the connections with *EM* 4692 of *fin. s.* I p. or thereabouts is strengthened by the dating of the single dot interpunct in lines 4 and 11 (Larfeld, *Gr. Ep.*³, pp. 303–304). More certain is the leaf in line 12. Larfeld (*Handbuch*², II, p. 586) gives *I.G.*¹ III 267 as the first instance, but its isolation is an argument against the earlier limit of the date between Augustus and Hadrian, which Dittenberger gave it on the basis solely of letter forms. Investigation shows that the first recorded instance elsewhere, apart from sepulchral monuments and dedications, is *I.G.*² II 1991 of “*s.* I p.,” an ephebe list dated solely by one possible prosopographical link. Again the isolation of this instance suggests a later date, for the leaf occurs on dated inscriptions only in Hadrian’s time and after (*I.G.*² II 2040 of 127/8, 2041 of 128/9, 2055 of 145/6, 2058 of 146/7 or shortly after, 2079 of 158/9, 2085 of 161/2, and later examples). We may date 1736 a, then, *med. s.* II p.¹

PART II: CONSPECTUS

The tribal affiliations of the *archontes* as given in Table III of Ferguson’s *Tribal Cycles*, pp. 50–51, may be somewhat expanded.² As given below, two changes in its form have also been made. Through the year 224/3, the hypothetical year of the creation of Ptolemais,

¹ The small undated ephebe list *I.G.*² II 2276, part of a herm which preserves a leaf, is therefore probably of the second century A.D.

² Dinsmoor’s exposition for 1706 (*Archons*, Appendix E, pp. 460–463), which is ideally explicit, will also naturally be opened by the reader.

brackets enclose the number of the tribe which a given Archon would have, if Ptolemais had been created in 230/29. In assigning these bracketed numbers, the subdivision of Phlya¹ has been conceded. The second change from Ferguson's Table III is that the tribes are designated so that each tribe retains the same symbol throughout all the lists:—

- A Antigonis
- D Demetrias
- 1 Erechtheis
- 2 Aigeis
- 3 Pandionis
- 4 Leontis
- P Ptolemais
- 5 Akamantis
- 6 Oineis
- 7 Kekropis
- 8 Hippothontis
- 9 Aiantis
- 10 Antiochis
- 11 Attalis

As in Ferguson's Table, an asterisk (*) denotes a year in which the *Thesmothetae* do not appear in the official order of the *phylae*; and daggers (†) denote a year in which a single *phyle* was represented by two or more *archontes*. Either of these symbols, when enclosed in parentheses, denotes a year in which it could possibly be alleged that there was, respectively, disturbed order, or double representation. The tables below include all existing lists of *archontes* and related lists (numbers of related lists in parentheses). **Black-face letters and numbers** in the tables denote such changes as are proposed in the present studies.

¹ As to Phlya, there is an element of uncertainty (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 450–451, 463 and n. 1), which is not resolved by the following peculiar fact. In all our lists of *archontes*, which represent 43 years, men of Phlya appear 11 times. No other deme is so prominent. Phaleron and Marathion (Aiantis) are next with 7 appearances each. No other deme except Kydathenaion (Antigonis, then Pandionis) scores even as high as 7 in a tabulation of the lists of *archontes*. As to Phlya: if, as the absence of proved negative instances suggests, the deme was not divided, we may note a connection between its prominence and the composition of the tribe Ptolemais. To make up this tribe at least 23, at most 25, demes (*I.G.*² II 2362) were selected and Berenikidai was somehow created. Of these demes many were apparently insignificant, and only Aphidna (formerly of Aiantis) and Phlya (formerly of Kekropis) appear to have been populous. Hence if *archontes* were to be drawn at all from Ptolemais, Phlya, Aphidna, and Berenikidai would naturally supply them, at least in a period like this when the lot was tampered with. In our records Aphidna supplied 6 and Berenikidai 5; no other deme supplied any. The lists show only one man from Phlya as a major Archon, and only 4 Archons eponymous under the Empire were from Phlya.

1706¹

Date	Archon	Phylae of			Phylae of <i>Thesmothetae</i>					
		Archon	King	Polemarch						
230/29	—									
229/8	Heliodoros	D (or A)	6	5 [P]	2	3	4	8	9	10
228/7	Leochares	10	3	6	A	2	5	7 [P]	8	9
227/6	Theophilos	8	9 [P]	6	D	1	3	4	7	10
226/5	Ergochares	5	—	1	A	D	1	7 [P]	8	9
225/4	Niketes	4	8	A or 1	D	2	5	6	7 [P]	10
* 224/3	Antiphilos	9 [P]	D	10	A	1 (or A)	7	4	5?	—
223/2	Kalli (as?)?									
222/1	Kalli - - ?									
221/0	Thrasyphon	D?	—	—	—	—	2	6	8	9
* 220/19	Menekrates	6	7	D (or 10?)	A	8 (or D?)	2	4	P	9
219/8	Chairephon	10	2	9	A	—	—	—	—	—
218/7	(K)all(i)									
217/6	Euandros?	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	10
216/5	Hagnias	2	5	4	D	1	3	P	7	9
+ 215/4	Diokles	A	3	2 (or 1?)	2	P	5	6	7	10
214/3	Euphiletos	3	8	6	A	1	P	7	9	10
213/2	Herakleitos	7	—	—	—	2?		5	6?	8 (or 10)

2336²

103/2	Theokles									
* 102/1	Echekrates	—	—	9	8	2	6	4	P	5
101/0	Medeios	8	11	3	1	P	5	6	7	<i>rac</i>
100/99	Theodosios	6	4	8	1	2	3	P	9	11
99/8	Prokles									
98/7	Argeios	9	5	7	3	P	6	8	10	11
97/6	Argeios									
96/5	Herakleitos	5	2	6	1	3	4	P	9	11 (or 10?)

¹ See the new edition, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 418–446; and *below*, p. 187.² See *above*, p. 140. The numeral for the fifth Thesmothete of the year of Theodosios is given in Ferguson's Table as 11. The deme being Rhamnus (line 155), the numeral in his table should be 10 (Aiantis).

Date	Archon	Phylae of			Phylae of Thesmothetae	Functionaries					
		Arch.	King	Pol.							
1714 ¹											
†88/7	(Anarchy)	—	P	11	2 P 6 7 9 10	H. Areo.	4				
1715											
†85/4?	Pythokritos	—	2	4	1						
1727											
<i>Ante</i> 63/2?	Nikostratos	—	9	—	3 — 11 —						
1717											
†56/5	Kointos	9	10	8	1 P 5 7 8 10	H. Areo.	3	Flut.	2	H. Arch.	7 Slave
1720											
<i>Ca.</i> 56/5		—	—	—	— 9 —	H. Areo.	4	Flut.	2	H. Arch.	— Slave
1719											
†46/5	Eukles	9	—	—	1 P 8 9 —						
1718											
36/5—18/7	Menneas	—	—	6	— 3 — — — —	H. Areo.	—	H. Arch.	8	Flut.	—
1721											
11/3	Polyainos	11	4	P	1 2 3 5 7 8	H. Areo.	4	H. Arch.	2	Flut.	5 Servant
1722											
† <i>Ca.</i> 8 a.	Xenon	Pr	P	5	6	1 2 3 4 4 6	H. Areo.	7	H. Arch.	5	Flut. 11 Servant
1724											
<i>Post</i> 9/8	Anaxagoras	Pr	—	—							
(1725)											
<i>Post</i> 9/8	Pam - - ?	Pr	—								

¹ Lists, the numbers of which are enclosed in parentheses, are certainly not, or are doubtfully, lists of *archontes*. The Herald of the Areopagos is abbreviated H. Areo.; of the Archon, H. Arch.; and space is provided in 1722 ff. for the Priest of the Consul Drusus, abbreviated Pr. Deme affiliations of the Functionaries are included for completeness: they prove nothing (*contra*, references in *I.G.*² II, *passim*), and are not considered elsewhere in this study, but they are potentially interesting: Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, p. 52, n. 1. In at least one instance the *Ἀλληγίης* was not an annual officer: 1717 and 1720 have the same man, so that it would seem dubious whether the number of officials listed, 12, were related to the 12 *phylae*.

Date	Archon	Phylae of			Phylae of	Functionaries	
		Arch.	King	Pol.	Thesmothetae		

(1726?)

Post 9/8	—	—	—	Pr	—		
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1730

†† Init. s. I p.	Polycharmos	Pr	9	9	—	3 6 9	—
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1728

Init. s. I p.					— — —	H. Areo. 9	H. Arch. —	Flut. —	Servant
---------------	--	--	--	--	-------	------------	------------	---------	---------

1729

† Init. s. I p.						P 5 8 9 9 10	"Vacat"	H. Arch. —	Flut. —	Servant
-----------------	--	--	--	--	--	--------------	---------	------------	---------	---------

1731

Init. s. I p.								H. Arch. 4, 11	Flut. —	Servant
---------------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	----------------	---------	---------

1734

Init. s. I p.	(Anarchy)		6	2	1 3	—				
---------------	-----------	--	---	---	-----	---	--	--	--	--

(1723)

Ante 13 4	Demokrates	Pr	—		The Hoplite General	H. Areo. —	Herald —	Flut. —	Servant
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1735

†40/1—53/4	Metrodoros	Pr	—	—	9	— — — 9				
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1736

††* Med. s. I p.			6	6	3 3	P 9 — 7	H. Areo. 7	General? —		
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(EM 4692)

Fin. s. I p.					The Hoplite General	Herald —	Λιῶν —	Sac. Flut. —		
--------------	--	--	--	--	---------------------	----------	--------	--------------	--	--

1736 a

Med. s. II p.			—	—	Sec.	— — — — —	Herald —	Sac. Flut. —		
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Our evidence is obviously meager in the earlier period and of limited and somewhat different significance in the later. Awaiting confirmation or refutation by new evidence, one can only derive from the old such hypotheses as it suggests.

I. There was a strong tendency to record *Thesmothetae* in their tribal order. The exceptions are in the years 224/3, 102/1, and a year toward the middle of the First Century A.D. (*I.G.*² II 1736);¹ in the first of these only one tribe is out of place, in the

¹ Not perfectly certain is a fifth exception, dated *paullo ante* 63/2 B.C. (1727, line 10: *above*, p. 148).

second two, and in the last not more than two, perhaps only one. Beloch's Law is thus upheld, and exceptions are probably clerical errors. Let us note, however, three instances in which by itself the Law has been held to prove the subdivision of a deme. (A) Amphitrope, 1706, line 30 (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 447). (B) Anakaia, 1706, lines 19 and 96 (Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 447), if retained entire in Hippothontis, upsets the order in the year of Menekrates (220/19). If subdivided, however, it causes a duplication of tribes in the same year, for Antigonis and Demetrias are already represented. Demetrias is represented, apparently, by Atene, whose membership in that tribe, rather than in its original Antiochis, is inferred by Beloch's Law solely from 1706, line 135. To avoid the duplication of Demetrias, therefore, it has been conjectured that Atene as well as Anakaia was subdivided (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 447-448, p. 463, n. 2; Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, p. 51, n. 2). In sum, two demes have been in theory subdivided in order merely to avert one breach of Beloch's Law. In each case the above is the sum total of evidence; and in each case the inference is from Beloch's Law alone. It is more plausible, especially in the case of (B), to suppose a clerical error, that is, a line out of order. See under II.

II. The tribal order of the *Thesmothetae* in our lists is naturally a detail of a different sort from the duplication of tribes: the former is a matter merely of drawing up and recording a list, the latter is the product of the electoral machinery. Exceptions to the electoral principle that no two *archontes* should be of the same tribe were freely made after the suppression of the Demos in 91 B.C.: every later list with more than four preserved demoties of *archontes*, except 1721 alone, shows such duplication. In 1706, on the other hand, the number of possible duplications has been steadily reduced until, in the latest discussion, none is allowed (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 462). It is possible nearly always to avoid in any given year the duplication of a tribe by conjecturing that a deme was subdivided; and no one can deny that this procedure is correct. We may group the data in a descending order of probability as respects duplication. (A) Most probably containing duplication is the year of Diokles, where the stone at line 143 favors ΦΙΛΛΑ, which means two *archontes* of the tribe Aegeis. (B) Atene has just been discussed. (C) In order to avoid duplication of Aegeis in the year (229/8) of Heliodoros, Diomeia, 1706, line 1, is universally assigned to one of the Macedonian tribes. Doubt arises as to whether Antigonis or Demetrias received the whole. To keep the secretary of 307/6 in tribal order Demetrias has been favored (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 37, 448, 450, n. 3, with references; Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, p. 64, n. 1, p. 143, n. 1). Aegeis, the tribe to which Diomeia earlier belonged, was one of the first five tribes, all others of which contributed to Antigonis only, unless Diomeia was excepted in order to preserve the cycle, and perhaps also in order to bring Stratokles of Diomeia, the pro-Macedonian demagogue, into Demetrias. The same end could have been attained by letting the first five tribes contribute to Demetrias and the other five to Antigonis. If Aegeis gave up four demes in all, rather than three or two like the other tribes, surely that is proof not that Aegeis was especially victimized in order to honor Demetrias, but that the four

demes were comparatively small. [See the Notes *below*.] (D) Pergase, line 56 (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 449) is supposed currently to have been divided between Erechtheis and Antigonis, merely to avoid the assumption that duplication of Antigonis occurred in 224/3; but it is known that there was an Upper and a Lower Pergase. (E) Apart from 1706, our meager records do not tell us whether in this period certain demes were wholly or partly transferred to other tribes, or retained by the original tribes. Judging from Schöffer's list (*PW* 5, columns 35–122), which I have not attempted to bring up to date, the following demes are now considered, solely from the evidence of 1706, to have been retained in their original tribes: Hamaxanteia, Thria, Keiradai, Lakiadai, Oion Dekeleikon, Paionidai, Probalinthos, Ptelea, Skambonidai, Sybridai. Similarly, 1706 supports the view that Deiradiotai was transferred as a whole to Demetrias (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 448).

It is reasonable, surely, to suppose that in the case of (E) the current view is correct. As to (D), (C), (B), and (A), there is no decisive objective consideration to guide us. It is *not* invariably true that only large demes were subdivided, if one may judge by Kirchner's lists of demesmen (*PA* II, pp. 493–630).¹

The fact that duplication was very frequent in lists after the suppression of the *demos* in 91 B.C. cannot be held as proof for lists before that date, for in the earlier period duplication, if any, was clearly infrequent. We can only hope for new evidence. In connection with these problems, we may recall that the system was admittedly tampered with in a quite different but possibly a cognate respect: "allotment" had become a mere phrase.²

III. As to the year of the first functioning of Ptolemais, we have to note that, the year of Menekrates being the first year in which the *Thesmothetae* are out of order if Ptolemais did not function, we have moved the *terminus ante quem* to 220/19 (from 222/1); but since Berenike died in 221, the change is small.

IV. In regard to Ptolemais one is struck by a peculiar fact, possibly an accident. Beginning with the year of Antiphilos (224/3) no year for which we have even a complete list of *Thesmothetae* lacks a representative of Ptolemais. Beginning with 224/3, we have

¹ Kirchner's lists show the following totals of known demesmen for demes known to have been divided: Agryle 75, Ankyle 79, Eitea 48, Eroiadai 41, Ikaria 120, Kolone 98, Lamptrai 356, Oinoe 99, Paiania 355, Pergase 68, Phegiaia 64, Potamos 78, Semachidai 36. Demes of which the subdivision is doubtful have a slightly smaller average: Amphitrope 67, Anakaia 38, Atene 47, Kikynna 56, Philaidai 82. On populations of demes see A. W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.* (Oxford, 1933), p. 55 and tables on following pages. For bouleutai he records: Amphitrope 2, Anakaia 4 (later 3, see p. 52), Atene 3, Kikynna 2, Philaidai 3. Of Phlya 224 demesmen are known, 2 (+?) bouleutai. In whatever connection, *I.G.*² II 2468 lists 13 demesmen of Phlya.

² The new theory of Archon cycles (Ferguson, *op. cit.* pp. 48 ff.) is not affected.—Of successive stages in the break-down of the tribal system of allocating and ordering offices, a system deeply ingrained in the structure of the state (Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, p. 49), we are ill-informed. The evidence is summarized particularly for the Hellenistic period by Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 289, 420, 456, etc.; by Sundwall in *Klio*, Beiheft 14, pp. 68 ff.; particularly for the first century B.C. by Ferguson, *Klio*, IX, 1909, pp. 328–330, and Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 281, 286, 287 and n. 1, and Ch. XVI *passim*; particularly for Roman times by Graindor, *Chronologie*, p. 14, n. 1.

19 lists whole, or mutilated in such a way that, if Ptolemais were represented, it might be expected in the surviving portion of the list. In 17 of these lists Ptolemais does in fact appear. The other two lists, which lack Ptolemais, lack at least one major Archon, so that Ptolemais is not excluded from these years.¹

V. There follows a digest of the deme and tribal affiliations of Archons eponymous, that is, all not included in these lists, under the Empire. In making this digest, the dates given by Kirchner (*I.G.*² II-III, ii, pp. 789 ff.) and Graindor (*Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'Empire*, Mém. de l'Acad. royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres, 8, 1922, pp. 291 ff.; *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, Université Égyptienne, Recueil de Travaux publiés par la Faculté des Lettres, 8^{ème} fasc., pp. 73, n. 5 and 207-208) have been adopted without new investigation; but the readings of all lists of *archontes* (except *I.G.*² II 2336) now preserved in the Epigraphical Museum have been reviewed and changes signaled in Part I.

ARCHONS EPONYMOUS UNDER THE ROMAN EMPIRE

TOTALS*

Symbol	Tribes	Prominent Demes ²
A	(Antigonis)	
D	(Demetrias)	
1	Erechtheis	Lamptrai (3 times)
2	Aegeis	Gargettos (3)
3	Pandionis	Paiania (7), Steiria (6)
4	Leontis	—
P	Ptolemais	Phlya (4)
5	Akamantis	Sphetos (5)
	Hadrianis	Besa (2)
6	Oineis	Acharnai (3)
7	Kekropis	Melite (9)
8	Hippothontis	Azenia (3), Piraeus (3)
9	Aiantis	Marathon (16), Phaleron (10)
10	Antiochis	
11	Attalis	

Archons under Empire	<i>Archontes</i> in all Lists	Total
	7 (+1)	7 (+1)
	7 (+2)	7 (+2)
1 (+2)	13 (+2)	17 (+4)
7 (+1)	16 (+2)	23 (+3)
14	18 (+1)	32 (+1)
1 (+3)	15	16 (+3)
1 (+1)	17	21 (+1)
7	15 (+1)	22 (+1)
2		2
4	20 (+1)	24 (+1)
7 (+2)	16 (+1)	23 (+3)
6	16 (+1)	22 (+1)
26	27 (+1)	53 (+1)
6	14 (+3)	20 (+3)
5 (+1)	5 (+1)	10 (+5)
93 (+13)	206 (+17)	299 (+30)

* Numbers in parentheses denote doubtful additions to the minima outside parentheses.

¹ The first year is that of [Thrasysphon, 221/0] *I.G.*² II 1706, ll. 87-90, with two major Archons missing; the second is that of *I.G.*² II 1730, which lacks the Polemarch. If Ptolemais were granted some sort of prerogative by which it furnished every year one of the nine *archontes*, it would follow that Ptolemais was not functioning in the year of Niketes (225/4), even if Phlya was a divided deme.—The division of Phlya, if admitted, would vitiate any theory of a "privilege" of Ptolemais.

² Various factors have induced discrepancies of not more than two, in some of the counts, between this list and Graindor's (*Chronologie*, p. 306). For the relative population of various demes at this time, cf. also Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 109. Since the Archonship was now a heavy burden, "anarchia" denoting a year in which no one could be found to carry it (Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 19,

In view of the privilege of Aiantis (Ferguson, *op. cit.* pp. 78 ff.), it is curious to observe that among the *archontes* preserved in *I.G.*² II 1706, Aiantis provided 11, whereas no other *phyle* has more than 8. In all the later lists, not including the separate Archons, Aiantis again has a plurality, 15. The leading position of Aiantis is thus abundantly clear—however we try to explain it. It might be urged, for instance, that the prominence of this or that deme, which *happened* to be in Aiantis, misleads us; and to be sure the affiliations of Archons eponymous under the Empire with Marathon and Phaleron do by themselves make Aiantis conspicuous. But in the lists of *archontes* the same is not entirely true: Marathon is absent from *I.G.*² II 1706, and Phaleron from *I.G.*² II 2336.

Methods of erecting lists of *archontes* deserve a summary. Judging from the fact that, out of 2788 inscriptions (plus those in Addenda) published in *I.G.*² II–III, *partes* I–II, only one is a list of *archontes* prior to *ca.* 100 B.C., and remembering that *I.G.*² II 2336 is not primarily a list of *archontes* at all, one infers that such lists were commonly recorded elsewhere than on stone down nearly to the first century B.C. In the next period, when the Areopagos had grown strong, lists for one year each were thereafter not infrequently inscribed, each on a separate small stele, in the bold letters of the time. The marble in every instance is Pentelic, except the earliest of these small lists, 1714 of 88/7. In the first century B.C. we find a series (1717, 1720, 1718) which were supported by iron attachments to the side, low down; from 14/3 B.C. we have 1721 with clear indications that it was supported from the top of its gable. In all such cases the decline of the proper stele shape was hastened by the fact that the sides were not intended to be seen. Unluckily no other list in Athens has a side preserved at the point where such cuttings are found; but it is clear that the sides of 1723 and 1725, both of which we have supposed not to be lists of the *archontes*, were meant to be seen, and hence that for them the old support of a leaded base alone was used.

We possess whole or partial texts of 18 small lists.¹ Presumably they were set up at the end of the year during which the officials listed served, or else in the year following. It is not so easy for us to guess *why* they were set up; lists of other kinds almost invariably had explanatory headings, so that we must infer that the purpose

n. 2, 72 ff.), the list above evidently records some deme affiliations of the wealthy. They appear to have become concentrated in a comparatively few places. The lists of *archontes* have representatives of no fewer than 89 of the 177 demes, 1706 alone having 56; the Archons under the Empire were drawn from 38 demes.—It is interesting to set these data beside those given by A. W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.* (Oxford, 1933), pp. 37–39, for important people in the earlier period.

¹ *I.G.*² II 1714, 1715, 1717, 1718, 1719, 1720, 1721, 1722, 1724, 1727, 1728, 1729, 1730, 1731, 1734, 1735, 1736, 1736 a (pp. 813–814). Either doubtfully or certainly different are 1723, 1725, 1726, *EM* 4692 (see *above*, p. 166). In a group by themselves are 1723 and *EM* 4692. In both apparently are recorded the Hoplite General; two minor functionaries are set apart at the end by smaller letters. 1736 a, a true list, but a late one, of *archontes*, is related to *EM* 4692 by the presence of the *ἱεράρχης* and probably also the *Κρηνηφόρος*. 1725 may belong to the group, but the stone is very thin: 1723 and *EM* 4692 are cut on stelae which are conspicuously thick in relation to the sizes of the letters.

was universally understood, or perhaps was clear from their being set up in some obvious location near a public building or monument. Places of finding are recorded for 14; since 6 were found on the Acropolis, possibly all were originally set up there (Fimmen, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIX, 1914, p. 137; *EM* 4692 was also found there). 1720 is the only earlier one of these from the Acropolis; others, mostly early, group themselves southeast of the Acropolis (1717, 1719, 1721?, 1727; also 1723; cf. Dragoumes, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1915, p. 6);¹ two more were found near the tower of Andronicus. Professor Shear has permitted me to mention that two small but fairly certain fragments have been discovered in the Greek Agora.

We are reduced to the inscriptions themselves for an answer to Keil's question (*op. cit.* p. 65) "Was in aller Welt hat der *Κῆρυξ* mit und unter neun Archonten zu tun?" His own answer, that the group served as a judicial commission, was rejected by Graindor, *Ath. sous Aug.*, pp. 110–111, and Kirchner (*I.G.*² II 1717). Keil explained the Herald's position as due to his late arrival on the board, but we shall see that the position was normal for him. There is nothing decisive for or against Keil. Another answer, proposed by Dragoumes (*Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1915, pp. 5–7, not considered by Graindor but mentioned by Kirchner), was that the lists recorded the leaders of the Pythais. This conjecture, though incapable of proof, nevertheless points in the right direction. The Delphian lists record (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2), in addition to a group headed by the Hoplite General, the following leaders:

	No. 3	No. 4	No. 2
138/7	128/7	106/5	98/7
(not preserved)	Arch.	—	Arch.
	Bas.	—	Bas.
	Pol.	—	Pol.
	6 Thes.	—	6 Thes.
	Her. Areo.	[Her. Areo.]	Her. Areo.
		Her. Arch.	Her. Arch.
			Trumpeter

From *I.G.*² II 2336, where the Herald of the Areopagos appears once (and for whom a blank space was probably intended in a second instance) immediately after the nine *archontes*, it is impossible to prove much. Such appears to have been his normal position; yet his actual place in the state during the latter part at least of the period covered by the lists of *archontes* was certainly one of greater prestige, for eventually, though not originally, only the Archon and Basileus were enrolled in the Areopagos (Keil, *op. cit.* p. 84). Hence the position of the Herald in the lists was, or rather came to be, out of

¹ The similarity in workmanship and in deterioration of 1717 and 1727 (*above*, p. 149) suggests that they were set up, as they were found, near together, in the Street of the Tripods. This tends partially to confirm the view of Dragoumes.

keeping with his dignity. We should conceive that he continued to appear, as moderns would say, *ex-officio*, like some head of a corporation automatically a member of one of its committees. In *EM* 6083, as Graindor has pointed out (*Rev. Arch.*, 1917, p. 2-4), we find the nine *archontes* together honoring the Herald.¹

Just what the group in question did as a unit we do not know. Conceivably the lists merely commemorated some cult performance symbolic of the initiation or completion of the term of the *archontes*. The leading of the Pythais was probably not the event: though it is curious that their enneoteric sequence (Ferguson, *op. cit.* p. 147, n. 1) is exactly fitted by 1714 in 88/7 and 1720 in 56/5; but some time in the first century the *archontes* ceased to be the leaders (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III 2, p. 62), nor did they later lead the Dodecade (Graindor, *Ath. sous Aug.*, p. 141). Lists of Pythaists should be longer, and indeed we do have a fragment of just such a document, *I.G.*² II 1941 of 106/5, found at the Dipylon (set up in the Pompeion?) hence far from where lists of *archontes* were set up, and again unlike them, cut on a heavy post of Hymettian. The smooth sides of this post and its general aspect suggest that it bore originally, on front and sides above our fragment, the complete list of the great Pythais of its year, namely the full contents of *Fouilles de Delphes*, III 2, nos. 4, 5, 9, 13, 14, 15, 25, 28, 30.

A detailed study of the functionaries therein names is not called for here, especially after Graindor's discussions for two periods (*Ath. sous Aug.*, pp. 109-115; *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 72-73), but no chronological survey of them all has hitherto been made. Our earliest list (1714 of 98/7 B.C.) includes only the Herald of the Areopagos, who had already appeared with the *archontes* in lists of Pythaists inscribed at Delphi, and in *I.G.*² II 2336 (of 103/2-96/5), as we have seen. Little is known of the rise of the Herald (summary in Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 429, n. 2; see also Keil, *op. cit.* pp. 52f.). Keil compares this Herald with the Herald of the Boule and Demos. Though originally and much later they may have been analogous, the latter, at least in the earlier second century B.C., was not an annual but a long-term (life?) appointment, hereditary mainly in one family. He cannot even have been a member of the Boule. From the fact that he received no outstanding honor, it is doubtful whether, by dominating the *proedroi* of each meeting, he attained a position analogous to that of the Herald-President of the Areopagos. Indeed of all our lists, the latter Herald was probably absent only from *EM* 4692 and 1736a, of which we have conjectured that the former did not list *archontes*, while the latter, with its numerous peculiarities, is rightly supposed by Kirchner to be the last of the series.

The other persons whom I have termed "Functionaries" were doubtless quite inferior, and we should be wary of connecting with political changes (for which see Ferguson,

¹ The third letter of line 5, begun as N, was partially erased.—Treading on dangerous ground, one might wonder whether *EM* 6083 does not belong rather in the middle of the first century A.D.; the lettering is somewhat like that of 1736 of "*med. s. I p.*" The fact that the *archontes* honor the Herald suggests the latter's definite superiority: this favors the later date, for in the earlier period the Herald, whatever his actual influence, began by being listed after the ancient board.

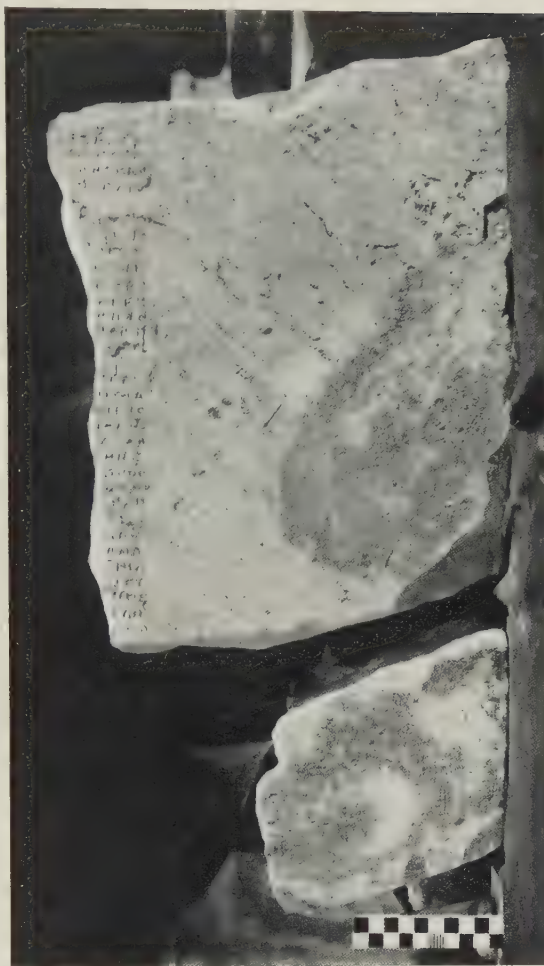
Klio, IX, 1909, pp. 323–330, and 340) the various alterations of their order and personnel. Such an alteration took place (see Table) between 56/5 and 14/3, in that Flutist and Archon's Herald exchanged places, while the *Δημόσιος* gave way to a metic called a *Λειτουργός*. These changes *may* be due to the aristocratic restoration of *ca.* 53 B.C. At the time of Graindor's most recent study (*Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, 1931, p. 73, n. 5) it appeared to him that no list could be dated after Claudius. It is now clear that 1736 is permitted to be slightly later, that *EM* 4692 probably falls toward the end of the century, and that 1736a dates from at least eighty years after Claudius. The absence of the Hoplite General from the regular lists is their most striking feature, explained by Graindor (*Ath. sous Aug.*, p. 113) as due to his non-civil character; among the Delphian Pythaists he heads the more specifically cult officials, the Hieromnemon changing from the other group to his. Conversely, his presence in 1723 and *EM* 4692 sets these two apart, perhaps in a class which shows that the old bonds which held the group together were slackening. Thus other variations in the Functionaries begin with 1723 and 1736, whether or not the Hoplite General appears in the latter; we meet now such titles as *Κρηνίσκος* (at first replacing the Archon's Herald: 1723), *Αιτών*, and *Ἱεραύλης*, and on our latest fragments we miss the Herald of the Areopagos from his normal position.

Retaining Graindor's restoration of 1723, we can count seven positive and no negative instances to show that the Archon was always and not occasionally in these documents recorded as Priest of Drusus after 9/8 B.C. On the other hand, our study of 1723, 1725, and 1735 has removed all reason for supposing that the chief Archon was ever described in lists as *ἐπώνυμος*. In lists of this sort, where the titles of all the other Archons are given, to distinguish the first by *ἐπώνυμος* is strictly superfluous. Elsewhere it may not have been so, and for this reason we need not seriously question Graindor's assertion (*Ath. sous Aug.*, pp. 113–114) that the use of the title *ἐπώνυμος* began under Augustus. The one instance, however, is *I.G.*¹ III 130 of somewhat uncertain date; we have found independent reason to doubt the restoration of *ἐπώνυμος* in *I.G.*² II 1725. The next occurrence is secure in 41 A.D., where *I.G.*¹ III 458 alone in the reign of Claudius bears it; the word *ἐρχοντος* being again a restoration but scarcely to be doubted.

The unique appearance of a Secretary in 1736a, the latest of our lists, which had evidently only five *Thesmothetae*, reminds us of the Secretary of the *Thesmothetae* of an earlier time (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, LV, 1); but at that time he was not one of the six, whereas from 1736a it might appear that he was chosen Secretary instead of or as well as *Thesmothes*, the six being reduced possibly to five.—The omission of the secretary mentioned by Aristotle is significant for the history of that office, for Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, LXII, 2) mentions the Archon's Herald and the Flutist.

ADDENDUM ON *I.G.*² II 1706 (Fig. 15)

The edition in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 418–446 should be amended to allow ΦΙΛΛ rather than ΦΗΓ[ΟΥ] in line 143, as *above*. The argument against Dinsmoor's reconstruction is not sound as respects the alleged unlikelihood that small letters were cut two meters above the level of which the reader stood; no stele, to be sure, with letters that size cut at that height exists; but further inspection in the *EM* leads me to believe that by itself such a feature is possible. The complete lack of any sign of a means of attachment, on the other hand, conflicts with the theory of a revetment or pilaster; for stones naturally break where an iron is inserted. The force of this argument is increased somewhat by the discovery of a new fragment from the right edge of the stele. It is inevitable that in any excavation rich in inscriptions, inscribed blocks will continue to be found. In December 1933, the modern wall about the area where 1706 was found (see *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 427–429) having been demolished, the expert mender from the Agora, I. Bakoulis, hired by me and assisted by two boys, examined all the stones. Thirteen fragmentary inscriptions were found; Stavros Kontes, technical assistant in the *EM* and guard of the area, discovered two others; all were removed to the *EM*. There was also discovered the small piece of 1706 shown in Fig. 15: height 0.19 m., width 0.165 m., thickness 0.13 m. Right side and back, both original, show the characteristic treatment; veins, tooling, and discoloration are identical. The position of the fragment E should probably be somewhat more removed from B than Fig. 15 shows; for the smoothed side is wider on E (0.09–0.095 m.). There is no sign of any means of attachment. As to the hypothetical scheme of breakage (*op. cit.* pl. XII), E may be part of one of the missing larger blocks; or the lower right side may have been broken into small pieces.

Fig. 15. *I.G.*² II 1706, Fragments B and E

CLERICAL ERRORS IN LISTS

Among Athenian lists of all kinds, we find what appears to have been the proper order upset in the following instances (the latest summary is Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 463, n. 4, based on Ferguson, *Class. Phil.*, VIII, 1913, p. 222): (1) 1706, line 57. (2) 1706, line 96 (?). (3) 2336, lines 59, 61. (4) 1736, line 10. (5) 1008, col. II, line 110. (6) 1028, col. III, line 143. (7) 1996, col. II, line 75. (8) An instance not before clearly established will be proved by me elsewhere: in 800 certain *synproedroi* are listed out of order, though in all other known instances their order is perfect. I have examined the readings in all these cases and have found them correct. An instance formerly cited can be dropped: 1945, the first deme under Leontis (line 27), is omitted by Graindor (*B.C.H.*, LI, 1927, p. 320) and left blank by Kirchner. The traces are indeed difficult, but certainly the old reading *Ἐλεούσιοι* is wrong; the first letter, alone certain, is Π or Γ, permitting *Π[αιονίδαι]*.

Deliberate corrections in order to restore the proper order are rare and difficult to detect. I shall show elsewhere that at least one such occurs in *I.G.*² II 2331. 1721 (*above*, p. 158), has erasures, but apparently for some other reason. The corrected formulae in the list of Delian Gymnasiarchs (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 231) might be included here; but we need not go farther, to enumerate the scores of corrections in texts of all sorts.

The opposite of an omission, namely uncorrected dittography of an item, happens to be known to me in only one instance, *Fouilles de Delphes*, III 2, 14, line 15, pointed out by Kirchner in his commentary on *I.G.*² II 1941, the copy set up in Athens. The Delphian list has two previous disarrangements (lines 10 and 11) as judged by the Athenian; the disorder evidently occasioned the dittography. Lines 3, 10, and 18 have other evidences of carelessness.

We cannot of course speak of how errors may have arisen in the original redaction of any list. Once the copy was in the hands of the stone-cutter, an error in the sequence was easier perhaps than one realizes. In the first place, since any error, even if erased, leaves some sort of trace in the marble, the stone mason must attend nervously to every stroke; the work is vastly more exacting than writing or printing: letter-cutters cannot bear to be watched. Certainly not more than one item would be borne in mind at a time, and however careful the worker, he must needs glance at his copy after every line. Quite easily, absorbed by the effort of making good letters, the mason might overlook an item or two in his copy. Thus an error in a list occurs more readily than in a continuous text. Secondly, once the order was upset, there could be no inserting between-lines an omitted item; it is rare before the Empire. The alternatives then were to leave the error, or to erase and rectify. The rarity of such corrections is a proof that this alternative was avoided.

On the whole, it is remarkable how few clerical errors occur in Athenian lists; on the other hand, the absence of erasures whatever in a long list like 1706 is itself suspicious.

NOTES ON DEMES

There were in all about 175 Attic demes, and they were enrolled in the 10, 12, 13, 11, 12, and 13 tribes of the successive periods of Athenian history. The evidence for the affiliations of each of the demes in each of the periods is naturally a patch-work affair, strong in some places, weak or absent in others. In particular, Schöffer's (*PW* 5, cols. 35–122) and especially Dinsmoor's (*Archons*, pp. 444–451) painstaking studies of the tribal affiliations of the demes have called attention to certain difficulties, some of which can be resolved. Graindor has already done the ephebe lists (*B. C. H.*, LI, 1927, pp. 327–328): his correction of *I.G.*¹ III 1034, line 33 seems to have been too late for *I.G.*² II 1781; Leukonoe is saved from Antiochis. Systematic study by me, especially of *I.G.*² II 2362, must be postponed.

ANAPHLYSTOS. Elsewhere it will be made clear that *I.G.*² II 800 offers no evidence for subdivision, part going to Ptolemais (Johnson, *CP* IX, 1914, p. 438, noted in Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 510). Anaphlystos appears to have remained always in Antiochis.

BESA. Not to be connected with Antigonis by *I.G.*² II 912; see under PHEGAIÁ.

"KALETEA." Apparently appears by error in Dinsmoor's list, from Schöffer's, where its existence is doubted, or from Bates'. Its only possible occurrence, *I.G.*² II 1077, line 57, is rejected by Kirchner (*ibid.*), whose reading seems to me correct.

KIKYNNA. The original sub-division of this deme is a theory based on the lost *I.G.*² II 1927, of which line 37 was read K[...]NEIΣ by Chandler. The inscription being non-stoichedon, the space occupied by IKTN would be very nearly that required by ΘMO, so that only the reading of K stands in the way of restoring (A)[ΘMO]NEIΣ, a deme known to have belonged to Kekropis. Loeper, who has suggested the same demotic, also mentioned (T)[PINE](E)EIΣ; this is far more dubious; for A can, but T cannot, easily be confused with K. Chandler's copy of *I.G.*² II 1927 contained 15 proved errors. We may, therefore, query the view that Kikynna was a double deme, especially since the division of it would have to be between two of the original ten tribes.

PEIRAIOS. That this deme was enrolled in Hippothontis during the period of the Macedonian tribes was conjectured from *I.G.*² II 478, line 21. The reading of another letter increases the certainty: [- - Πετ]ραε.

PHEGAIA. *I.G.*² II 912, line 24, listing apparently one of the demes of Antigonis, was read [Βη]σαιεῖ[ς] by Mylonas, [Παιαν]ιεῖς by Roussel, [Φη]γαεῖς by Leonardos and Brückner; the latter version was accepted by Kirchner and Dinsmoor, although other authority is lacking for supposing that either deme of this name belonged to Antigonis. The stone shows that there can have been only one letter missing at the beginning; hence Phegaia is excluded. The third preserved letter has far too much space for iota; hence Paiania and Besa are excluded. My reading is ΠΓΑΞΕΙ, which possibly represents the name [Ε]παμειν[ων], although the Γ might be Γ plus a scratch, and the Μ is faint.

POTAMOS. Originally all three demes of this name belonged to Leontis; one part went to Antigonis; finally, that part was transferred *not* back to Leontis (although every other known deme set free by the dissolution of Antigonis and Demetrias returned to its original tribe), but instead, according to the accepted reading of *I.G.*² II 1008, line 113, Potamos was given to another of the original ten tribes, Akamantis. This difficult assumption is erroneous. It is a tribute to Dinsmoor's rigid method, and to his ingenuity, that he suggested (*Archons*, p. 450) that the reading might be not Ποτ[άμιος] but Πορ[ίος], to fit a deme known to be of Akamantis. The stone has Πορ[ο]ς.

INDEX OF INSCRIPTIONS

Mentioned for special points (ordinary type)

Examined in some detail (**black-face type**)

*I.G.*² II—III

	Pages		Pages		Pages
478	188	1720	143, 150 , 153, 157, 158, 178, 183, 185	1736 a	161, 166, 174, 175 , 179, 183, 185, 186
800	187	1721	141, 142, 143, 150, 151, 153, 158 , 159, 162, 173, 180, 183, 188	1754	157
912	188	1722	152, 158 , 178, 183	1756	157
1006	162, 164	1723	161, 162 , 173, 174, 179, 183, 186	1763	165
1008	161, 187	1724	143, 159 , 161, 178, 183	1764/5	165
1028	187	1725	159 , 167, 170, 174, 178, 183, 186	1781	188
1040	151	1726	179, 183	1794	165
1043	172	1727	146 , 178, 183	1927	188
1069	165, 166	1728	161, 179, 183	1941	185, 188
1077	188	1729	155, 161 , 167, 179, 183	1945	187
1706	175, 177, 180, 181, 182, 183, 187, 188	1730	143, 160 , 179, 182	1968	169
1713	145, 149	1731	161, 183	1973	169
1714	144 , 178, 183, 185	1734	143, 162 , 179, 183	1991	175
1715	178, 183	1735	143, 160, 167 , 179, 183, 186	1996	187
1716	149	1736	143, 169 , 179, 183, 185, 186, 187	2040	175
1717	141, 142, 143, 149 , 150, 151, 157, 158, 160, 162, 173, 178, 183, 184			2041	175
1718	142, 143, 150, 151, 157 , 158, 159, 178, 183			2055	175
1719	143, 155 , 157, 178, 183			2058	175
				2079	175
				2085	175
				2276	175
				2331	188
				2336	140, 177, 183, 184, 185, 187
				2362	176, 188
				2464	152, 157
				2468	181

*I. G.*¹ III

	Pages
68 a	165
68 b	165
130	186
136	152
267	175
458	186

I. G. XII 8

26	151
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F. de Delphes, III 2

	Pages
2	184, 185
3	184
4	184
12	146
14	188
15	151
64	149

Sitzber. Berl. Acad., 1888

	Pages
<i>EM</i> 4692 . . .	143, 161, 166, 173 , 175, 179, 183, 185, 186

Rev. Arch., 1917

<i>EM</i> 6083	185
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THE ΜΟΥΣΕΙΟΝ IN LATE ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS

In the Asclepieum on the south slope of the Acropolis is a base with the following inscription (*I. G.* III¹, 772 c):

Ἡ πόλις
Τίτον Πομπήιον Διονύσιον
Παιανιέα, τῶν ἀπὸ Μουσείου
φιλόσοφον, βασιλεύσαντα, τῆς
περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας καὶ
τῆς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα εὐνοίας
ἐνεκα

T. Pompeius Dionysius appears also in a prytany list, *I. G.* II², 1056, of about 210 A.D. S. A. Koumanoudes, who first published the inscription on the base, explained the phrase τῶν ἀπὸ Μουσείου φιλόσοφον as indicating a philosopher with an appointment to the Museum at Alexandria.¹ The fact, of course, that Pompeius Dionysius had served both as prytanis and as royal archon, shows that for many years at least he actually resided in Attica, because he became so identified with the life of the country that he was given public offices, never awarded as an honor to foreigners. Yet he might have held an honorary appointment at Alexandria, and if this Attic inscription were the only one to mention the Μουσεῖον, we could call the occasion exceptional and rest content with the explanation. But the word [Μ]ουσείου occurs also on a small fragment found in the American excavations of the ancient Agora. The latter inscription, as yet unpublished, may probably be dated in the same period on the basis of the lettering. After the discovery of still a third case in Athens it behooves us to look for the Μουσεῖον in Attica itself.

The third example presented itself in the excavations of the Roman Agora. The Greek archaeologists recently discovered there a large base of Pentelic marble, adorned with a moulding above and below. It now stands a few yards east of the gateway to the marketplace of Caesar and Augustus. The lettering is suitable for the first half of the third century A.D.; it might, however, be somewhat earlier. In the top of the monument are two holes for the feet of the statue. The back is much worn because the base evidently had been used face down as a threshold block.

¹ *Δελφικαίαι*, V, 1877, pp. 528–529. His interpretation has been accepted in Dittenberger, *S. I. G.*³ II, p. 619.

Height of base, 1.15 m.; width of inscribed face, 0.55 m.; thickness without moulding, 0.63 m.

Height of letters, 0.027–0.04 m.



Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ
Κασσιανὸν Ἀντίου
τὸν καὶ Συνέσιον,
τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Μουσίου[ν],
Πανελλήνων ἄρχον[τα],
[ὁ Ἄ]ριος Πάγος ἢ β[ουλῇ]
καὶ ὁ δῆμος &

Base in the Roman Agora

I am here reproducing a photograph with the kind permission of Mr. Kourouniotes and Mr. Stavropoulos. The latter has already reported the base in his preliminary account of the excavations in the *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*, XIII, 1931, *Παράρτημα*, p. 7, but

in the limited space he attempted no commentary beyond suggesting as possible a connection between the Cassianus there honored and the eponymous archon Cassianus, who held office during the reign of Caracalla (211–218 A.D.). An identification, however, seems to me impossible, for the title reads *Πανελλήνων ἄρχων* not *ἄρχων ἐπώνυμος*. Since, moreover, the deme is not mentioned, Cassianus called Synesius (the *clever one*), son of Antias, can hardly have been an Athenian citizen.

The base adds to those already known the name of yet another archon of the Panhellenes.¹ Since he held this position, the person honored was a man of more than local importance. For us, however, the chief interest lies in the title *ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ Μουσείου*, recorded as his other great distinction. The *Μουσεῖον* over which he presided was obviously not the hill of the Muses, where the monument of Philopappus stood, but rather a school or academy such as the word commonly indicated elsewhere and at Athens too.² By no means, however, does the Museum of Alexandria constitute the only possible interpretation, nor, I think, even a probable one, the reference being what it is, for we must allow a difference in this respect between the literary and the epigraphical manner. In fact, if not in theory, the literary author usually addressed the whole *οἰκουμένη*, and if he made a reference to the Museum without the accompaniment of an identifying phrase, he meant, indeed, that of Alexandria, which through its brilliant history had become for all the world the Museum *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. An inscription, on the other hand, would generally have a local application. As we know, precisely at Athens the connection *school and shrine of the Muses* had a strong tradition quite independent of Alexandrian influence. Plato had established the school of philosophy as a *θίασος τῶν Μουσῶν* and had spoken of his activity as a service of the Muses. The other schools at Athens in turn did the same so that the conception of philosophical school and that of shrine of the Muses were always closely connected here. Far from being restricted to the great institution at Alexandria, the word *Μουσεῖον* by late Hellenistic and Roman times had become a common designation for almost any sort of school. Plutarch, for example, had the rhetoricians in mind when he wrote: *"Ἔθους δ' ὄντιος ἐν τοῖς μουσείοις κλήρους περιφέρεισθαι καὶ τοὺς συλλαχόντας ἀλλήλοις προτείνειν φιλόλογα ζητήματα, φοβούμενος ὁ Ἀμμωνίος, κτλ.*³ Moreover, the "universities"⁴ of the third century after Christ had as

¹ The epigraphical and literary material concerning the Panhellenes has been gathered together by M. N. Tod, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XLII, 1922, pp. 167–180. Hadrian "enhanced the dignity and brilliance of Athens by making it the capital of a new union of Greek states, termed the *Πανελλήνιον*, which, though devoid of political significance, served to unite the Greeks, both European and Asiatic, and to revive the memories of the great civilizing mission of Hellenism in the past. At its head stood a council (*συνέδριον*), composed of representatives of the states comprised in the union, and presided over by the *ἄρχων*. Each member of the council was entitled *Πανέλλην*, and the post was regarded as a high distinction."

² The reader will find an account of the history of the word in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie*, XVI, pp. 797ff. For its application to the philosophical schools at Athens see U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Antigonos von Karystos*, pp. 263–291.

³ *Quaest. Con.*, IX, 2.

⁴ J. W. H. Walden, *The Universities of Ancient Greece*, has assembled the material in the most convenient form and supplied a good bibliography. Compare also Schmidt-Christ *passim*.

forerunner the Museum of Alexandria, and it is readily understandable that the convenient word *Μουσείον*, which at Alexandria had virtually been a name such as later the *Capitolium* at Constantinople, or the *Athenaeum* at Rome, might become almost a common noun to describe any similar institution.

A local Athenian inscription, therefore, should have concerned a local school. In the third century, instead of designating which school, a document could speak of *the* (one) *Μουσείον* because the philosophical, grammatical, and rhetorical education had been reorganized and the old schools united into one great institution.

In the third century at Athens the term would mean, therefore, the "university" as it appears even more plainly from the analogy of the schools at Ephesus and Antioch. At Ephesus a stone has survived, whereon the faculty, *οἱ περὶ τὸ Μουσείον παιδευταί*, honor P. Avidius Antoninus, benefactor of the city. In another inscription occurs the phrase *οἱ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μουσείου ἱατροί*. Accordingly a *Μουσείον*, which cannot be confused with that of Alexandria, existed at Ephesus.¹ Given its faculty and its connection with the medical profession, it was clearly an institution of the "higher learning." Furthermore, Libanius employs the same term in referring to the school at Antioch, which with its chairs of philosophy, rhetoric, and grammar resembled closely the one at Athens. In the first oration he speaks of the difficulty that he encountered at Antioch before he received his appointment: he managed, he says, to increase somewhat the number of his followers by establishing himself in a more public place near the Agora; but still the school was in the hands of his rivals, and that gave them an immense advantage: *τὸ Μουσείον δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἦν, ὅσπῃ τοῖς ἔχουσι μεγάλη.*²

Schools of rhetoric and of philosophy had continued to exist at Athens from classical times on into the Roman period. The "university," however, may be said to have begun in the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. Under the latter academic chairs (*θρόνοι*) were established with salaries attached. Marcus Aurelius completed the creation of an institution somewhat resembling our modern universities, when he endowed chairs in the four schools of philosophy,—the Academic, the Peripatetic, the Stoic, and the Epicurean, and added to the older chair in rhetoric still another with a larger salary paid out of the imperial treasury. The "university" of Athens soon eclipsed those of all other Greek cities even well before the displeasure of Caracalla descended so grievously upon Alexandria. Once in a while a professor resigned a post at Athens to accept one of the more remunerative chairs in the Athenaeum at Rome, but no other institution could lend the same prestige or attract as many students as the "university" at Athens. It was the chief centre of the New Sophistic which in the Imperial Age triumphed over Philosophy. And Athens, whither students flocked in the hope of

¹ J. Keil, *Jahresheft*, VIII, 1905, pp. 128–138 (particularly pp. 135–136); F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*, p. 206†; *Forschungen in Ephesus*, II, no. 65; *ibid.*, III, no. 68; J. Keil, *Jahresheft*, XXIII, 1926, *Beiblatt*, p. 263. I should explain the phrase *περὶ τὸ Μουσείον* as indicating not only the professors *ἀπὸ τοῦ Μουσείου* but also those who without holding official appointments had the privilege of teaching there.

² I 71.

learning to speak the purest Attic, Athens, the quiet academic town, suited to study and clothed in a glorious tradition, had advantages which the world capital, Rome, did not possess.

The third inscription in still another way confirms our explanation. On the evidence of a passage in Flavius Philostratus,¹ for which the base found in the Roman Agora affords an eloquent commentary, we may identify the director with the Ionian sophist Cassianus, active in Athens in the early part of the third century and connected with the university as we gather from his contemporary's uncomplimentary observation: *οἷος θρασύνεσθαι μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀθήνησι θρόνον διὰ καιρῶς, οἷς ἀπεχρήσατο, παιδεῦσαι δὲ μηδένα, πλὴν Περίγητος τοῦ Ἀνδοῦ*. Not only the name identifies them. The absence of a demotic in the honorary inscription establishes the foreign origin also of our Cassianus. The sophist, mentioned by Philostratus, despite his alleged incapacity secured an appointment to the chair of rhetoric. He had had some good opportunity which facilitated the appointment, and, as this unfriendly version implies, he may have secured the post through unfair exploitation of his opportunities. The nature of the great chance, the exploitation of which might well have annoyed another sophist, appears in full clarity from the other title recorded on the base in the Roman Agora. Cassianus held the archonship of the Panhellenes with residence in Athens, a superb opportunity for an ambitious sophist. Although the Athenians selected foreigners, they almost always selected them from among those who resided in the city. For this reason the sophists who entertained aspirations to the chair, waited in Athens sometimes many years, often enough in vain, and few were those who had the prestige of a great office to prepare the way for them.

The Cassianus of the inscription was director of the "university." Concerning the other, Philostratus indicates merely that he secured the appointment to the chair of rhetoric. However, the latter chair, *ὁ σοφιστικὸς θρόνος*, was regarded as more important than all the others, and surpassed in dignity not only the chair of political rhetoric (*ὁ πολιτικὸς θρόνος*) but also the philosophical chairs. In several passages Philostratus himself implies that the incumbent of the chair of rhetoric was *ex officio* director of the whole school. In the following words, for example, he records that the sophist Theodotus was the first to receive an appointment, at 10,000 drachmas, to the new, more highly paid chair of rhetoric which Marcus Aurelius created: *προὔστη δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων νεότητος πρῶτος ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκ βασιλέως μισθιαῖς*,—*he was placed in charge of the Athenian youth*.² Philostratus continues to say that Marcus Aurelius allowed Herodes Atticus to appoint the philosophers, but he, himself, the emperor, selected Theodotus to direct the youth (*ἐπέκρινε τοῖς νέοις*). Likewise the emperor, himself, when the chair was again vacant, appointed the sophist Adrianus. Philostratus again says that he *placed him in charge of the youth*, *ἐπέταξεν αὐτὸν τοῖς νέοις*.³ Furthermore, we know that after Libanius received

¹ *Vitae Soph.*, p. 627.

² *Vitae Soph.*, p. 566.

³ *Vitae Soph.*, p. 588.

as sophist the appointment to the chair of Antioch, he was in charge not only of the other rhetors but of the whole school,¹—he was, in the language of our inscription, *ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ Μουσείου*. We do not know who, apart from political officials, served as director in the other schools, but it is interesting that in the two places about which we are informed, the incumbent of the sophistical chair had a certain authority over the whole institution and served as an intermediary between the state and the “university.” At Athens this fact will account for the greater salary that he received.²

Since, therefore, we recognize in the word *Μουσείον* the ordinary designation for the “university,” a new meaning in which there is nothing surprising or unusual, emerges for the phrase *τῶν ἀπὸ Μουσείου φιλόσοφων* that misled the editor of the base in the Asclepieum as we related at the beginning. The philosophers *ἀπὸ (τοῦ) Μουσείου* are the incumbents of the philosophical chairs at Athens.

¹ J. W. H. Walden, *The Universities of Ancient Greece*, deals with the school of Antioch on pp. 270–278. The account that Eunapius (pp. 79 ff.) gives of the struggle for the chair of sophistry in Athens on the death of Julian in the fourth century, contains many more indications that the sophist was the Head of the School. The account would lead one to believe that the battle for the succession vitally concerned the whole empire, which divided in its sympathies along geographical lines. Compare Walden's note pp. 142–145.

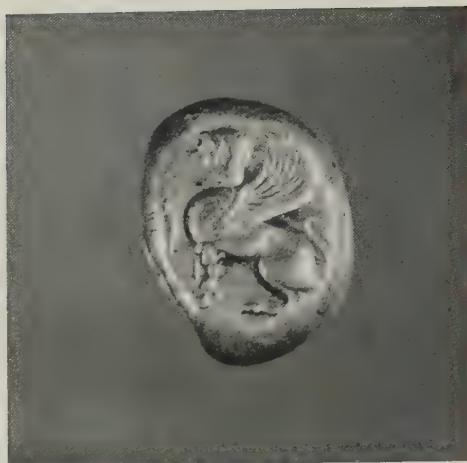
² Philostratus (*Vitae Soph.*, p. 600) gives the salary attached to the *πολιτικὸς θρόνος* as 6,000 drachmas. The sophist received 10,000.

JAMES H. OLIVER

PLATE I



1. Seal of Chios



2. Coin of Chios



5. The Four-horse Chariot with the Sun of the Rhodians

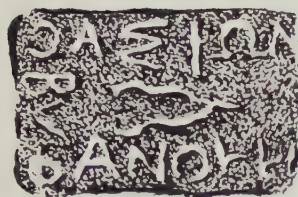


3. Seal of Athens



4. Anadoumenos

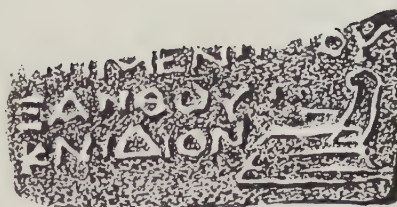
Scale 2 : 1



9



85



135

STAMPED AMPHORA HANDLES FOUND IN 1931-1932

PLATES I AND II

I. INTRODUCTION

The present article is concerned with impressions made while the clay was still soft on ancient jars, usually on the handle, by means of a mould or die comparable to those now used on sealing wax as a token of official sanction or of private identity.¹ Stamps of this type² bear a date: "in the term of (ἐπὶ) —,"³ which is sometimes made more specific by the addition of the month; or they may have a name alone, usually in the genitive case: "from, or by, —," indicating probably the manufacturer of the jar; or there may be a combination of these two. A great many state explicitly or implicitly where they were made, by adding, for instance, ΘΑΣΙΟΝ or ΚΝΙΔΙΟΝ or the Rhodian Rose. Many are individualized by the addition of various devices.⁴ Some bear a monogram and some the pictorial device alone.

¹ The catalogue covers only the items found in the first two seasons, but advance notice is given of important material from the third campaign, and the chronological arrangement of the catalogued handles has been controlled as far as possible by the new examples. For an analysis of the latter, cf. p. 201, n. 2. I should like to express my gratitude to all who have assisted in the present study. I have received courtesies from Greek archaeologists and from members of the foreign archaeological schools in Athens. Special acknowledgment is made to Professor G. P. Oikonomos, Director of the Department of Antiquities in the Ministry of Education, and to Mr. Karoussos, Ephor of Antiquities in Thebes, for permission to include three amphorae which are in the museums of Athens, Thebes, and Chalkis. Among friends to whom particular thanks are due should be mentioned Dr. Oscar Broneer, Dr. Alfred Bellinger, Mr. Sterling Dow, and Miss Elizabeth Gutmann. Others are referred to in the text. I have profited also by advice, criticism and suggestions from Professors Carpenter, Sanders, Swindler, and Müller of Bryn Mawr College.

² Cf. the headpiece, representations of Nos. 9, 85, and 135 of this catalogue, made from drawings by Mary Wyckoff.

³ The official who thus gives his name to the year is called the eponym.

⁴ Thasian stamps, on which the preposition ἐπὶ is not used, appear to express the date and the maker in most cases by a name in the nominative (or abbreviated) and the device. That the device is here a separate piece of information, not the means of identifying more precisely the name, seems probable because of the large number of different devices with which some of the names occur.

These stamps do not figure much in students' manuals of the present day,¹ but they are familiar to excavators of many classical sites. At an earlier period, as perhaps in remote places to this day, they could be picked up from the surface of the ground by an attentive visitor. Not only did they appeal to the mere collector, but the presence of writing on them early produced a scattered series of learned notes with painstaking copies and elaborate speculations. Mass discovery has since resulted in a certain amount of classification, in rather full name-lists, and in studies which leave little doubt in the reader's mind that archaeological and historical understanding must gain increasingly from these minor monuments as the information which they provide is ordered and made accessible. We have in these stamps, as a matter of fact, a long series of commercial documents preserved because they happen to have been inscribed in many copies on an almost imperishable medium. A glance through the present article will perhaps suggest something of the fund of information which awaits the full interpretation of this material: sidelights on both economic and political history; new data concerning the development of the cursive script and of an important form of that little-known ancient vase, the household pot; and finally, chronological lists of eponymous officials to which could be referred for a date any inscription from Rhodes, Knidos, etc. which preserved its heading or a fortunate mention of a magistrate, or any building in the foundation trench of which one of these handles might be found. To the excavator, indeed, these documents should provide a closer dating than that given by most Greek coins, for the least definite of them is limited to the working days of an individual potter, and many are dated in one particular month out of all antiquity.

Since these facts have been realized by scholars for a long time, it seems surprising that more progress has not been made with the study of the two main problems associated with the stamps: 1, the purpose for which they were used and 2, their chronology.

1. Several explanations of the purpose of the stamps have been offered, but none has been received with general satisfaction. It has been proposed, for instance, that the intention was to date the wine.² This is well enough for a fine wine like the Thasian which appears to have had a definite maturing period.³ But it is hard to understand why such pains should have been taken for the liquid intended for transportation in Rhodian and Knidian jars, into which went a large proportion of sea-water as a preservative.⁴ The narrowing of the date to the month is also puzzling on this hypothesis and has led to another suggestion, that the date applied not to the wine but to the pot, and served to measure accurately its proper drying period.⁵ This period, however, has

¹ Brief accounts are given by Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, London, 1905, I, pp. 154–158, and by Rayet et Collignon, *La Céramique Grecque*, Paris, 1888, pp. 359–362.

² Cf. Horace, *Odes*, III, 21, and Pliny, *N. H.*, XIV, 6 and 16 for dated wine.

³ Cf. Archestratos (4th cent. B.C.) *apud* Athenaeus, 29 c.

⁴ See Pliny, *N. H.*, XIV, 10 for the addition of sea water. The theory that it acted as a preservative I have from Hicks (p. xliii of the work cited on p. 199, n. 5).

⁵ Schuchhardt, C., *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*, II, p. 429.

been shown to be a matter of days, not months, in the Mediterranean climate.¹ A comparison with the usage employed in the case of stamped bricks has been invoked to indicate that the amphora stamp was simply an inheritance from the brick stamp.² The manufacturer used what had turned out to be good advertising, and found the date convenient as a control of his output, especially if he did not carry on the business directly.³ This explanation seems inadequate. It certainly fails to take into account the fact that the practice of stamping jars had been going on since the Bronze Age,⁴ and its reasoning is based at certain points on chronological hypotheses which, as may be seen below, are mistaken.

My present opinion is that the date applied primarily neither to the wine nor to the jar, but to the stamp itself, or rather to its die, which was then a license, valid for a limited period, permitting a manufacturer to sell goods in return for a payment to the government which he in turn collected by raising the price of his commodity to cover the amount.⁵ At stated intervals a new payment was made; otherwise sale could be stopped on the produce of the particular factory. Such a tax might be levied on any product manufactured and sold in sufficient volume. It is possible that in the case of Rhodes, for instance, where the wine was poor and the pottery fine, the jar itself was taxed.⁶ The addition of the month was perhaps a means of measuring the lapse of a fiscal year or years, beginning with any month in which the jar happened to have been made.

Probably no one explanation will suit all the times and places to which handles stamped with Greek names belong. Much research will be necessary before the matter is fully understood and finally settled. The problem is too interesting to be ignored, but I have preferred to devote myself to attacking as thoroughly as possible the second problem, that of the time-sequence, which seems to me to need solution first, and for the study of which I have had special advantages.

¹ Nilsson, *Timbres Amphoriques de Lindos, Exploration Archéologique de Rhodes*, V, pp. 58-59.

² Nilsson, *op. cit.* pp. 63-71.

³ It has been presumed that this was the case partly because among the fabricants' names occur those of women. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 59.

⁴ Stamped handles of the Bronze and early Iron Ages are found on sites in Palestine, such as Samaria and Beth-Zur. The earlier examples are gem impressions and the later have Israelitic names.

⁵ The notion that these were revenue stamps of a sort is not new to archaeology. Cf. the following sensible suggestion by Hicks (Paton and Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, Oxford, 1891, pp. xliv-xlv): "The stamp again had nothing to do with the vintage. It was an official certificate of the capacity of the jar, and little more. It points to a duty payable by the wine-merchant to the city of export: the duty was charged upon quantity, and the simplest mode of collecting it was to forbid the wine to be exported in other than government jars . . . The Rhodian jars are, indeed, stamped with the name of the month . . . as well as that of the eponymus; but this may be merely a means of checking the turn-out of the government potteries month by month."

⁶ Evidence from excavations has shown that household pots were an article of commerce. At the present day, similar plain jars are shipped all about the Aegean from particular centres. I have seen a market in Spetsas stocked with Aeginetan pottery, and shiploads from Siphnos may be picked up in other ports.

2. The previous work of value on the chronology of Greek amphora stamps includes little more than that summed up in the introduction to the section of this catalogue devoted to Rhodian seals (pp. 214–217). It has been accepted by scholars¹ that the great volume of the Rhodian trade took place between 225 and 150 B.C., and chiefly in the early second century; and fairly close dates have been proposed for a number of Rhodian names. In regard to the Knidian handles, there has been a general impression that, as a whole, they are later than the Rhodian.² Nilsson, in fact, claims for Rhodes the origin of the practice of stamping amphora handles because nearly everywhere else where stamped amphorae are found it is the general custom of the fabricant to state his nationality.³

The documents published in this article, however, warrant the following chronological conclusions: Stamped jars were imported into Athens from Thasos from the end of the fifth through the third century B.C.; from Rhodes from the early third, and probably late fourth, until late in the second century B.C. (the previously recognized angular type begins about 225); from Knidos from early in the third to well on in the first century B.C. and probably into the Roman imperial period. Normal and recognizable Knidian seals begin at the end of the third century, and the most familiar type, circular with boukranion, at about 150 B.C.

It has proved possible to date many individual eponyms and fabricants to within a half-century or less. For the Rhodian names, the method that has been followed is not that by which previous scholars have worked, and it therefore forms a control for earlier investigations. For the other names there has been no previous method.

These results have been obtained by much tabulation,⁴ and by taking into account the fact that the handles are fragments of pottery the development of which may be watched, and that the seals are in a way signatures the identity of which may be recognized through a series of documents. An advance has been made which would scarcely have been possible without a body of material similar to that on which this study is based: a large and varied collection, with a record for each item of any significant context, that is, the accompanying coins, lamps, pottery, etc., and the relation to datable constructions.⁵

¹ Cf. Rostovtzeff in *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VIII, p. 629.

² Cf. Pridik, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXI, 1896, p. 179.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 61.

⁴ Tabulations were made of readings, under every legible name and recognizable device on about 1850 seals from the three campaigns, and of the excavators' comments on the context in which the handles were found. For the comments, separate sheets were made out for each section of the excavations, so that it would be clear what handles came together. The study of the 1933 material is not complete; also the accompanying pottery had not all been sorted when I left Athens, nor had the coins all been cleaned. But the seals have been read and tabulated with fair thoroughness, and the excavators have discussed with me their more important deposits.

⁵ The series of excavators' records of context accessible to the present writer is something quite new to the study of amphora handles. The only comparable body of material is found in the Samaria publication (see p. 217) and there, although an exact location is quoted for every handle, the information is in most cases of no practical significance to the reader.

The new chronological conclusions are a definite gain. But more important than the immediate contribution which they present is the part they should play in building up the fuller chronology which awaits further information from excavations. For they form what has not hitherto been available, a framework into which new facts may be fitted. To facilitate the reporting of these facts, my article has been planned as a means of quick orientation for the field-worker, and as a means of easy reference for the scholar who later prepares to publish the discoveries.

Since the 1933 campaign, the Agora storerooms have contained a better assorted group of stamped handles than any published collection, because for the first time excavations in Athens, which is almost the only site on which Knidian handles have been found in quantity,¹ have yielded a large proportion of Rhodian examples.² It is reasonable to expect that a somewhat fuller and more precise differentiation should result than we have known before.³ The following notes are supplementary to Plate II⁴ and Fig. 1.

Chian handles have not been reported before, but they may be found to appear in greater quantity now that the type has been identified. The position of the seal has been against its survival, since it takes the place of the thumb impression often found at the base of the handle of a coarse pot.⁵ The clay is sandy and micaceous; on the surface it is reddish buff, sometimes distinctly red, and it bakes greyish at the core.

For a stamped handle of the ordinary type, the presence of mica in quantity indicates a Thasian origin. The color of the clay varies widely but a shade of russet buff is most characteristic; sometimes the core bakes to a different color, and occasionally, on handles which are possibly later, there appears to be a slip. An irregular red stain is often found on the upper surface of the handle near the neck.⁶ Peculiar to Thasian handles is the position of the seal on the outside of the curve (Pl. II, 2-3).⁷ Since this is the point of natural breakage, the impressions are often fragmentary, and come sometimes on the gently curving top of a long fragment of the lower part of the handle. Many specimens show the rim profile noted by Pridik,⁸ which appears to be normal (cf. Pl. II, 2); but others (cf. Pl. II, 3 and Fig. 1, 4) indicate that there is more variation than the Hermitage collection led him to suppose. The Thasian handle is regularly arched in profile and broad in section, but many examples show an exaggerated broadness and thinness not

¹ Aside from Athens and Knidos, the only site, so far as I know, which has produced stamped handles in quantity with a preponderance of Knidian is Delos. Cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VIII, p. 629. The Delian handles have not been published, nor has any group found at Knidos.

² 1545 seals have been thus classified: Rhodian, 565; Knidian, 437; Thasian, 75; miscellaneous, mostly of uncertain origin, 468. Further study will probably add many of the latter to the Knidian list, but the Rhodian figure will still be unusual for Athens.

³ See Schuchhardt, *op. cit.* pp. 423-424. Cf. also Nilsson, *op. cit.* pp. 52-56.

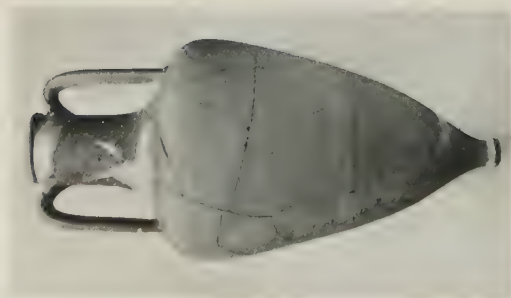
⁴ The selection for these drawings was very much limited by the necessity of finding fragments which preserve both a portion of rim and the continuation of the handle after the curve.

⁵ Cf. No. 10. Only one handle of a Chian jar is stamped. Sometimes the neck is stamped instead.

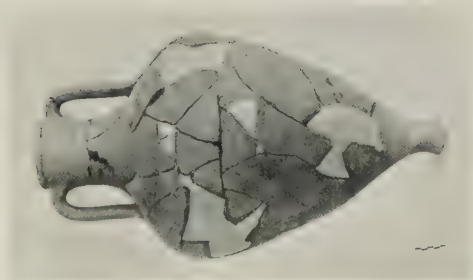
⁶ It has been suggested to me that this may have been caused by the sealing of the jars.

⁷ This is also the case with a few handles of unidentified origin.

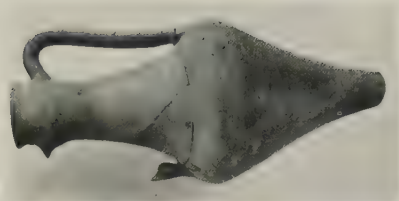
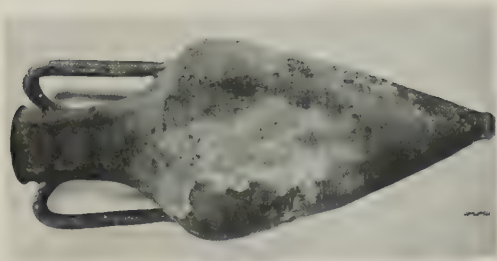
⁸ Catalogue of Amphora Stamps in the Hermitage Collection, p. 61.



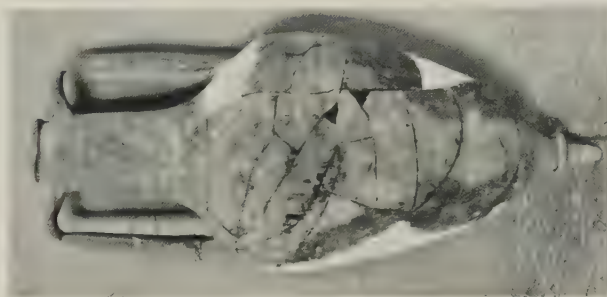
1. Chian. 5th cent. B.C.



2. 5th cent. B.C.

3. Thasian.
4th cent. B.C.

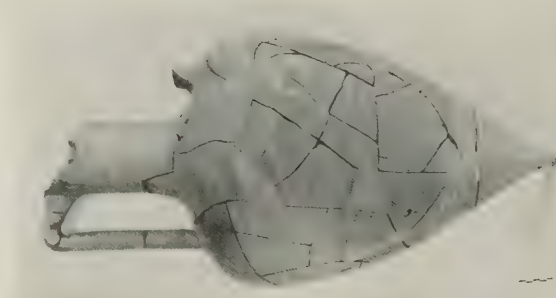
4. Thasian. 3rd cent. B.C.?



7. Knidian. 2nd cent. B.C.?



6. Knidian? Early 3rd cent. B.C.



5. Rhodian. Early 3rd cent. B.C.



8. Knidian. Roman period

to be seen in either of those here drawn. The seal, as may be seen by those catalogued pp. 210-213, is a broad rectangle, usually with a device in the middle and with the ethnic ΘΑΣΙΟΝ or ΘΑΣΙΩΝ nearly always present or to be restored. The occurrence of lettering along the short as well as the long sides of the rectangle normally identifies the seal as Thasian. It may finally be observed that the amphorae which are entirely preserved¹ indicate that it was the rule to stamp one handle only.

The handle reproduced in Pl. II, 5 shows the characteristic Rhodian angle, the abrupt junction of upper and lower parts of the handle, pointed out by Nilsson and others as the trait by which Rhodian handles are to be distinguished. The individuality of the profile is enhanced in the actual handle by uneven longitudinal undulations beneath the smooth surface, which suggest a resemblance to a bent knee. A handle of this sort is unmistakable if enough of it is preserved. There is however another Rhodian profile (Pl. II, 4; the amphora Fig. 1, 5 shows a variant) which has escaped comment in the discussions of technique.² The similarity of its outline to the Thasian will be noticed, and will serve to confirm the evidence from the Agora indicating that this is the early Rhodian shape, following the Thasian.³ The rim regularly makes a rather squared collar, the flat top sloping inward.

The material and finish form a more useful criterion for Rhodian handles than the shape, since often only small fragments are preserved. The smooth slipped surface is readily distinguished, for though certain Knidian handles are slipped, possibly in imitation of the Rhodian, their rough grained surface is apparent and their quality is visibly inferior. The clear core of deeper red which the fine light reddish clay often shows on the break is as individually Rhodian as is the angular profile; for where the Knidian handle has baked to two colors, the inner is grey or greyish. There is no possibility of confusion between the Thasian and Rhodian handles because the Thasian are characterized by the presence of mica in the clay which is entirely lacking in the Rhodian.⁴ However, the irregular red stain noted on Thasian handles is also present on many Rhodian examples.

The fragmentary amphora Fig. 1, 5 is important because it can be so closely dated; its preservation is sufficient, moreover, to exhibit the early Rhodian shape to advantage in a comparative series, whether mixed, as here, or purely Rhodian. Set beside the jars photographed and drawn in figs. 1-2 of Maiuri's article, which are to be dated *ca.* 200 B.C. or a little later, it shows a neck distinctly smaller in proportion, which curves out a little

¹ See Fig. 1, 4; Maiuri, *Annuario Scuola Arch. di Atene*, Vol. IV-V (1921-2), p. 262, no. 4570 (figs. 6 and 7); and cf. Schuchhardt, *op. cit.* p. 434. The Agora jar Fig. 1, 3 (4th cent. type) has the only Thasian shape known to Pridik (cf. *op. cit.* p. 35, fig. 2).

² Maiuri, *op. cit.*, notes curving, non-angular handles in his descriptions of no. 4556, p. 260 and no. 1804, p. 269. It is not surprising that Schuchhardt does not differentiate the type since not more than one or two of his handles can have had the curved profile.

³ On the development in shape of the Rhodian handle, see further pp. 214 and 218-220.

⁴ It is a curious fact that the early terracotta figurines generally recognized as Rhodian are identified, even when in small fragments, by a soft highly micaceous buff clay which bakes grey at the core, as does often that of Thasian handles. I owe my acquaintance with these objects to the kindness of Mr. Jenkins of the British School at Athens.

more easily to the body. This difference helps one to credit as Rhodian, of a still earlier date, the fragmentary jar figured in Maiuri, *op. cit.* p. 269, fig. 10,¹ with its thick arched handles flanking a narrow neck which spreads to the sloping shoulders. Here again the early Rhodian shape reminds one of the Thasian.² Though few have been published with photographs, a comparatively large number of complete Rhodian amphorae is preserved. This is particularly fortunate, because the information is regularly divided between the two handles, one giving, for instance, the fabricant's name, the other that of the eponym or official naming the year, who in this case is the priest of Helios, plus that of the month, a feature peculiar to Rhodian seals.³ The content of the two seals has been much discussed.⁴ It will be evident that for the building up of a chronology it is particularly important that pairs of handles be reported.

The shape of the Rhodian stamp is almost always circular or rectangular. Among the few exceptions is a leaf-shaped group which Nilsson assigns to the potter Epigonos.⁵ The shapes and other characteristics of the stamps are fully discussed by Nilsson, *op. cit.* pp. 150 ff. It will suffice here to emphasize for purposes of distinction a few characteristic details. An expressed ethnic **ΡΟΔΙΟΝ** or **ΡΟΔΙΩΝ** does not occur. Instead, on the majority of circular and on many rectangular seals appears a Rhodian monetary device, a rose or a head of Helios, the rose being more frequent on circular seals, the Helios head on rectangular.⁶ The variety of devices is much less great than on Thasian handles, and many of the rectangular seals are without any device. Where present on a rectangular seal, the device is usually placed to left or right of the inscription, less often above or below, and rarely between the lines.

Knidian handles are usually identified by a process of elimination, if the ethnic **ΚΝΙΔΙΟΝ** is absent or obscured. Yet they have, at least in the early stages of their development, a distinct fabric. The shape is shown on Pl. II, 6. It is a broad handle, of which the upper and lower parts, nearly horizontal and vertical, meet in a curve; this is attached to a neck which narrows to a rolled rim with a neat "drip" on the outside. Knidian handles found in deposits with a majority of Rhodian and belonging therefore to the third or early second century B.C. are of this type. Later, the upper

¹ It is the upper part of an amphora, discovered by illicit excavations in the Rhodian necropolis, published as an appendix to his article. The clay is considered Rhodian by Maiuri, as is that of another handle with the same peculiar fabricant's stamp by Nilsson, *op. cit.* no. 208, 3. The rim seems to me the least Rhodian feature.

² I suspect that at the other end of its career it converges with the Knidian. A photograph taken in January, 1932, of two Rhodian jars adorning the salon of a hotel in Limassol, Cyprus, shows one particularly similar in proportion and general outline to our Fig. 1, 8.

³ For a list of the Rhodian months, see the index, p. 307. For a discussion of the Rhodian calendar, see Nilsson, *op. cit.* pp. 121-137. Cf. also for the most recent comment Hiller von Gaertringen in Pauly-Wissowa, Supplementband V, 1931, pp. 743-745.

⁴ Cf. Nilsson, *op. cit.* pp. 71-76.

⁵ See below on No. 75 (Simylinos).

⁶ This catalogue does not contain any of the rectangular seals with the head of Helios but many were found in 1933.

part arches somewhat or rises to the curve (cf. Pl. II, 7) and is often rather roughly made; the neck narrows less, and the rim becomes a simple roll. But the rim, in fact, is rarely preserved, since these later handles are attached lower on the neck. Knidian clay is red, coarse and sometimes slightly micaceous; as noted above, the core is often grey, and occasionally there is a thick light slip.

The amphorae, Fig. 1, 6-8, show the development of handle and neck. Chronologically the handle drawn on Pl. II, 6 falls between the first and second of this series. The peculiar ringed foot can be followed in the three examples, as can also the body outline, which keeps its slight angle at the shoulder as the pot grows taller and slimmer. Nos. 7 and 8 in Fig. 1, as noted in the description, p. 305, are not from the Agora, but they are essential to the identification of No. 6, the stamp alone of which would not be recognized as Knidian (see No. **233**), since the shape of the Knidian amphora has not until now been known. Occasional pairs of handles have been noted as from the same pot,¹ and I have seen three fragmentary necks of jars with the tops of both handles preserved, two from the Agora discoveries of 1933 and one from Thompson's excavations on the Pnyx. From these one might conclude that it was the regular custom to stamp both handles of the Knidian jar with the same die. Such appears to have been the case with the amphora in the Thebes museum (Fig. 1, 8), although only one of the seals can be read. But the Chalkis amphora (Fig. 1, 7) is a proof that on some Knidian jars the seals on the two handles are supplementary, as on the Rhodian, and therefore gives precedent for the association suggested on p. 241 of seals of the fabricant Atheonas (?) with several different eponym seals.

Since Parian amphorae have not been published the handle No. **220** is drawn in full on Pl. II, 8. It is of fine, light red clay, greyish at the core, and has a thin cream slip; an index finger was pressed in at its lower attachment.

My acquaintance with actual handles of the "South Russian" type, i.e. those bearing the title *astynomos* and coming probably from a number of different sites in the region of the Black Sea, many of them from Sinope, is limited to No. **221** of this catalogue. The fabric is as follows: broad handle with short upper part; rolled rim thinner than the Knidian; coarse slightly micaceous clay with large bits, in color buff to a lavender-grey core; traces of red on the surface.

For practical results in the use of the catalogue it is suggested that if a handle under examination shows any readily legible name, reference should be made to the index, since each item there refers to a photograph, and identification may be immediate. Where the name fails, if the origin of the handle can be determined by its fabric or by the general character of the seal, the introduction to the particular division of the catalogue, Thasian, Rhodian, etc., will direct to published lists from which a reading may be restored, and will define to a certain extent the chronological limits within which the object in question must fall. A glance through the sequence of photographs in a

¹ Cf. Pridik, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXI, 1896, p. 145.

division should sometimes identify a difficult seal, or at least reveal a near parallel. If shape and clay do not fit into any of the main categories, the final group of the catalogue is worth investigation, for many of its numbers are well dated.

Further work will be necessary, notably the publication of an extensive Knidian index; this might well form part of the final volume on amphora stamps from the Agora, to be compiled after the excavations are finished. It is to be hoped, however, that enough has already been accomplished so that we may avail ourselves once more of the information supplied by small groups of handles, the publication of which has almost ceased since archaeology has become specialized.¹

II. CATALOGUE

EXPLANATION OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS USED IN THE CATALOGUE

The works most often cited in the commentary² are referred to as follows:

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| D. | Dumont, A., <i>Inscriptions Céramiques de Grèce</i> , Paris, 1871. |
| Herm. | Pridik, E. M., <i>Inventory-catalogue of the Stamps on Handles and Necks of Amphorae, and on Bricks, of the Hermitage Collection</i> , Petrograd, 1917.
(In Russian.) |
| | Reviewed by Hiller von Gaertringen in <i>Berl. Phil. Woch.</i> , 1918, p. 1020. |
| N. | Nilsson, M., <i>Timbres Amphoriques de Lindos</i> , in <i>Exploration Archéologique de Rhodes</i> , V, Copenhagen, 1909. |
| | Reviewed by Hiller von Gaertringen in <i>Berl. Phil. Woch.</i> , 1910, p. 308. |
| P ¹ . | Pridik, E. M., <i>Amphorenstempel aus Athen</i> , <i>Ath. Mitt.</i> , XXI, 1896, pp. 127–187. |
| P ² . | Pridik, E. M., <i>Neue Amphorenstempel aus Athen</i> , <i>ibid.</i> , XXII, 1897, pp. 148–158. |
| Schuchhardt | Schuchhardt, C., <i>Die Inschriften von Pergamon</i> , II, pp. 423–499. |
| | Reviewed by Keil in <i>Berl. Phil. Woch.</i> , 1896, p. 1610. |

D. lists the readings of several thousand seals nearly all found in Athens and preserved in the National Museum there. Despite its many faults long ago enumerated,³ in the absence of any publication dealing adequately with Knidian stamps, it is indispensable to the student of an Athenian collection. It has been made usable to me by the construction of a working index⁴ of names and devices. It contains considerable

¹ A welcome exception is that of Sellers, *The Citadel of Beth-Zur* (a preliminary report), Philadelphia, 1933. I owe the reference to Dr. Valentin Müller.

² Unless otherwise indicated, references in D., Herm. and Schuchhardt are given by page and number, those in P¹. and P². by division (II = Knidian) and number, those in N by number and subnumber. Parallels are not cited from N. except in special cases, since its simple arrangement makes specific reference unnecessary.

³ Cf. N. p. 119.

⁴ I owe this index, as well as many other aids in working out the present study, to Miss Helene R. Evans.

discussion, which is, however, suggestive rather than conclusive, and points toward a supplementary work which was never carried out.

P¹. and P². have also a majority of Knidian seals; as publications they are much more adequate than D., but they cannot take its place because of the comparatively small amount of material they cover. The material comes from the German excavations on the west slope of the Acropolis.

N.'s chief usefulness is for Rhodian stamps. But its full critical bibliography and its extensive and authoritative discussions and analyses make it a necessary preliminary study to any work on amphora stamps.

Herm. is a modern catalogue of a large collection with excellent illustrations and indices. The collection is largely made up of the South Russian handles bearing the names of astynomes, or police officials (cf. No. 221). It includes also, however, a general assortment of which the largest groups are the Rhodian and the Thasian. Herm. is, in fact, at present the best reference book for Thasian seals, of which it gave the first published photographic illustrations.

Schuchhardt's sound work will be of increasing interest to the student of the Agora stamps, since most of the thousand or so handles which he published were found in the filling of an artificial terrace similar to that which has produced the handles referred to in the present commentary as from "Θ—HF" (see p. 208). The excavation of Section Θ has in all probability not exhausted the deposit, which will be an important study as a whole. The majority of the Pergamene seals are Rhodian, but there is an interesting group of Thasian examples of most of which facsimiles are given.

Special treatments are cited in the introductions to the various divisions of the catalogue. For further references, the student may supplement Nilsson's bibliography with that on Chapter XX of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VIII, 1930.

Besides the abbreviations of publications a few other symbols used in the catalogue need explanation.

Plain numbers in bold-face type are those of this catalogue.

A number preceded by SS (Stamps and Seals) is the inventory number of a handle.¹ The 1933 handles begin with SS 381; they are referred to only by their SS numbers.

In the commentary, the SS numbers are followed by letters of the Greek alphabet in parentheses: A, Δ, Δ', E, ΣT, ΣT', Z, H, H', Θ, I. These are the names of the sections of the Agora in which excavation has taken place up to the present.² Within the parentheses is added a note on any significant context. The absence of such a note indicates a surface or disturbed deposit. Several important deposits are mentioned by symbol, thus:

¹ A few whole amphorae and some large fragments were inventoried as Pottery and therefore have a P, not an SS, number. Cf. 4.

² A plan of the area showing the location of the sections is given in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 99, fig. 2.

- A—HD. A Hellenistic deposit in Section A. Not closed, nor showing undisturbed stratification, but probably limited to a period between 300 and 100 B.C.
- A—Cave. A cave-like cistern in Section A. The filling was chiefly small votive cups, of which there were several thousand; a date is indicated by Megarian bowls of the type made in the third century B.C. (See *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 126–128, fig. 13.)
- A—BHW. The well in Section A in which was found the bronze head illustrated in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pl. XV. It was filled and covered for the construction of an early Hellenistic building. (See *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 124–126, and bottom of p. 129.) It is thus a closed deposit probably not later than the third century B.C. The handles would fit best a date in the second third of that century.
- Δ—WTR. The “west trench” in Section Δ; this struck a Hellenistic filling, part of which must be as early as the third century B.C.
- Δ—well at 14/IST. The top of this well was packed with fragments of ribbed (second century) Megarian bowls and of lamps of Type XIX.¹ At a depth of from 2.00 to 2.80 m. opened the “northwest passage” in which was found **201**. At 3.00 m. the shaft was jammed with three large amphorae two of which are **285** and its unstamped twin P 498 (see p. 294); it was empty and open for many metres below. At about 13.00 m. there was a filling of third century pottery, including **242**, and a coin of Athens dated 255–229 B.C. (Svoronos, pl. XXIV, nos. 10–15). Below this the fill contained objects of the fourth century and finally of the fifth century.
- Z—BL. A heavy burnt layer in Section Z, containing pottery of the second century B.C., including fragments of lagynoi. It goes down possibly to the first part of the first century B.C.
- Θ—HF. An abundant early Hellenistic filling in Section Θ. The earth containing masses of potsherds and many hundreds of stamped handles had evidently been brought from some other place in order to level the ground for the large Hellenistic building which occupied most of the area; the pottery and coins were almost entirely of the third or late fourth century B.C.

Other dated deposits containing only one or two handles are noted under the individual numbers in full. Attention may be called to the handles found in 1933 in an exploratory pit in the Stoa of Attalos, all three of which must predate the erection of the stoa in the reign of Attalos II (166–139 B.C.), and two of which belong to the “pre-stoa fill” into which its builders cut; see Fig. 5, 7 and the comment on **106** and **126**. One must work so largely with a balance of probabilities that such relatively fixed points are particularly welcome.

¹ The types of lamps referred to throughout this article are those established by O. Broneer in *Corinth*, IV, 2: *Terracotta Lamps*.

In the transliteration of the names on the stamps it should be noted that a dotted letter outside brackets is one which though damaged can be deciphered with a fair amount of certainty, while a dotted letter inside brackets is merely a trace of a letter which has furnished some support for a restoration.

A. THASIAN

GENERAL COMMENTS

The Thasian sequence has been arranged as far as possible by evidence drawn from the context of the discovery. Handles for which no such evidence exists have been fitted into the dated series according to fabric or style of seal. Since, as has been already remarked, Thasian handles show much variation in their fabric, measurements and a note on the clay are given for each number. As mica is always present in the clay, no mention is made of it except when the quantity is unusually large or small. For the "red stain" sometimes noted, see p. 201.

The Pergamene deposit (see pp. 215-218) touches this series from **7** to **12**, **10** being paralleled as a whole, **7**, **8**, and **12** showing similar devices, **9** and **11** the same names. There are, so far as I know, no historical reasons for supposing that commerce between Pergamon and Thasos was restricted to the period after 220. It was the policy of Philetairos¹ to make friends with his Greek neighbors.

The series properly begins with the examples shown in Fig. 5, 1 and 2 on p. 300, which are dated respectively to the end of the fifth and to the beginning of the fourth centuries B.C. Following these, **1-4** are probably not later than the fourth century, **6-8** than the first half of the third; and I know of no reason to place the rest later than 200. **5** follows **4** because of the device; chronologically I believe it should fall later owing to its similarity in fabric to **13**. The collection is too small to warrant much in the way of general conclusions as to development. However, in the earlier period both handle and stamp were apparently more carefully made, the handle of better washed clay which often gives somewhat the effect of softness and powdery surface to be observed in early terracottas.²

The publication of the handles found in the French excavations on Thasos is awaited with interest.³ Meanwhile lists of Thasian names may be found in Pridik's catalogue of the Hermitage collection, and in *I.G.*, XII, 8; in the latter a bibliography of Thasian handles is given on pp. 82-83.

¹ Dynast of Pergamon from 282 B.C. See *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, Vol. VIII, p. 590.

² Schuchhardt's view of Thasian fabric is evidently biased by the fact that he had no early examples before him.

³ A large number of these handles has already been studied by Professor Salač of Prague University, formerly foreign member of the *École française d'Athènes*. To the authorities of the latter I am grateful for the privilege of examining his manuscript. In this connection I am indebted to various members of the school, in particular to M. P. Devambez, for many courtesies which it is a pleasure to acknowledge.

STAMPS



1

- 1 *Θάσιο[ν*
 ⊙ lance head
 X]αίτι[μ(έντης)

SS 368 (ΣΤ'—found with much 5th–4th cent. pottery).

W: 0.036 m. T: 0.022 m. Pale buff; highly micaceous. Restored from Herm. Pl. VIII, 19; the reading of the name is Pridik's. See his text, p. 55, 428. For the object to the left of the lance head compare **223**.

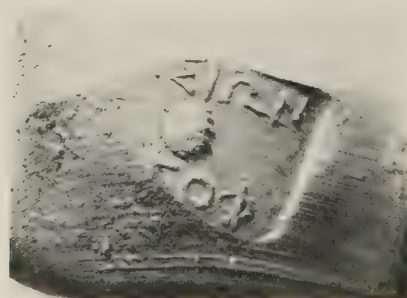


2

- 2 *Θασίων*
 attribute
 Καλλιμαχέτης(?)

SS 369 (ΣΤ'—found with much 5th–4th cent. pottery).

W: 0.045 m. T: 0.023 m. Portion of rim resembling that of Pl. II, 2 (top flatter). Buff with pink core; dark red stain. Like Herm. Pl. VII, 3 (text p. 44, 173–174) which is more worn and is perhaps from a more worn die. The reading of the name is Pridik's.

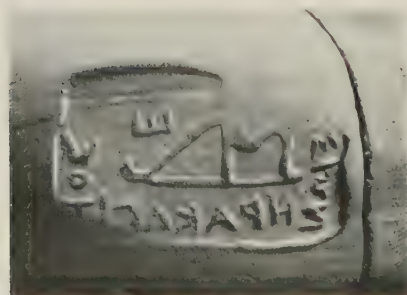


3

- 3 *Θ]ασίων*
 star shell
 Κλ]εοφ(ων)

SS 367 (ΣΤ').

W: 0.04 m. T: 0.018 m. Buff to reddish core; little mica; red stain. Restored from Herm. Pl. VII, 14 (text p. 45, 209–211) which is more complete, and is apparently from a late state of the same die. The Hermitage has 35 Thasian seals with this name. There is none from Pergamon.

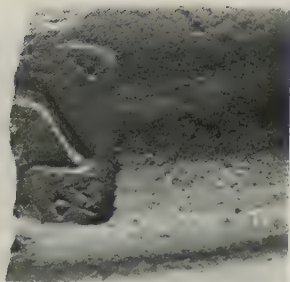


4

- 4 *Θα]σίων 'Ηράκλειτος (retr.)*
 E bow with arrow

P 675 (ΣΤ—behind the lining of an ancient well of the 4th cent. B.C.).

W: 0.038 m. T: 0.024 m. Handle of a nearly complete amphora; see Pl. II, 2 and Fig. 1, 3. Warm buff. Compare Herm. Pl. V, 23, a slightly different seal.



5

5
Θασί[ων
bow
]λος

SS 121 (A).

W: 0.05 m. T: 0.025 m. Rather massive; low arch. Fabric like that of 13. Dark red.



6

6
Θασί[ων Τι]μ[αρχί]δα
γαμμά?

SS 291 (ΣΤ—in stratum not later than early 3rd cent. B.C.).

W: 0.038 m. T: 0.024 m. Low arch. Reddish buff. Restored from Herm. 54, 404, perhaps from same die. For a single letter in the central space, compare the series with the name Kleitos, Herm. 44, 180-200. Another of the series of Timarchidas probably is SS 1905 (I—deposit of Greek sherds on hard-pan).



7

7
Θασί[ων
cornucopia?
Πύσιπ[πος]

SS 84 (A).

W: 0.041 m. T: 0.021 m. Warm buff. For the device compare Schuchhardt 490, 1262 (drawing) and D. Pl. V, 38. For the name, compare Herm. 42, 138.



8

8
Θασίω[v
attribute
Πον . . . ιρ[

SS 139 (A—BHW). See Pl. II, 3.

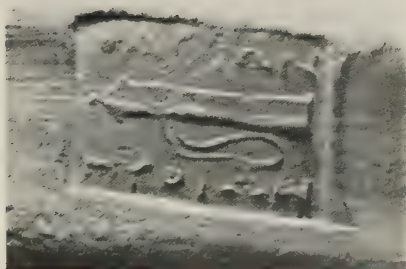
W: 0.039 m. T: 0.023 m. Ribbed. Russet. The device is uncertain, since the seal is worn, and no parallel has been found. Possibly a bulbous plant with roots to the left. Possibly a thyrsos, but then the "roots" are unusual. See Schuchhardt pp. 489 and 491, for drawings of thyrsos. SS 441 (Θ—4th and 3rd cent. pottery) approaches this form. Possibly a pomegranate? Herm. 52, 363-364, reads a name Π]ολύς[τρατος.



9



10



11



12

9

Θασίων

B caduceus? left

Φανόκη(τος?)

SS 89 (A). See headpiece.

W: 0.041 m. T: 0.021 m. Distinctly ribbed. Russet. No similar caduceus has been found. A caduceus is indicated on a seal with Φανόκη(), Herm. 54, 412. Restore perhaps Βά(των); for the name cf. Schuchhardt 490, 1260. Cf. also, for the abbreviated form, D. 68, 43.

10

Θασίων

T caduceus

Ε

Χάφ[ις]

SS 25 (A).

W: 0.04 m. T: 0.02 m. Length: 0.25 m. All the lower part preserved, with thumb print on lower attachment. Distinctly ribbed. Dark brown with large gray core (burnt?). Like Schuchhardt 491, 1266 (drawing), except for the E reversed in ours.

11

Θασίων

quiver left

Πυθίων

SS 300 (E).

W: 0.051 m. T: 0.029 m. Ribbed; massive. Reddish buff. A Thasian name: cf p. 304, no. 4; also Schuchhardt 490, 1264 and Herm. 53, 380-383. I do not find a quiver on any published seal.

12

Ἐαλκίδης-

S
goblet?

[Θασίων]? (inverted)

SS 32 (A-HD).

W: 0.044 m. T: 0.026 m. Portion of rim like that of Pl. II, 2. Warm buff; red stain. For the device, cf. Herm. Pl. III, 15 and Schuchhardt 491, 1267. *I. G. XII*, 8, index, gives a number of references for the name, including several theoroi and one handle: "Ἐαλκίδ[ης] in ansa: Skorpil II 114, 573."



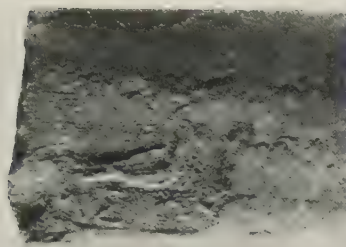
13

13

Θασίων
attribute
Γόργος

SS 162 (A—HD, top).

W: 0.05 m. T: 0.026 m. Massive; fabric like that of **5**. Dark red with dark gray core. P¹. III, 2 has the name. See also *I.G.* XII, 8, index (frequent). It appears on SS 1400 (Θ).



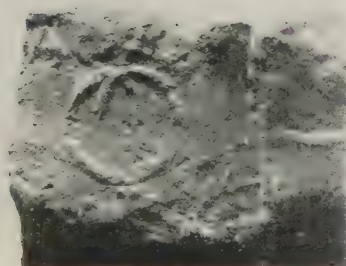
14

14

/////////
attribute
Θ]ασίων

SS 86 (A).

W: 0.044 m. T: 0.025 m. Warm russet; highly micaceous. Nothing closer to the device has been found than *Herm. Pl.* VIII, 11–12, which is not very similar. It is possibly some sort of harp.



15

15

Θασίων
fillet
... *στρ* ... ζ

SS 209 (ΣT—see on **223**).

W: 0.046 m. T: 0.026 m. Distinctly ribbed. Russet. I do not find this device on any published seal.

Besides those illustrated, the 1931–1932 SS numbers include five other Thasian seals:
SS 79 (A). W: 0.051 m. T: 0.018 m. Particularly broad thin handle. Fragmentary and nearly obliterated impression; legible, part of word *Θασίων*.

SS 130 (Δ). Dark red. Lower right corner of seal preserved, reading *-κλῆς*.

SS 238 (ΣT—in stratum of 4th—early 3rd cent.). Low arch. Buff; red stain. Part of inner line of letters preserved: *ΛΕΜ*.

SS 260 (A—HD, top). Buff, with red ring near surface. Rather hard. Worn left end of seal preserved.

Θα[σίων?
attribute
Αυσ[ιχλῆς?

The attribute can be imagined to look like the head and forelegs of a horse galloping left.

SS 297 (ΣΤ—context not later than 3rd cent.). Rather small. Buff, with red ring near surface. Badly worn impression which may be that of Herm. Pl. V, 27, reading:

Ἀριστοφάν-
horn ν(ης)
Θασιών

B. RHODIAN

GENERAL COMMENTS

The sequence of the Rhodian seals is here arranged according to the development in shape of the handles in the direction illustrated by the step from No. 4 to No. 5 of Pl. II (see also p. 203). This line was determined by the handles from A—BHW (18 and 67) and by that of the amphora of Zeno (77 and Fig. 1, 5), all from early deposits and none at all angular, and by the existence of certain Rhodian handles of exaggerated angularity the shape of which is not paralleled by any found in the large early Hellenistic deposit in Section Θ (see p. 208). That there is a real development from one extreme to the other is indicated by transitional examples in which the thick handle retains some of its arched curve above the outer abrupt break which later becomes the "angle." In certain groups of similar handles shape alone could not determine priority of date, nor was existing evidence from context sufficient to provide the order within so confined a group. In such cases an attempt has been made at least to serve the purposes of convenient reference by grouping seals most similar in appearance. There is a chance that by so doing one may be assembling handles of the same pot, or at least by the same potter. On these principles, then, as well as on whatever information was provided by the context of the individual handles, has been based the arrangement of seals within the two divisions, rectangular and circular.

It is necessary, however, in the case of Rhodian seals to take into account chronological conclusions already reached by scholars attacking the problem from a different point of view. The principal publications on the subject are the following:

- Bleckmann, F., *De inscriptionibus quae leguntur in vasculis Rhodiis*, Göttingen, 1907 (dissertation). Especially pp. 14 ff.
- *Zu den rhodischen eponymen Heliospriestern*, in *Klio*, XII, 1912, pp. 249–258.
- Maiuri, A., *Una Fabbrica di Anfore Rodie*, in *Annuario della Regia Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, IV–V, 1921–1922, Bergamo, 1924, pp. 249–269.
- Hiller von Gaertringen, the article *Rhodos* in Pauly-Wissowa, Supplementband V, 1931, especially the list of eponyms with chronological annotations appended, pp. 835–840.

Hiller's list shows the results that have been reached for the eponyms. The method was worked out by Bleckmann in the first-named article. It is based primarily on the large closed deposit in Pergamon published by Schuchhardt, which according to the agreement of archaeological with traditional probability is to be dated at the end of the third and the beginning of the second century B.C. The forty-odd eponyms included, mostly with a considerable number of seals each, indicate about four decades of almost continuous trade. This period may be placed *ca.* 220-180 B.C., immediately before and closely after which Rhodes and Pergamon were not in friendly relations with one another. The information supplied by the Pergamene finds is supplemented and checked by the material derived from several other sites which supply one or the other *terminus*:

1. The handles found in Alexandria cannot antedate its founding in 331 B.C.
2. Those found in Phintias, Sicily, for a similar reason cannot antedate 281 B.C.
3. The 200-odd handles found at Carthage, though built into an Augustan wall, must (according to these scholars) belong to the Punic period of the city and therefore cannot postdate its destruction in 146 B.C.

It is clear that except for the names well established at Pergamon, the dating offers alternative possibilities. In the case of a few officials Bleckmann fixes the date by epigraphical mention: an eponym from a second century inscription whose name appears also on Carthaginian but not on Pergamene handles must have held office between *ca.* 180-150 (or 146). But the cases in which one can arrive at anything like conviction by this means alone are few, as Bleckmann himself remarks. In fact, the epigraphical references are not many and the date of the inscription is usually subject to dispute.

Bleckmann proceeds on the principle that a directly connected group is easier to date than an individual, and that it is ever easier the more numerous its members, until finally the target grows too large to be missed. A potter and an official appearing on either handle of an amphora (or more rarely with the Rhodians, combined on the same handle) are obviously contemporaries. Another official coupled with the same potter cannot be far removed in date from the first, nor can another potter coupled with one or other of the officials. By tabulating the recorded instances of such coupling Bleckmann was able to build up a number of "families" of from two to sixteen members, for which he sometimes arrived at remarkably close dates by investigating the occurrence of each one in the various deposits above enumerated. A particularly convincing group is no. IV on p. 251 of *Klio*, Vol. XII. Here are eleven eponyms and five fabricants of which only two of the eponyms and one of the fabricants occur on handles of either Pergamon or Carthage. The period of this set evidently slightly overlaps that of the trade with Pergamon, 220-180. If it came later, one would find at Carthage some trace certainly of those nine missing eponyms. Therefore it is to be placed in the last decade or so before 220, or slightly later. To the Rhodian amphora trade as a whole Bleckmann gives as outside dates the end of the fourth and the end of the first centuries B.C. He appends to the first article a list of all the combinations of eponym and fabricant he

could collect at the time, also individual lists of the Rhodian eponyms and fabricants occurring at Pergamon, Carthage, Sicily and Italy, and Tell-Sandahannah, and the eponyms from the South Russian lists then available. These lists are annotated by symbols signifying his chronological conclusions on the individual names.¹ In *Klio*, XII, he supplements the eponym and fabricant combinations, chiefly by material from Nilsson's Lindos publication, and adds a list of Rhodian eponyms which includes those found only on stone inscriptions; this list is rather fully annotated.

Maiuri's article concerns a remarkable deposit discovered in Villanova on the north coast of Rhodes in December, 1921. The most spectacular part of this discovery was a double contiguous row of complete amphorae, which it was possible to clear *in situ* for a length of about 180 m. (cf. his fig. 1). I shall here attempt to indicate what light this publication, which is important in many ways, throws on chronology.

Most of the complete amphorae, about two hundred in number, were made by the potter Diskos; on these jars four eponyms are named. Jars by the potter Aristos name four other eponyms. Jars by the potters Damokrates and Istros name one of Diskos' eponyms. Thus a series of new couplings is given, which can be connected with some of Bleckmann's groups (see table of connected names, p. 219, Fig. 2, of this article). The correspondence of this group with the Pergamene confirms the unity of the latter, if this deposit is a shipment,² and so probably the product of a limited number of years. Maiuri believes most of the jars came from a local factory or factories of which he sees traces in "gli scarichi di rottami anneriti dalla combustione, le scorie di forno, gli ammassi di argilla e di ceneri." One might suggest that the business was taken over³ by Diskos from Aristos, since the pots of the two are dated to two different sets of four years which do not overlap. A Thasian amphora, however, is included in the group,⁴ which makes the situation more difficult to understand, as do the several pots signed by other Rhodian makers.⁵

The formation of the double row which Maiuri illustrates in fig. 1, consisting of an upper series laid horizontally, their upper parts touching the shoulders and handles of a lower series set upright, seems, as Maiuri remarks, to preclude the possibility of the jars having been put there full of wine.⁶ The whole effect indeed reminded a friend at Athens, to whom I showed the picture, of fences of similar discarded material sometimes to be seen today on the outskirts of a Greek city. It would perhaps be the border of a low terrace in this case, fronting the sea, the inner ends of the upper row supported by an embankment. The employment of such material, however, would probably mean

¹ The article includes also discussion of the question by whom the stamping was done, of the size of the export, and of the nature of the contents.

² See p. 265 of Maiuri's article.

³ It was probably not inherited, since most of Aristos' pots were burned (see *ibid.*, p. 262).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

⁵ There are seven of these, including those broken specimens of which only the handles were gathered. They are all names occurring at Pergamon.

⁶ I have heard however that champagne is sometimes stored in this way.

the chance discovery of the pots in large quantity near-by. In other words, someone may have hit upon and profited by a factory deposit before the excavators did. The *terminus ante quem* must be the Roman cemetery which in some places breaks into the line. A wall of amphorae would not be unparalleled in archaeological record, since the wall at Carthage, into the construction of which the handles of Greek period were swept (see p. 215), was made up entirely of complete amphorae laid in regular courses separated by 0.50 to 0.60 m. of earth.¹ This theory applied to the Villanova deposit would allow for the addition of a few odd pots to complete the construction, without throwing much doubt on the homogeneity of the group as a whole. The alternative possibility is that a law prevented the sale of jars on which the seal showed that a certain licensed period had elapsed. The manufacturer himself might then use his surplus stock to border his property.

If however the series of jars in question actually represents one shipment, or the stock available for sale at one time, then we must not limit too closely the date of an official by the discovery on a particular site of handles bearing his name. That is to say, the first consignment of Rhodian jars to Pergamon, which we suppose did not leave the market until 220, may have included some at least eight years older.

Since 1912, the year of Bleckmann's second article, publications from several excavations besides the Villanovan have provided new eponym-fabricant combinations. I have seen the following:

- Reisner, G. A., and others, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria 1908-1910*, Harvard, 1924, pp. 18-19 and pp. 310-316. There are two new combinations (see p. 311) of which one, however, is illegible.
- Pridik, E. M., *Zu den rhodischen Amphorenstempeln* in *Klio*, XX, 1926. On pp. 319-320 are twelve combinations on single handles; on p. 331 both handles are preserved in five cases.

The article by Pridik (pp. 303-331) is largely concerned with an analysis of the 4,764 Rhodian stamps found in South Russia to appear in Vol. III of the *Inscriptiones orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini*, the publication of which has been delayed. The size of the collection makes it a good test for the frequency of an individual name, and in this way sometimes helps one to a chronological conclusion. But the author has purposely refrained² from any direct contribution on the sequence of eponyms, in favor of another Russian scholar, Boris Grakov, from whom an important work on the subject is shortly to be expected.³

¹ See *CIL* VIII, Suppl. III, p. 2200. The jars were filled with earth, then laid horizontally, the tip of one in the mouth of the next, crosswise to the wall, five of them making its thickness. About a thousand complete jars were collected, all of the Roman period. Many were dated by stamps naming consuls of the first century B.C.; since nothing apparently later is included, the wall is ascribed to the Augustan period.

² See p. 320.

³ In his article on South Russian handles in the *Berl. Sitzungsber.*, 1928 (see on 221), Pridik speaks of this work as practically complete.

As revised versions of Bleckmann's "families" have not appeared, I have arranged in a Table, Fig. 2, those with which names in this catalogue are related, using Bleckmann's articles of 1907 and 1912, Reisner, Maiuri and Pridik (in *Klio*, XX), and, for the combination of the eponym Pausanias II with the fabricant Epikrates, the Agora pair of stamps, Fig. 5, 4-5. Names of persons included in this catalogue are printed in heavy letters. I have added also in the commentary on the seals in the catalogue the dates evolved by the Bleckmann method.¹

When one considers the sources of error besetting this system, it is astonishing how consistent the results are. The compilations are not made from primary material, but from copies, usually merely readings. In reasoning from the discovery on a particular site, no allowance is made for anything but direct trade with fresh stock; nor does it seem to enter into the calculations that if not tourists,² at least pirates, may have had occasion to picnic at a ruined, or yet unfounded, seaport city. But a study of the literature above referred to, and a comparison of the reasoning and conclusions with my own, have convinced me that the laws of chance have operated to preserve for us in most cases the less misleading data. Indeed if it seemed wise to delay publication until I could re-examine the handles in the light of library research, I could doubtless by certain alterations in sequence make this little series into a clearer picture of the chronological development of Rhodian seals. As it stands, however, I believe there is sufficient correspondence between the results obtained by the two separate methods to prove that the one should check and supplement the other. This is certainly true of the circular seals, 67-96. The shape of a handle and the aspect of a seal may not fix dates within a decade, but when more fully understood they will prevent a man's associates from becoming confused with those of his grandfather, and they should place an unconnected name within about thirty years. I have decided not to alter the sequence made while I still had access to the actual objects, but to add a final annotation beside the reading in the commentary of the catalogue, listing the number of examples found in Pergamon and Carthage and mentioning occurrence at Villanova.

In conclusion some general observations on Rhodian handles may be noted. The arched Rhodian handle probably begins in the fourth century B.C. Among the variants which show this profile I should have supposed earliest those which have the Thasian broad section, because of such handles as 71, or Fig. 5, 3. Maiuri's jar, p. 269, fig. 10,³ however, can hardly be fitted into a sequence before the fourth century, and its handles appear to be of the thick variety. It is probably safest to allow for various

¹ This is the comment in quotation marks. In the case of eponyms, it is, unless otherwise specified, taken from Hiller's Pauly-Wissowa list. On fabricants, the quotation is usually a translation of the symbol used by Bleckmann in his dissertation, since no lists have been made since; those found at Villanova are dated by Maiuri.

² It has been observed that Pausanias' remarks about Delos seem to indicate that he did not visit that site. Cf. Laidlaw, W. A., *A History of Delos*, Oxford, 1933, p. 270.

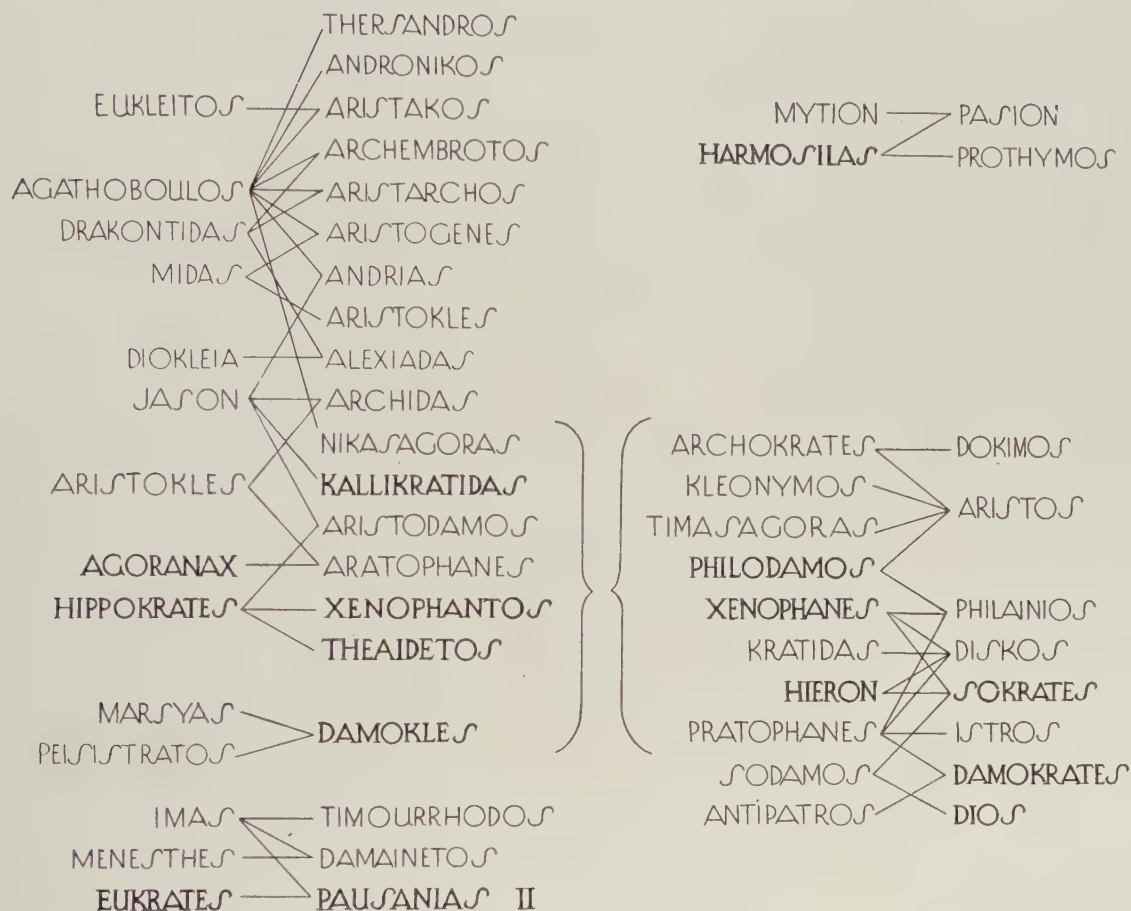
³ See above, p. 204.

TABLE OF CONNECTIONS OF RHODIAN NAMES

FABRICANTS

EPONYMS

FABRICANTS



EMPHASIZED NAMES APPEAR ON SEALS PUBLISHED IN THIS ARTICLE

EPONYMS INCLUDED WITHIN THE BRACKETS OCCUR AT PERGAMON
AND ARE THEREFORE TO BE DATED ca 220-180 B.C.
THOSE ABOVE ARE EARLIER, THOSE BELOW LATER.

Fig. 2

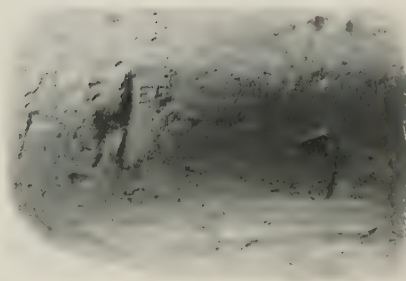
parallel developments before the Rhodian potter found his type in the angular handle. So far as I know, no Rhodian handles have been found in closed deposits of the fourth century. Not earlier than the third quarter of the third century begins the angular type and the angle sharpens in the early second century. The late Rhodian handle, after 166?, is small and badly made, but maintains its angularity.

The succession of circular seals is interesting. In order to leave an unbroken line of roses the plain circles have been grouped at the beginning of the series, although chronologically they very likely belong after the first five or six rose seals; the Helios head at the end is about where it should be. **71** is a handle of the particularly Thasian type, broad in section. Its seal, in comparison with others further down in the series (**77** and **80** form the fairest comparisons, since they are the best preserved), is certainly reminiscent in style of Thasian examples of the fourth century, **3** being the best parallel in this collection. The bud-like schematic stalk on this rose sprouts in the course of time; when we reach **95**, it has become quite long and branching.

The appearance and disappearance of the circular frame are significant. This frame apparently indicates the use of a separate hub¹ for the device, so that the rose, once modelled, could be used for making both eponym and fabricant dies, and for still others as the date changed. There was special need for an arrangement of this sort to be developed for Rhodian seals, on which the date must be changed frequently. In the earliest examples the makers have not learned to use it; in the latest they apparently do not bother. Note that, in this collection at least, where the hub is not used, the information has been so divided between the two handles that the combination of most limited usefulness, that of official with month, has been avoided.

Nilsson's work cited on p. 206 contains the most useful lists of names for restoring Rhodian seals.

RECTANGULAR STAMPS



16

16

Ἐπ[ὶ Σω]χάρεος
Δαλίου

SS 93 (A).

Possibly Παρχάρεος. But cf. Herm. 18, 363–364. Three 1933 seals name Sochares; two are from Section Θ, possibly HF. Listed by Hiller without comment.

¹ For the use of this term see C. T. Seltman, *Athens: Its History and Coinage*, p. 44.

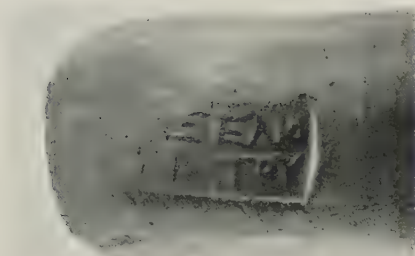


17

17 $[^{\circ}\text{E}\pi\acute{\iota} \text{Ξ}] \text{ἐνοστράτου}$
 $[^{\circ}\text{A}\gamma\theta\iota\alpha] \rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$

SS 74 (A—Cave).

Possibly *Κλενοστράτου*. Hiller: "Common in Russia."



18

18 $^{\circ}\text{E}\pi\acute{\iota} \text{Ξενο-}$
 $\sigma\tau\acute{\rho}\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$

SS 148 (A—BHW).

Like N. 337, 2.



19

19 *Μιχύθου*
 $^{\circ}\text{Υακινθί-}$
 caduceus l. *vo*

SS 127 (A).

Cf. N. 315, 8. Nilsson, p. 88, comments on this name. There are eight seals of this fabricant among the 1933 finds, seven of them from Θ (some from parts of the filling which are largely 4th cent.). For further note on the dating see below on **21-22**.

Pergamon: 1; Carthage: 1. Bleckmann dates him *ca.* 220-180, but the greater part of his activity is certainly earlier.



20

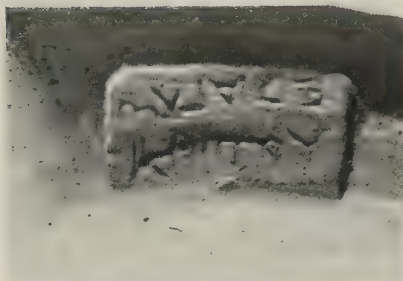
20 *Μιχύθου*
 Δάλιος

SS 216 (A—HD, lowest stratum).

The underlying letter traces are difficult to explain as from doubling; they are perhaps due to a re-use of the die.



21



22



23



24

21-22

Μικύθου
Καρυεί(ου)(inverted) Ἐπὶ Ἀγλω-
κρίτου

SS 338 and SS 334 (ΣΤ).

These handles were found in a well the upper filling of which was Roman (1st to 3rd cent. A.D.). The lower filling yielded some 4th cent. B.C. black-glazed ware. The handles were found with many coarse sherds, one near the bottom of the upper filling (22), the other near the top of the lower filling (21). Their fabric and the particular effect of firing, the size and color of the core, leave little doubt that they come from the same amphora, which was probably one of the last things dropped in the well during the period of its use. (Cf. on well fillings Thompson, *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, pp. 289-296.) No other handles were found in the well. An early date is further suggested by the thick rounded profile (cf. Pl. II, 4), which is similar to that of the closely dated 77 (Fig. 1, 5, with discussion). The eponym's name is rare. An eponym Aglokritos is mentioned in an inscription, Collitz-Bechtel, *SGDI*, 3486, dated by the editors 2nd cent. B.C., by Van Gelder, *ca.* 227. (From Hiller's list.)

23

[Ἐπὶ] Πολυχράτε(ως)
Ἀγιαμπίου

SS 138 (ΣΤ--with 4th and 3rd cent. sherds).

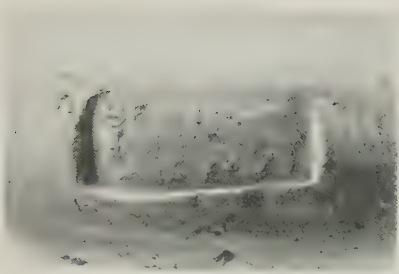
Three seals from Θ name this eponym; one is from an unmixed part of the filling. Listed by Hiller without comment.

24

Καρυείου
Ἀίσκου

SS 106 (A—an early Hellenistic, 3rd cent., deposit).

Not dated previously. The Diskos whose name appears on handles found at Pergamon and Villanova uses a different type of seal without the name of the month.

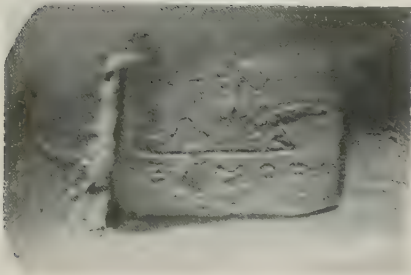


25

25

Θεσμ[ο-
φορίον
Δίσκον

SS 137 (ΣΤ—in a deposit with 4th and 3rd cent. sherds and lamps).



26

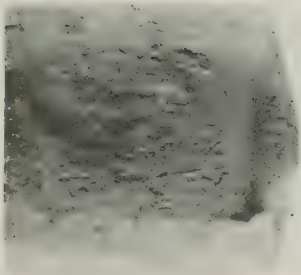
26

Ἀρτεμί-
δαρος
Θε[σ]μοφο-
ρίον

SS 34 (A).

Broad arched handle. The character of this seal and of the following is best paralleled by that of certain Thasian seals. The breadth is Thasian and the style resembles that of some of the Thasian seals illustrated in Schuchhardt and of one from the Agora found in 1933 which appear to fall rather late in the Thasian development. Of the five seals of this fabricant found in 1933, four come from Θ, of which three are from deposits which include a large proportion of 4th cent. pottery.

Pergamon: 1 (much restored).



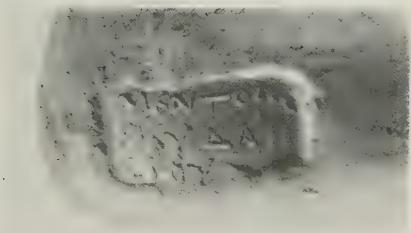
27

27

[Ἀρτεμί-]
[δω]ρος
Ἀ[πο]θήκη[ν]

SS 116 (A—HD, top).

The cross-bar identifies this potter. See N. p. 154.



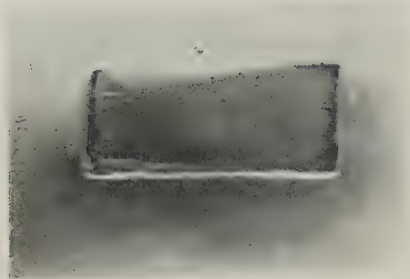
28

28

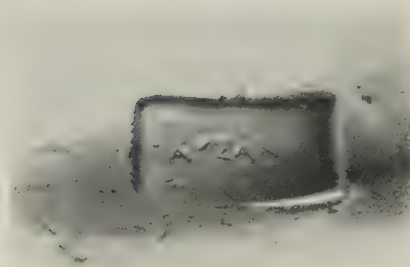
Μέντορος
Γενδα-
σίον

SS 59 (A).

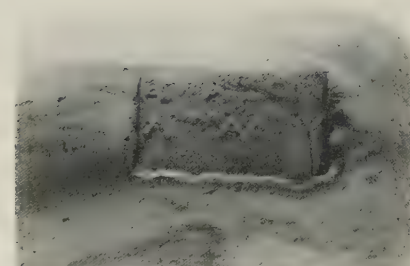
Eight seals of this fabricant from Θ (HF but partly mixed).



29



32



36



37

29

*Ἐπὶ Καλλικράτους**Ἀγριονίου*

SS 57 (A—HD, deep).

Four seals from Θ name this eponym, three of them from the HF.

Pergamon: 10; Carthage: 4; Hiller: "220–180, common." A contemporary of the fabricant Soteridas (*Klio*, XX). There may have been more than one Kallikrates year. None of the Pergamon or Carthage seals shows this line division in its reading; the name is in every case broken.

30–35

Παυσανία

SS 31 (A—HD, top).

SS 58 (A—HD, lowest stratum).

SS 73 (A—Cave). Illustrated.

SS 134 (A).

SS 217 (A—HD, lowest stratum).

SS 293 (A).

All similar, but no two of the six are clearly from the same die.

Twenty-five seals of this fabricant were found in 1933, nearly all from Section Θ, where was also found the same name in a circular seal, like 67. Cf. Pl. II, 4.

Pergamon: 2; Carthage: 1; hence according to Bleckmann, 220–180. Two of these are, however, seals of a Pausanias who adds a rose below the name, not of the potter of 30–35 or of Pl. II, 4, who is represented by one seal from Pergamon.

36–37

*Ἐπὶ Παυσανία**Ἀγριονίου*

SS 91 (A).

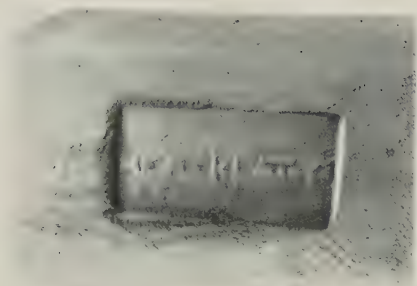
*Ἐπὶ Παυ-
σανία*

SS 253 (A).

It is fairly certain that officials named Pausanias held office for at least two distinct terms, separated

by enough time possibly for the one to have been the grandfather of the other. The one here represented is the earlier; the handles show a rounded profile. For the later eponym, see Fig. 5, 4 and discussion.

Carthage: 3; Hiller: "180-150, very common." This date is probably right for Pausanias II. See table of connected names on p. 219. The amphora connecting him with Imas I saw in the Palermo museum. The handles are angular.



38

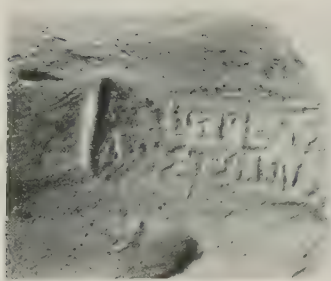
38

Μερεχάτους

SS 168 (A—HD).

Six seals of this fabricant were found in 1933, of which five are from Θ—HF; one of these latter uses the same spelling of the ending.

Carthage: 3. Bleckmann dates 180-150? Probably better to date before rather than after the period of the Pergamon deposit.



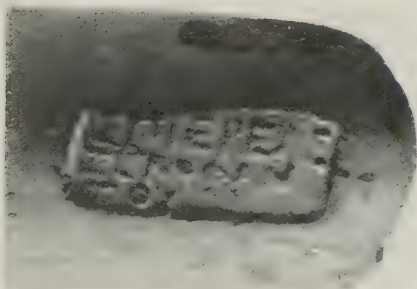
39

39

*Ἐπ(ὶ) Ἰερέως¹**Ἀριστωρίδ[α]*

SS 240 (E).

No other seal of Aristonidas as priest found in N., Herm. or Agora. He is known as an eponym. (N.—see citations under 116.) One doubtful example from the Agora in 1933 (SS 756, Θ—HF). He is named with this title in *Inscripfen von Magnesia*, 55. Hence dated "ca. 205." See Hiller, Pauly-Wissowa, *loc. cit.*, p. 787. It is curious in that case that he does not occur in Pergamon.



40

40

*Ἐπ(ὶ) Ἰερέως**Ξενοφάν-**του*

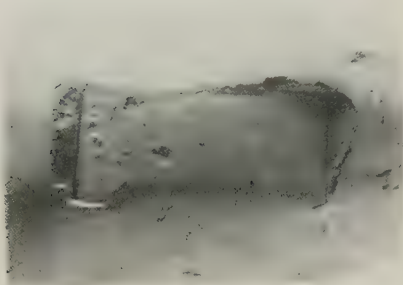
SS 258 (A—HD).

Five 1933 seals name the official without the title of priest, of which four are from Θ—mostly HF.

Pergamon: 1; Carthage: 5; Hiller: "220-180, common." See table of connected names, p. 219. Possibly they refer to a Xenophantos II.

¹ The smooth breathing is according to N. p. 148.

From here on the handles begin to be angular (compare pp. 214 ff.).



41

41

Ἐπὶ Ἀγλου-
βότιον
Παράμιον

SS 61 (A—Cave).

Five 1933 seals name this official, all from Θ—HF; the filling in three cases includes 4th cent. pottery.

Pergamon: 1; Hiller: "220–180, common."



42

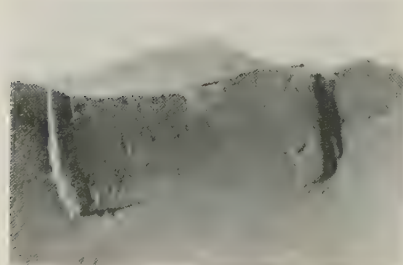
42

Ἐπὶ] Δαμο-
ζ]λέτις
Δαλίον

SS 315 (ΣΤ').

One example from 1933: SS 1086 (Θ—HF, with lamps of Type XIII).

Pergamon: 21; Carthage: 4; Hiller dates before 172 because of mention in Dittenberger, *Syll.*³, 644 b. See table of connected names, p. 219.



43

43

Ἐπὶ Φιλοδά-
μιον
Καρρείου

SS 68 (A—Cave).

Six 1933 seals name him; all but one from Θ(—HF mostly).

Pergamon: 7; occurs at Villanova; Hiller: "200 to 180, common." See table of connected names.



44

44

Ἐπὶ Κλειτομάχου
Καρρείου

SS 62 (A—Cave).

One 1933 seal names him (from Θ—HF).

Pergamon: 1; Hiller: "220–180, common."



45

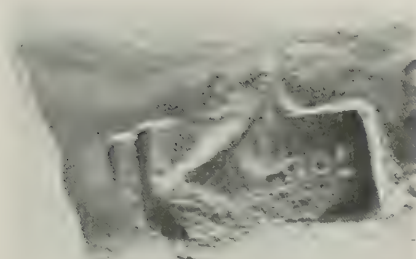
45

Α'lov

SS 72 (A—Cave).

Five handles from Θ, three from the HF.

Pergamon: 19; Carthage: 3. Found at Villanova and hence dated 200-180. See table of connected names. The Pergamene examples are all of this type; the drawing might be of an impression from the same die.



46

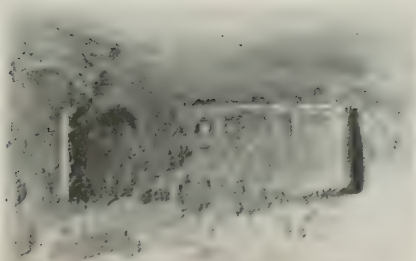
46

Α[ριστη]ωρος

SS 219 (A—HD, lowest stratum).

Six 1933 handles, of which five are from Θ but only one from an unmixed part of the HF.

Pergamon: 2 (much restored); Carthage: 5. The potter may have worked earlier or later than the period of most of the trade with Pergamon or perhaps he did not ship there.



47

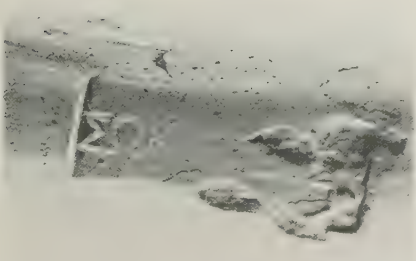
47

*Ἐπὶ Θεαι-**δῆτ[ο]υ**Α[λι]ov*

SS 27 (E).

Like SS 764 (Θ—HF). One other 1933 seal names this official; it is from a disturbed deposit in Θ.

Pergamon: 12; Carthage: 2. See table of connected names, p. 219. His term is dated between 200 and 190 by an interesting argument based on a combination of epigraphical and literary references. (See Bleckmann, 1907, pp. 19-20; accepted by Hiller. The eponym Astymedes is then his son.)



48

48

Σωζράτης

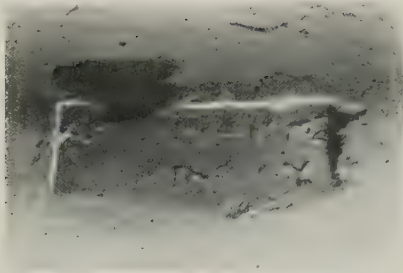
burning

torch

SS 243 (A—HD, lowest stratum).

Like twelve 1933 seals, of which all but one are from Θ.

Pergamon: 17; Carthage: 7. Found at Villanova and hence dated 200-180. See table of connected names.



49

49

Ἀγοράνακτος
Υαζιρθίου

SS 99 (A).

There are eight 1933 seals of this fabricant, of which five are from Θ (not the earliest part of the filling,—with lamps of Types XIII and XVIII).

Pergamon: 5; Carthage: 7. Found at Villanova and hence dated 200–180. See table of connected names.



50

50

Ἀγοράνακτος
Σμυρ[θίου]

SS 135 (Δ).

(See above.)



51

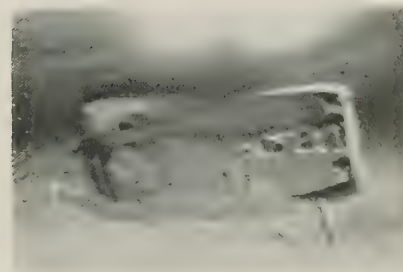
51

Ἀγαθοκλεῦς

SS 193 (Δ—WTR).

Like SS 481 (Θ, with 3rd cent. pottery). Two other 1933 seals give the name, combined with that of a month.

Pergamon: 30; Carthage: 6. Bleckmann dates *ca.* 220–180.



52

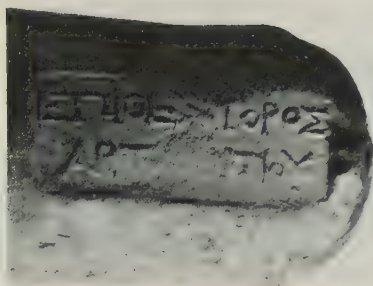
52

× ×
Ἀρι[στο]κράτης
×

SS 120 (A).

Nine 1933 seals were found of this fabricant arranged as here (the form of the star varies) of which six are from Θ (all but one good HF, three from early parts of it and a fourth with lamps of Type XIII).

Pergamon: 3; Carthage: 3. Bleckmann dates *ca.* 220–180.



53

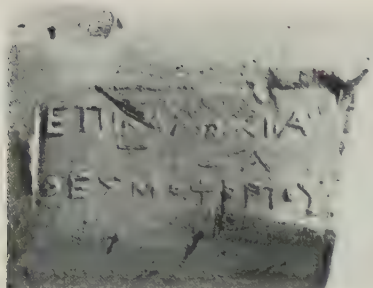
53

*Ἐπὶ Θεστορος
Ἀριστιπίου*

SS 235 (A—HD).

Five seals from Θ name an eponym Thestor; four are from the HF but not the earliest parts. One is perhaps a seal of the fabricant Aristeidias; the arrangement of the seal is that of 57 below.

Pergamon: 5; Carthage: 3; Hiller: "220-180, common."



54

54

*Ἐπὶ Καλλικρα-
τίδα
Θεσμοφορίου*

SS 247 (Δ—WTR).

An eponym Kallikratidas on eight 1933 seals, all but one from Θ, three from the HF.

Pergamon: 23; Carthage: 2; Hiller: "220-180, common." See table of connected names.



55

55

*Ἐπὶ Ἀρίστωνος
Ἀρ[ιστιπίου]*

SS 350 (E).

SS 555 (Θ—HF, with abundant handles) names the official.

Pergamon: 19; Carthage: 2; Villanova (2 sporadic handles); Hiller: "220-150, common." Contemporary of fabricant Aristippos (Bleckmann, 1912, p. 250).



56

56

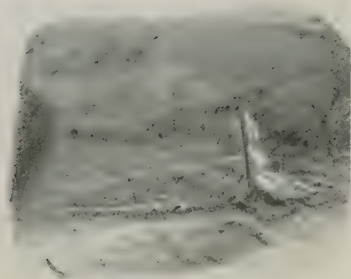
*Ἐπὶ Ξ[εν]-
οκράτ[ιδος]?*

SS 87 (A).

On four seals from Θ, probably three of them from the HF.

Pergamon: 6; Carthage: 3. On amphorae of Diskos at Villanova and hence dated 200-180. See table of connected names, p. 219.

The angularity of the handles takes on more sharpness; the top is often concave rather than convex.



57

57

Βαδρ[ο]μήιον
Ἀρε]στειδα star

SS 250 (ΣΤ—late 1st cent. B.C. fill).

Two 1933 seals of this fabricant (including the star), both from Θ, one from a good rather early part of the HF. Note a similar star on a seal naming the eponym Thestor. (See above on 53.)

Pergamon: 5; Carthage: 1; Bleckmann dates ca. 220–180.

The names on the remaining rectangular Rhodian seals do not occur in the Θ—HF or on any other 1933 handles. Except for the last two they are well represented in the Lindos collection.



58

58

Ἐπὶ Ἀρε-
ξάρδο[υ]
..... ου

SS 46 (A—HD).

Hiller: "common."



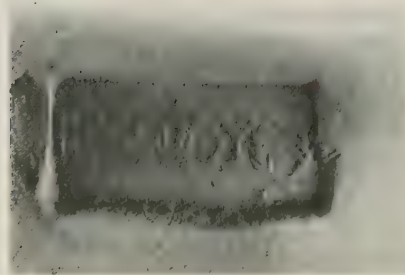
59

59

Ἐπὶ Ἀρχιλαί-
δα
Καρείου

SS 22 (A).

Pergamon: 5; Carthage: 2; one sporadic handle from Villanova. Hiller comments: "common; rarely *Ἀρχιλαίδας*." Contemporary of fabricant Damokles (see Bleckmann, 1907, p. 31) whom Bleckmann dates "probably 180–150."



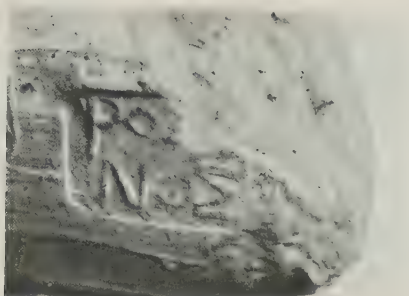
60

60

Βρομίου wreath

SS 55 (A—HD, deep).

Many seals of this fabricant in Herm
Carthage: 1; Bleckmann: probably 180–150.



61

61

Ῥο[δω-]

ρος

SS 67 (A).

Large fragment with most of the neck, but the other handle not preserved. Like N. 369, 1.



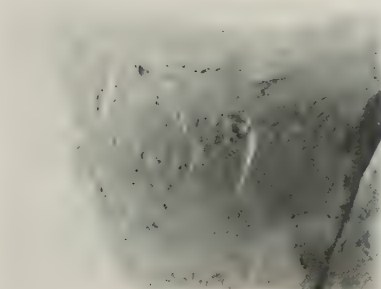
62

62

herm

Ῥόδωρο[ς]

SS 352 (ΣΓ').



63

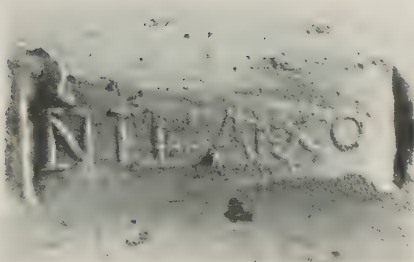
63

Φιλ]οοστε-

φάνου

SS 38 (E).

In the Lindos collection the complete seals of this fabricant have a herm above or below the inscription, as do those of Rhodon.



64

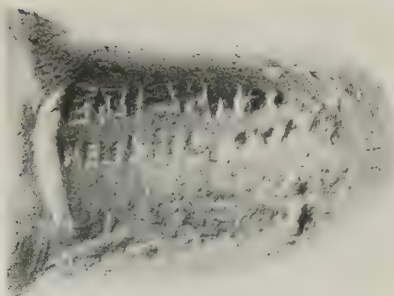
64

Νικάρχου

SS 330 (Δ—in a cistern in the stratum above the Knidian seal of Dionysios, 131; not earlier than 2nd cent.).



65



66

65

//////
IA

SS 251 (A).

A twisted angular handle, the seal showing the end of an inscription in large letters.

66

Ἐπὶ Ζηνοδότου
Μενάνδρου Ἀα[λίου]

SS 373 (ΣΤ').

A particularly angular handle, small and badly made. For the name Zenodotos see on **200** which is a Knidian seal of Rhodian aspect.

Hiller lists the eponym as recorded only once (the doubtful case in Nilsson). He considers the name doubtful and suggests no date.

There has hitherto been no general acceptance of Hiller's belief that the three items, official, potter and month, were sometimes combined on a Rhodian seal. Cf. Pridik in *Klio*, XX, 1926, pp. 303–307.

CIRCULAR STAMPS



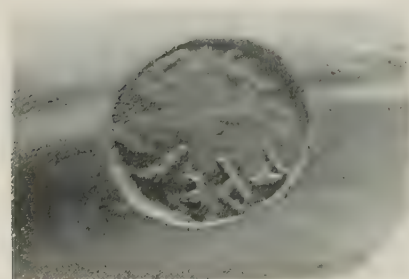
67

67

Ἐπὶ Σωχάρους

SS 157 (A — BHW).

In the Lindos collection, only on a rectangular seal. See on **16**.



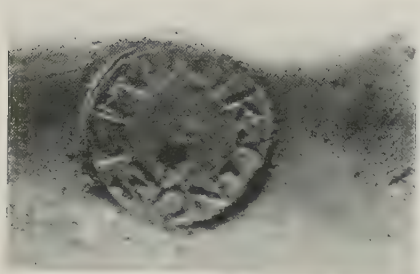
68

68

Ἐπὶ Σωχάρους

SS 78 (A).

(See above.)



69

69

Ἐπὶ Νίζωνος

SS 133 (ΣΓ—from context, probably not later than early 3rd cent. B.C.).

A rare name; the only seal in the Lindos collection which bears it has this form.

Hiller refers to an inscription of 3rd–2nd cent. B.C.



70

70

Ἀισχίνιος

SS 102 (A).

This name does not appear as that of a fabricant in the Lindos collection. But see N. p. 151.



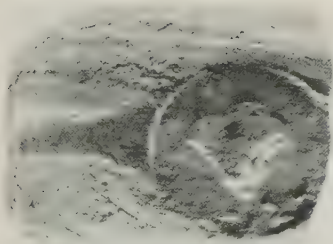
71

71

[. . .]ος *Ἡσάμο*[v]
rose

SS 159 (A).

According to size and spacing the missing name cannot have had more than six or seven letters altogether.



72

72

Ἐ[π(ὶ) Ἰερε]ως Φ[ιλοφίλο]?
rose

SS 242 (A—HD, lowest stratum).

The character of the seal corresponds with that of others bearing the proposed restoration: unframed circular impression with rose. Cf. SS 568 (Θ—HF) of which the fabric also corresponds, and N. 431, 2.

Hiller lists without comment.

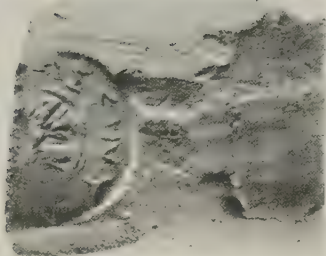


73

73 *M[ένωρο]ς Ἀγαμέμνιος* (retr.)
rose

SS 103 (A).

Very probable restoration; cf. N. no. 311, two circular seals of the fabricant Menon with month name around a rose: one is retrograde (as here), the other has the month name in the nominative (as here). In neither the Lindos nor the Hermitage collection is there any other fabricant M[]s who has a circular seal with a rose.



74

74 [*Ἐπ(ὶ) Ἰερέ]ως Σιμυλῖ[(ρον)?]*
rose

SS 166 (A—HD.)

The reading seems fairly certain. The space indicates, however, a good deal of abbreviation. It looks very much as if Nilsson, Pl. I, no. 8 is a companion seal to this, and therefore the fabricant Menon should be associated with this eponym. On the date of Simylinos, see the next number.

Hiller lists without comment.



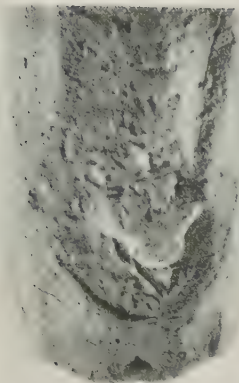
75

75 *Ἐπὶ Σιμυλῖ(ρον) Ἀγχιάρου*
rose

SS 15 (E).

Maiuri (p. 260) publishes an amphora with one handle preserved bearing this name in a leaf-shaped seal like one from Lindos which Nilsson illustrates on Pl. I, 4. He notes how infrequently the name occurs. Nilsson gives two from Lindos, and cites five from other collections. I have record of only two from the Agora 1933 handles. Maiuri concludes that his new find dates the name to 200–180, but it is difficult to believe that the term of Simylinos fell after 220. Nilsson (p. 105–106) attributes all the jars with leaf-shaped seals to the potter Epigonos, since his is the only fabricant's name occurring. The eponyms named are *Σιμυλῖ(ρος)*, *Θρα(σὺ)δαμος*, *Ξερόσ(τρατος)*, and *Αἰόκ(λης)?*. Xenostratos and Thrasydamos have each an early position in the sequences of this catalogue

just as Maiuri's jar naming Simylinos would have, since he expressly states that the handle is curving, not angular. The absence of all these names from both Pergamon and Carthage lists confirms the date based on fabric. It seems to me that if this jar cannot be separated from the rest of the Villanova deposit (possibly as a misguided contribution by one of the *contadini* mentioned p. 250) then we need something like the wall theory, discussed on p. 216 of this article, to account for its presence in the deposit.



76

76 [Ἐπὶ]? Σιμυλίνου Ἀ[ρταμίδου]?

rose

SS 197 (Δ—WTR).

The reading is rather uncertain, especially as to the *ἐπὶ* which, if present, is crowded nearly out of existence, perhaps by an overlap in setting the die.



77

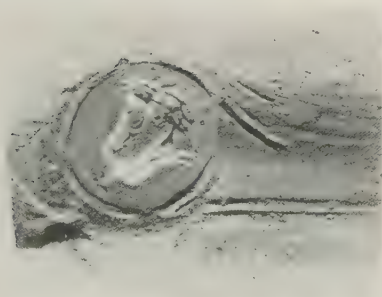
77 Ζήνωνος vac.

rose

SS 370 (ΣΤ'—in early 3rd cent. context at the bottom of a cistern).

Handle of a nearly complete amphora; see Fig. 1, 5, with discussion. Like four seals from Section Θ, two from early parts of the HF.

Pergamon: 2; Carthage: 2; Bleckmann dates 220-180. But this Zeno cannot be dated by the Pergamene seals, since they are of a different type, being rectangular in shape, and in one case having two piloi as a device.



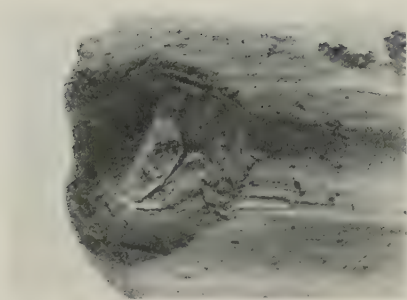
78

78 Ζήνωνος

rose

SS 241 (A).

Fairly certain reading. The letters are much less widely spaced than on 77. The roses and the general aspect of the two seals, however, are very similar, and very different from N. Pl. I, 6, which looks almost as if it belonged to another man of the same name (Z form used; the circle is without frame: to the small rose are added two piloi(?)).



79

79

Ξεν]οτίμων?

rose

SS 274 (A).

Other possible restorations are Aristotimos or Diotimos. The name Xenotimos does not occur in the Lindos collection, but it is listed by N. on p. 81. There are six examples in the Agora 1933 finds (all but one from the Θ—HF); all are of the type of this handle, both as to fabric and as to seal.



80

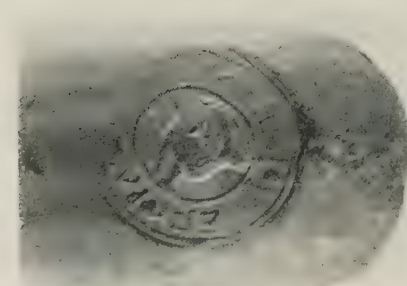
80

Στρατονίκου

rose

SS 85 (A).

The name is rare. It does not appear in the Lindos collection. N. p. 81 cites two examples only. It is not found among the Rhodian handles of the Hermitage collection. But another example was found in 1933, SS 702 (Θ—early part of HF).



81

81

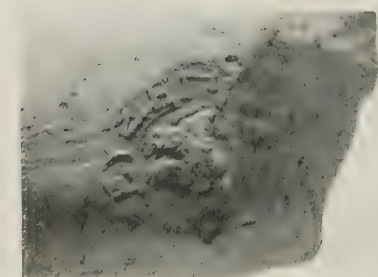
Ἐπὶ Θρασυδῆ(μον) Ὑακινθίου

rose

SS 63 (A—Cave).

Ten seals from Θ—HF name this eponym.

Listed by Hiller without comment.



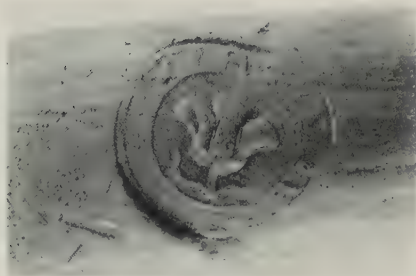
82

82

Ἐπὶ [. . . χρ]ῆτες

rose

SS 19 (E).



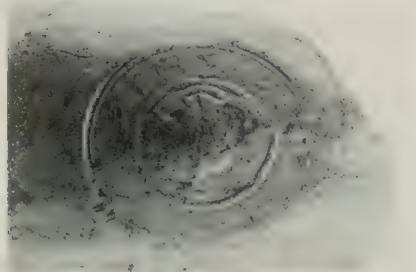
83

83

Χρησίμου
rose

SS 101 (A).

Four seals from the 1933 finds give this fabricant, one being from Θ—HF, the others from disturbed deposits. The name is not in the Lindos collection, but is cited by N. on p. 84 as a slave name. Cf. Herm. 34, 865-866.



84

84

Χρησίμου
rose

SS 144 (ST. The context suggests a 3rd cent. date).
See preceding number.

With 85 the handles begin to be angular. This angularity is slight in 85, being merely a break in the curve, but thereafter it becomes increasingly definite.

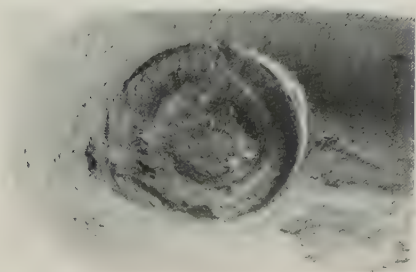


85

85 [*Ἐπὶ Ἀρμ*ο]σίλα Θεσμοφορί(ον) vac.
rose

SS 41 (A—HD). See headpiece.

Four seals from Θ—HF name this eponym. See table of connected names. Listed by Hiller without comment.

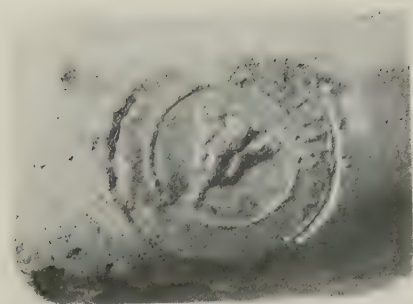


86

86 Σμινθίου (retr.) Μέτωρο[ς]
rose

SS 35 (A—top of HD).

Half the preserved circumference shows an irregular raised surface, the result of an erasure by cutting down the die. On the scraped part a new month name appears to have been hastily scratched from left to right, so that it reads in the opposite direction from the fabricant's name. See on 73 (of another Menon?).



87

87

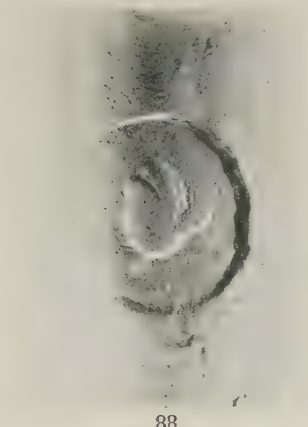
Ἑλληνίζου

rose

SS 317 (Δ—Hellenistic context).

Like five seals from Section Θ, several being from undisturbed parts of the HF.

Since the name does not appear at Pergamon and is found only once at Carthage it is dated by Bleckmann 180–150, but the argument does not seem convincing.



88

88

(faint letter traces)

rose

SS 272 (A).



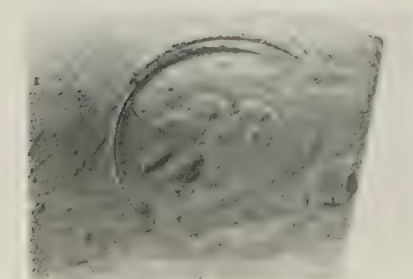
89

89

(faint letter traces)

rose

SS 252 (A).



90

90

Λαμοχράτης

rose

SS 52 (A—IID, top).

Twelve seals of this fabricant were found in 1933, of which nine are from Θ.

Pergamon: 55; Carthage: 9; occurs also at Villanova. Hence dated 200–180. See table of connected names.



91

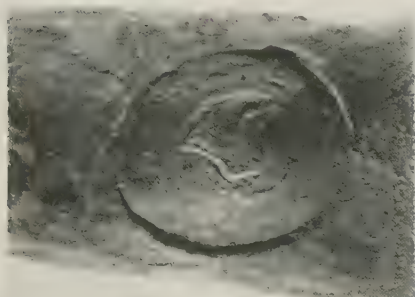
91

Λαμοκράτης

rose

SS 76 (A).

See preceding number.



92

92

Λαμοκράτης

rose

SS 308 (Δ—late Roman filling).

See above.



93 a

93 a

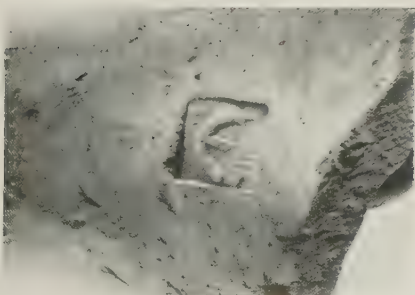
Ἰπποκράτης

rose

SS 180 (A—HD, lowest stratum).

1 seal from 1933, from Θ.

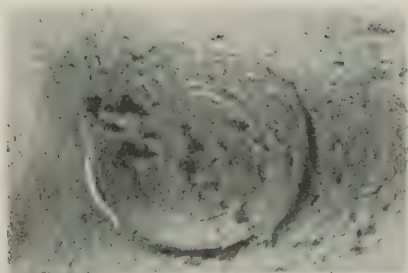
Pergamon: 4; Carthage: 2; elsewhere in quantity.
Dated by Bleckmann *ca.* 220-180. See table of
connected names, fig. 2.



93 b

93 b

A secondary impression on the side of the attachment of handle to neck.



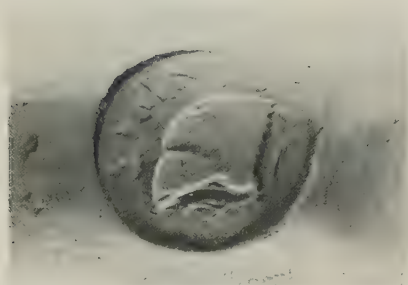
94

94

Ἰπποκράτε[υ]ς

rose

SS 231 (A—above HD).



95

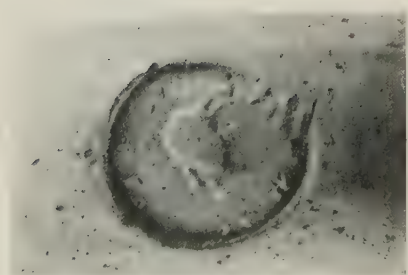
95

Σμινθίους

rose

SS 196 (Δ—WTR).

Cf. no. 162 of Macalister, "Amphora Handles with Greek stamps from Tell-Sandahannah" in *Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1901. The reference is taken from N. p. 113. This may be a scribe's error for the month, or it may be from a proper name Σμινθίας (see N. p. 87 for other Rhodian names with this ending), the genitive formed as sometimes from Θεωφάνης, Σωσιπλῆς (see N. p. 149), or Μενεζράτης (see 38 and SS 1684).



96

96

Ἐ[π](ι) Ἰεθ[έ]ως Ἀριστ[είδα]? Ἀρτα[μνίου]? (retr.)

head of Helios

SS 105 (A).

The reading is not very satisfactory, but neither is that of N. 82, 7, which is the closest parallel that has been found.

Five other Rhodian handles received SS numbers in 1931–32; they have the following nearly obliterated impressions:

SS 65 (E) rectangular.

SS 160 (ΣΤ) rose surrounded by letter traces.

SS 179 (A—HD) rose surrounded by letter traces.

SS 281 (A) fragmentary. Possibly read retrograde Σωκράτης, burning torch.

SS 296 (ΣΤ—Hellenistic context) rose surrounded by letter traces.

C. KNIDIAN

GENERAL COMMENTS

The Knidian seals are divided for convenience into rectangular (**97-194**), odd (**195-197**) and circular (**198-219**).¹

From the general series of rectangular seals, three groups have been taken out and placed at the end: 1, those with the title phourarch (**177-179**), probably second century B.C.; 2, those which bear the name of a firm or a pair of officials (**180-190**),² second to first century B.C.; 3, a group of small similar handles apparently from a single factory, the jars of which named with one seal the fabricant, with the other the eponym (**191-194**),³ probably of the Roman period.

Of these, group 2 may be of particular historical interest. The "firm" has often been referred to as a distinctively Knidian institution, which is rarely or never recorded on Rhodian seals.⁴ The seals **181-183**, however, suggest that the joint occupation of the persons thus paired may sometimes have been governmental rather than commercial. Persons referred to as *Ἀνδρῶν* (**185-187**, **211-212**, and Fig. 5, 8) ought certainly to be officials of some sort: see *ἄνδρες* in Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, and note that *δύο ἄνδρες* is the Greek version of the title *duo viri* which appears on many coins of Greek cities in the early Roman period.⁵ We probably have on these seals a record of the Roman system of government by commission as applied to Knidos.⁶

The remaining seals (**97-176**) are grouped into products of the same fabricant and (including these) products of fabricants whose seals have a similarity one with another, in particular a common device. Otherwise unconnected seals are grouped by eponym. These groups are arranged chronologically according to context supplied in the group or by dated relatives found in 1933. The series was arranged by a study of the actual handles, and the fabric was in each case considered.

The following comprehensive dates are proposed:

97-131: Late third (last quarter probably) to early second century B.C.

132-164: Second century (the majority probably before the middle of the century).

165-174: Late second to first century B.C.

175-176: First century B.C.

¹ For seals which are possibly Knidian see also **222-236**.

² Add the circular seals **211-212**, and Fig. 5, 8.

³ For the division of information on Knidian seals, cf. the seals of Fig. 1, 7, illustrated on p. 305.

⁴ Cf. Nilsson, *op. cit.* p. 104.

⁵ Cf. Head, *Historia Numorum*,² pp. lxviii and 936. The Greek version is found only on coins of Lipara, thus: Γ. ΜΑΡΚΙΟΥ ΑΕ. Γ. ΑΩΝΕΥΣ ΔΥΟ ΑΝΔΡ. Both the title VIRI and the names are usually in the nominative, but at Corinth the names are in the ablative, the title reading II VIR.

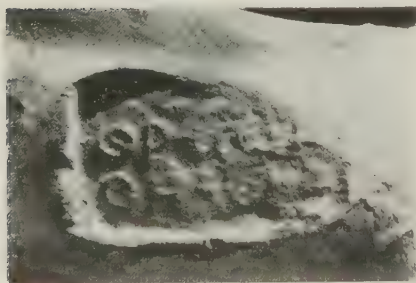
⁶ Possibly a name *Ἀνδρῶν* is intended. See on **224-225**.

The circular Knidian seals are divided in the catalogue into miscellaneous, mostly early (198–201), those with a boukranion as device (202–217), and those with the forepart of a lion (218–219). Small stylized boukrania like 202 appear in the early second century B.C. (cf. the boukranion in rectangular seals, 108–120). The more familiar kind, however, which should perhaps more properly be called boukephalos, probably does not start till the second half of the century¹ (cf. 204 f.). 209–214 are first century B.C. The stamp on the Thebes amphora, illustrated on p. 305, is probably later than any of these. The development seems to be the normal one, from stylized to realistic to degenerate. Seals bearing as device the forepart of a lion must extend into the Christian era.

In constructing a Knidian chronology the scholar can make less use of discoveries from other published sites than he could for a Rhodian (cf. pp. 214–220). At Carthage no certainly Knidian handle was found.² The Pergamon deposit includes six: 1269–1273, and 1284. These could all fit in with the earliest groups in this catalogue, except 1273, on which see below, n. 1. The best evidence I have found comes from Corinth, destroyed in the same year as Carthage. A small group of seals published by B. Powell, *A.J.A.*, VII, 1903, pp. 35 ff.,³ is mostly Knidian; it touches in this series numbers 135–138, and 164. For 132 there is another Corinthian parallel.

The eponym and fabricant relations must be tabulated as has been done for the Rhodian handles, before the best results can be obtained.⁴ The material is abundant, but in need of organization and verification. See general bibliography for works of reference; the article on Knidos in Pauly-Wissowa (1921) is also helpful. The Knidian name list has not been revised since *CIG* III, pp. xiv–xvi.

RECTANGULAR STAMPS



97

97

Θοῦ Ἰων(ος)
Θι ο ο ζ ο ῖ (τερς)

SS 285 (ΣΤ).

Like seven seals from Θ, mostly from undisturbed parts of the Hellenistic filling; cf. D. 289, 114; Herm. 59, 32.

¹ It occurs in Z BL, A IID, but not in Θ IIF, nor in the trial pits in the stoa of Attalos, nor on any handles from Corinth so far as I know. As to Pergamon 1273, we may suppose that Knidian commerce with that city did not end when Rhodian did, and the date of the building which closed the deposit is not more definite than "second century."

² The only possibility is the seal of Apollonios Pisidas. Cf. 222.

³ Referred to as Powell.

⁴ The beginning of such a tabulation was largely responsible for the sequence as here catalogued.



98

98

[Κρίδιον] -Ε

Θράσωνος

Θ[ηρο]γρά(τενς)?

SS 156 (ΣΤ).

From a die closely related to those of SS 447 (Ζ) and 1361 (Θ—early part of Hellenistic filling). The top line is restored from them; a bit of the short-handled trident shows here. The bottom line is nowhere clear.



99

99

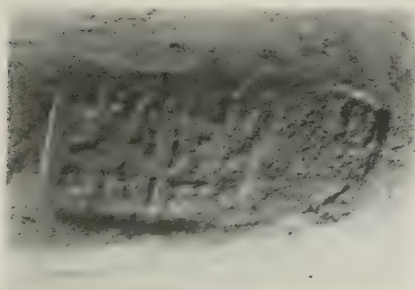
Θράσων(ος)

'Επιδαμ(

(or 'Επὶ Δαμ(?))

SS 54 (Α—upper part of HD).

SS 420, 1350, 1821 (Θ—HF) bear about the same letters. This is a very characteristic seal of Thrason.



100

100

Θρά[σω]γ[ος]

Retr. Κρίδ(ιον)

'Επὶ Πολ[ι(ούχενς)?]

SS 29 (Α—HD).

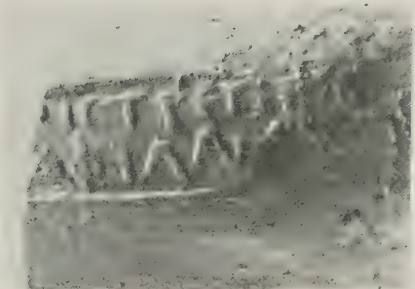
Read by the help of D. 260, 86-87, which are evidently from a closely similar die, and read:

ΘΡΑΩΝΟC

ΙΝΧ

ΕΠΙΠΟΛΙ

A probable Δ for ΚΝΙΔΙΟΝ is preserved on ours; also the Ν is reversed as well as the Κ. Cf. also Pl. II, 227.



101

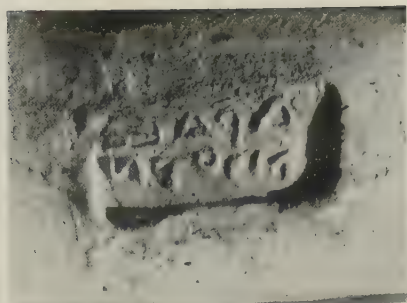
101

ΑΡΙCΤΙΕΠΙ

Δ]ΑΦΙΛΑΜ

SS 43 (Α—HD).

A piece of the lip is preserved; type of Pl. II, 6. The missing letters are perfectly clear on SS 1091 (Θ—early part of HF). Cf. also D 277, 38. A fabricant named Aristion appears on early circular seals from Θ.



102

102

*Δράκο-
ντος M*
(boustrophedon)

SS 210 (ΣΤ).

Distinct slip. Like SS 1820 (Θ—HF). Cf. D. 311, 77–82, and Herm. 111, 218.



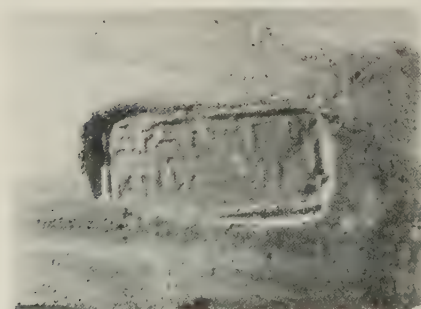
103

103

*Δράκ-
οντος*

SS 324 (ΣΤ).

The name appears retrograde on similar seals (that is, short framed rectangles) found in the HF of Section Θ; cf. SS 1032. Cf. D. 311, 78.



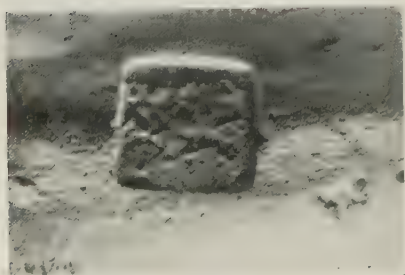
104

104

*Δράκοντος
Κνίδιον*

SS 192 (Δ—WTR).

Same die as SS 952 (Z—in a sandy deposit containing chiefly late Hellenistic and early Roman sherds). Possibly later than the others. But the Z seal is considerably worn, and the fabric of the handle is that of Pl. II, 6. Like D. 236, 35.



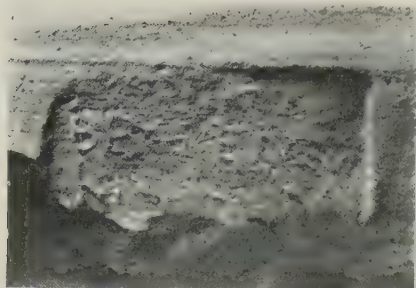
105

105

*Δράκο(ντος)?
Νικα(?
Κνί(διον)
(retr.)*

SS 343 (Δ).

Distinct slip. Profile like Pl. II, 6. No parallel has been found. For the type of seal as early, cf. 229–230.



106

106

Ἐ[πὶ] Νικασίβ(ούλου)
Θευγένε(ς)
Κνίδιον

SS 266 (Δ).

Perhaps from the same die as SS 558, 1404, 1509, 1788 (all from Θ—HF). A seal of this fabricant was found in the trial pit cut in the stoa of Attalos, in the pre-stoa filling (SS 1863).



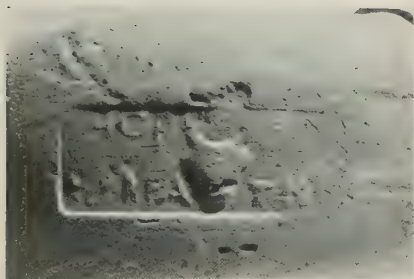
107

107

Νικασίβου-
λος ἐπὶ Νικα-
σίβουλου
attribute on right

SS 169 (Δ—WTR).

Bit of rim, as in Pl. II, 6. Slip. Like D. 266, 126. No mention is there made of an attribute. Here it is possibly a much schematized boukranion.



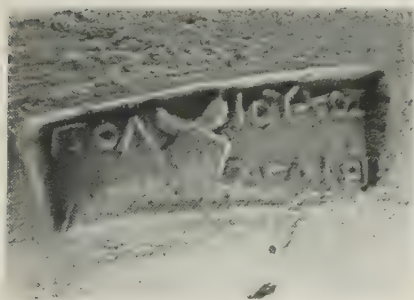
108

108

Μόρ μ[ιος
Εὐκράτ[ος]
boukranion in centre

SS 223 (Δ—WTR).

No parallel has been found. Eukrates does not seem to appear on this sort of seal, though Mormis regularly does.

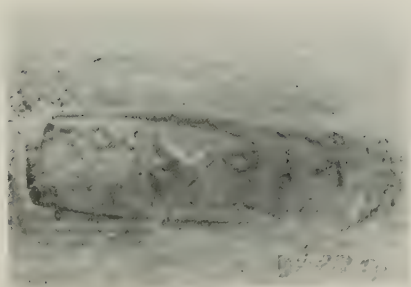


109

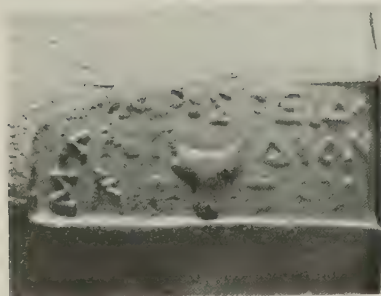
109-111

Πολ ιοῦχος
Ἀ[στρ]α[γ]άλου
boukranion in centre

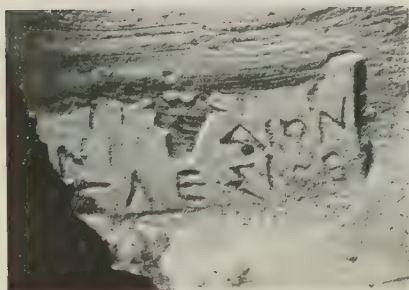
SS 30 (Α). Portion of rim, as in Pl. II, 6.



110



112



113

Πολι ούχον
Ἄστιρ [ἀγέλον
boukranion in centre

SS 118 (E). Slip.

SS 287 (ΣΤ'). (Not illustrated.) Slip.

This combination, rare in previous publications, has been found in fair quantities in the Agora (SS 542, 545, 681, 760, 1010, 1451, 1818; all Θ, nearly all from the HF). D. 299, 177 parallels **109**; D. 365, 199 is probably to be restored by **110** and **111**, which may be from the same die. No example in Pridik's Athenian lists.

112

Ἐπ' Ἀριστείδα
Κρί διον
Σκίρ του
boukranion in centre

SS 195 (Δ—WTR).

Possibly like D. 269, 142.

113–114

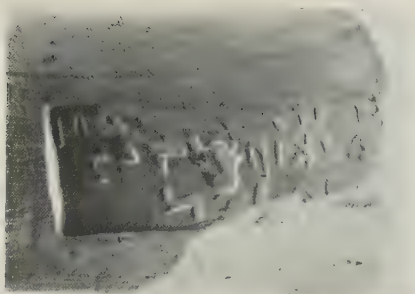
Σκίρ του
Κρί διον
Τ]ελεσίφρ(ων)?
boukranion in centre

SS 310 (A—bottom of HD). Bit of rim as in Pl. II, 6. Slip.

SS 221 (Δ—WTR). Perhaps from the same die. Only the left end is preserved; not illustrated. Slip.

No certain parallel has been found but cf. D. 268, 140. Dumont reads ΤΕΛΕΣΙΤ[. The Φ is uncertain in ours, but cf. Herm. 138, 8 which is similar though the second name is not abbreviated:

ΣΚΙΡ ΤΟΥ
//// ΔΙΟΝ
//// ΣΙΦΡΩΝ
boukranion in centre



115

115-116

Ἐπὶ Κλ[εα]νδοῦ
δα Σκίρ του
Κρίδιον

(retr.)

boukranion in centre

Ἐπὶ Κλεανδοῦ
δα Σκίρ του
Κρίδιον

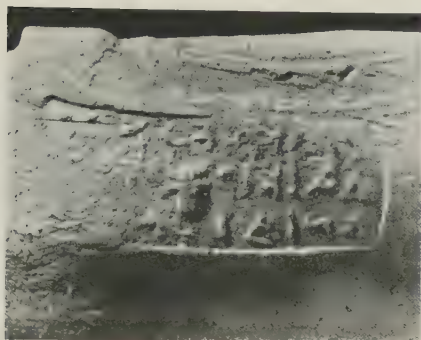
(retr.)

boukranion in centre

SS 246 (Δ—WTR).

SS 220 (Δ—WTR).

Not paralleled elsewhere. The reading has been made by a comparative study of the two seals, which are on a left and a right handle and according to their fabric, firing and finding place, are very likely from the same pot.



116

117

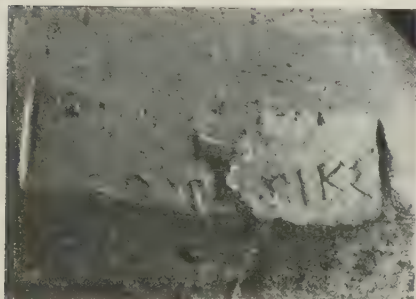
Ε]χθ[ρ] ἀγίων
Σκίρ[ος]

(retr.)

boukranion in centre

SS 218 (A—HD, lowest stratum).

Slip. Like D. 286, 89-90.



117

118

Πολυ χάρον

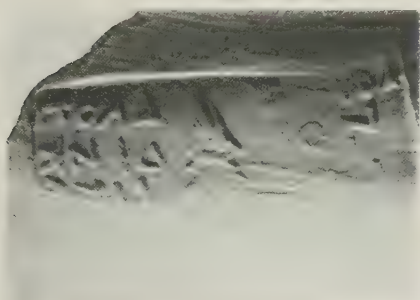
Κρίδ[ος]

Σκίρ[ος] [το]ν?

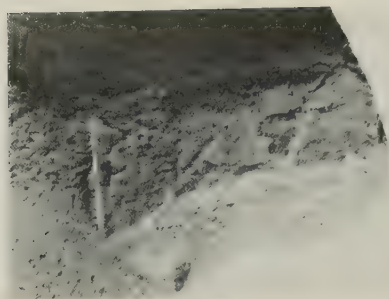
boukranion in centre

SS 64 (A—Cave).

No parallel has been found. Note that the boukranion and a number of the letters are inverted.



118



119

119

[Ἐπὶ Ἀριστοκλεῶς]

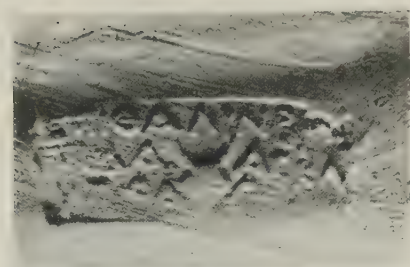
Ἀ[πο]λ λω[ρίον]

Κνίδι ον

boukranion in centre

SS 227 (ΣΤ).

Read by the help of a seal found in a trench dug for a water-main on Pnyx street in November–December 1932. That much better preserved specimen is probably from the same die. The small finds from that trench are to be included in a further publication of the excavations of the Pnyx itself. D. 232, 10 may be from the same die.



120

120

Ἐπὶ Θαλινβρο-

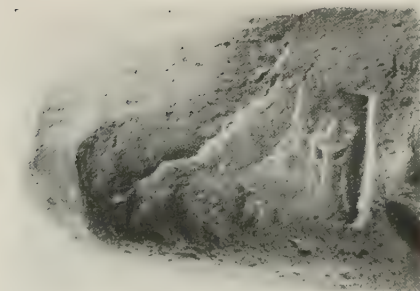
τίδα Ἀσκλη-

πιოდ ὦ[ρο]

boukranion in centre

SS 95 (A).

Compare D. 202, 354, which is similar though evidently not identical.



121 a

121 a

] tripod

SS 360 (ΣΤ').

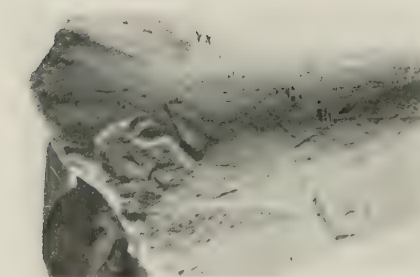
D. gives one seal with this emblem (269, 145):

//////////

ΚΝΙΔΙΟΝ tripod

ΤΙΜΟΞΕΝΟΥ

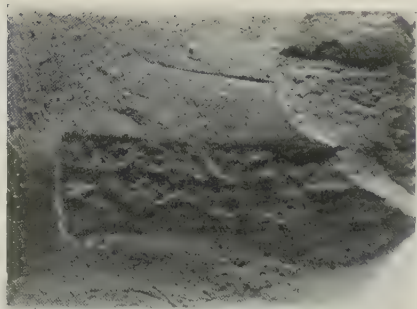
He also gives a seal (202, 353) of the fabricant Timoxenos naming the eponym Thalimbrotidas.



121 b

121 b

A secondary impression on the side of the attachment of handle to neck.



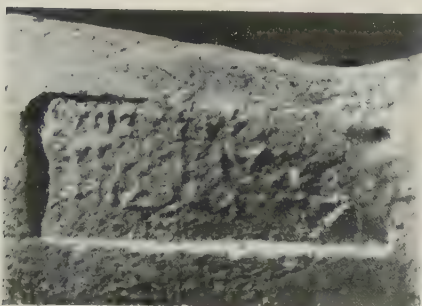
122

122

Δοξαίον double axe
Κνίδιον

SS 66 (A—Cave).

Like D. 236, 32.



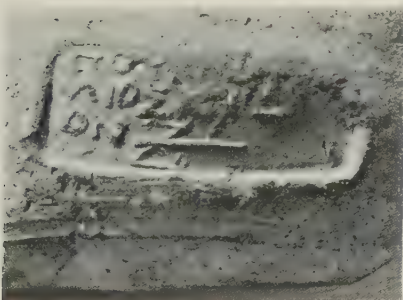
123

123

*Ἐπὶ Ἐνχο[ατίω-
ρος Νικίας*
Κνίδιον double axe

SS 164 (A—above HD).

Read by the help of D. 217, 447 and 195, 316-317.



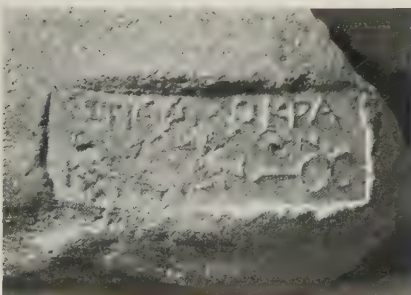
124

124

*[Ἐπὶ Φιλίπ-
που Κλ[επό-
λιος Κνίδι-
ον* double axe

SS 172 (E).

Read by the help of D. 226, 503, combined with 502 a on the same page. This impression looks as if it were made from a cut-down die, but what appears to be an upper return above, left, is the lower bar of the E. Cf. however 147, where the name of an eponym Philip has certainly been cut off.



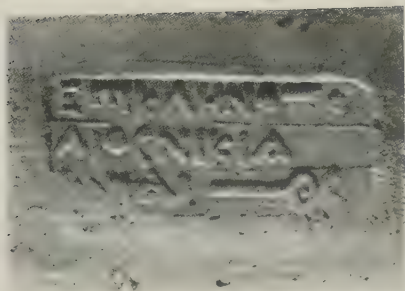
125

125

*Ἐπὶ Ἑρμοκρά-
τους Κλέων*
Κνίδιον caduceus

SS 316 (ΣΤ').

Like D. 189, 287-287 a and P¹. II, 114 (disagreement as to the omega).



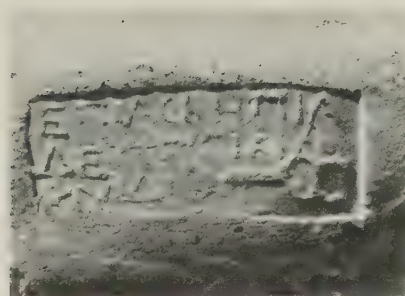
126

126

Ἐπὶ Κληροπό-
λιος Νικία
Κυίδι caduceus

SS 98 (A).

A preserved piece of rim is like that of Pl. II, 6, but less undercut. SS 1837 (trial pit in stoa of Attalos—pre-stoa filling) is from the same die. No identical seal appears in D.



127

127-129

Ἐπὶ Ἀσκητιά-
δενς Νεικία
Κυίδιο(ν) caduceus

SS 276 (E).

SS 320 (Δ). (Not illustrated.)

SS 348 (ΣΤ'). (Not illustrated.)

All three are from the same die. Like D. 169, 163.



130

130

Ἀρισ]τομήδενς
Μ]έρων Κ[υίδι]ον
Εὐκ[ράτης] ἀμφω
Πολυ]χάρμου amphora

SS 329 (Δ). Slip.

Two probably similar seals, though fragmentary, assist in the restoration:

D. 353, 109

ΙΚΛ
ΕΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ
ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΜ

D. 361, 174

/// ΠΙC ///
ΜΑΡΩ ///
ΕΥΚΡ ///
./ ΠΟΛ ///

No device is preserved on either. Read probably X not K in the final word.



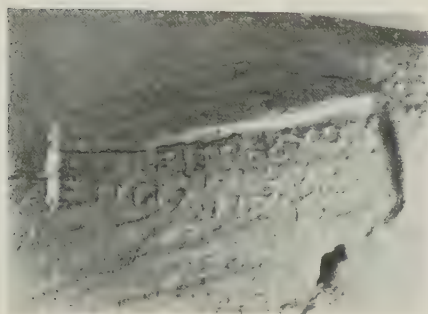
131

131

Ἐπὶ δαμι[οργου]
 Καρνεοδότου
 Διονυσίου
 Κ[νίδιον] vase

SS 333 (Δ—at the bottom of a cistern filled in the late 3rd to early 2nd cent. B.C. With this handle were fragments of ribbed Megarian bowls; in the stratum above were similar fragments, a piece of Pergamene ware, and the Rhodian handle 64).

Cf. D. 203, 390; and 383, 5.



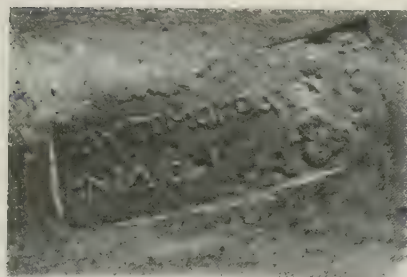
132

132

Ἐπὶ Ἰππάρχου
 Αἰ[τον]σίῳ
 Ἐπιφάνει

SS 263 (A).

Clay much blackened. Like SS 451 (Z—possibly from the BL and found with two boukranion handles). Also like D. 291, 124; and the same seal is on a handle¹ Dr. de Waele was kind enough to show me from the Asklepieion excavations in Corinth.



133

133

Ἐπὶ Ἀσκληπιο[δ]ώ-
 ρου Ἑρμοκράτ[ε]ως
 Κνίδιον ivy leaf

SS 90 (A).

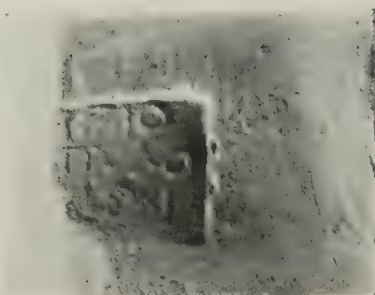
Like D. 170, 170; cf. 172–173. A comparison with D. 195, 320, which reads:

..... ΦΡΑΓΟΡΑ
 ΧΑΡΜΟΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ
 ΚΝΙΔΙΟΝ ivy leaf

suggests that the eponym Asklepidoros is to be dated before 197 B.C. (Euphragoras is clearly later). Compare the Rhodian form Charmokles. SS 1135 (Θ—HF), a handle of the fabricant Dionysios, shows a very similar ivy leaf.

¹ This handle has since slipped into a 4th cent. well and emerged Rhodian (see *A. J. A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 437). For the place of origin, cf. D. 261, 94:

Ἐπὶ Ἰππάρχου
 Κνίδιον
 Διονυσίου



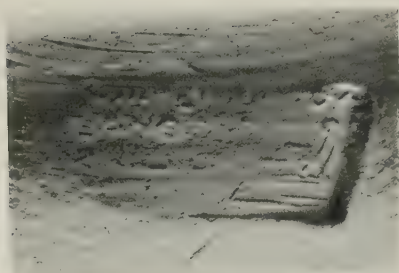
134

134

Ἐπὶ Ἀσκλη]ηπιο-
δώρου Ἰπ]πολό-
χου Κνί]διον

SS 225 (ΣΤ).

No parallel has been found. Dumont gives 13 seals of this fabricant.



135

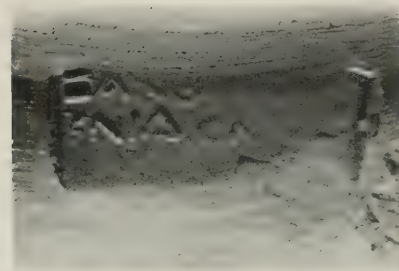
135-136

Ἐπὶ Μενίππου
Ξάνθου half-
Κνίδιον ship

SS 100 (A). See headpiece.

SS 47 (A—HD). (Not illustrated.) Slip.

Both from the same die. Like SS 1576 (Z), and D. 216, 438-439 a. Other seals of Xanthos name the eponyms Amyntas, Eukrates, Kallidamas, Bion. Amyntas appears on a seal in the Z burnt layer. The potter worked before 146: cf. the seal found in Corinth, Powell, p. 36, b, which names the eponym Drakon.



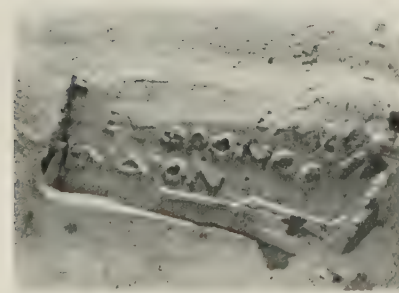
137

137

Ξάνθ[ου
Κνίδιον
half-ship

SS 28 (A—HD).

Like D. 243, 90.



138

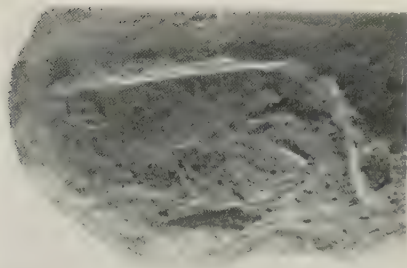
138

Ἐ[πὶ Ἀγαθ]οχλεῦς
Εὐφρονο[ς]
Κνίδιον oar?

SS 125 (A).

A worn bit of rim is preserved, which is flatter on top than Pl. II, 6. Slip.

Like SS 461 (Z—BL). Compare D. 142, 2; 145, 13-15. The short handle of the "oar" suggests that it is the oar-shaped rudder. Cf. the Lindos relief illustrated by Blinkenberg and Kinch, *Exploration Archéologique de Rhodes*, figs. 52-53, and in *C.A.H.*, Vol. of Plates, III, p. 117. Probably before 146: the eponym is restored by Powell, p. 36, d.



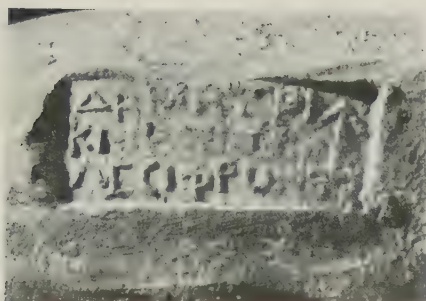
139

139

^ρΕ]πὶ Θηροχορά-
 τε]υς ^ρΗ[ρο]δότο-
 υ Κ]ρίδιον anchor
 (point right)

SS 294 (ΣΤ).

Read by the help of D. 205, 371.



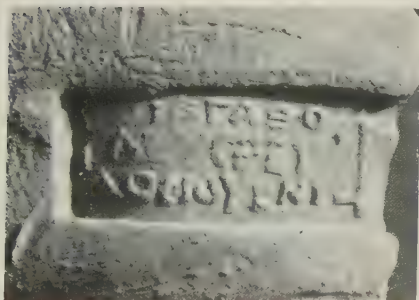
140

140

Δημητρί(ου)
 Κνί(διον) ἐπὶ Τε-
 λεσίφορος
 anchor on right

SS 306 (Δ—possibly WTR).

Like D. 252, 38 save that Dumont does not read the final OC; it is distributed on either side the handle of the anchor.



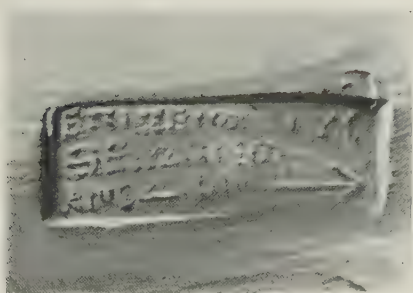
141

141

^ρΕπὶ Ἀγαθο-
 κλεῦς Θεο-
 δοσίον Κνί
 anchor on right

SS 167 (Δ—WTR).

Like D. 144, 8-9.



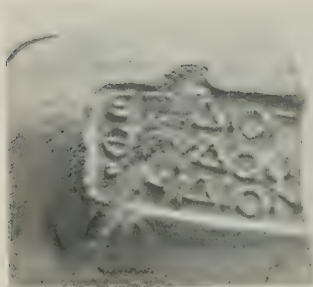
142

142

^ρΕπὶ Ξενοκλεῦς
 Θεοδοσίον
 Κνίδιον anchor

SS 48 (Α—HD).

This combination has not been found elsewhere.



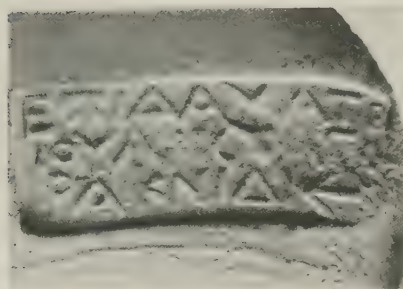
143

143

^ῥΕπὶ Διογ[ένους
Θ[ε]υδοσί[ου]
Κνίδιον [anchor]

SS 211 (ΣΤ).

Like D. 177, 217, from which may be restored a small anchor after the word *Κνίδιον*.



144

144-145

^ῥΕπὶ Δαματρ-
ίου Ἀρισταγό-
ρα Κνίδι(ον) anchor

SS 163 (A—HD). Slip.

SS 188 (A—HD). (Not illustrated.) Slip.

Two impressions from the same die. Probably two handles from the same pot (left and right). The anchor has a loop above the cross piece. Compare D. 173, 189-189a.



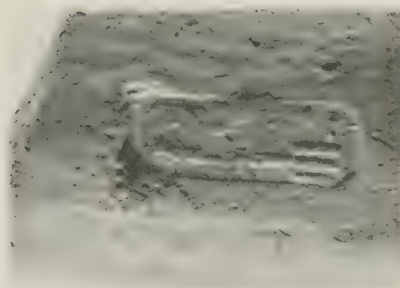
146

146

^ῥΕπὶ Σ[ωσίφορο-
ρος [Εὐφορο-
σύν[ου]
Κνίδιον anchor

SS 132 (Δ').

Like P¹. II, 235-236. Supplement by D. 224, 490 (fragmentary). D. reads Σωσί[ω]ρος a name which does not seem to occur.



147

147

Υεμβονλον
trident

from a cut-down die,
which originally read:

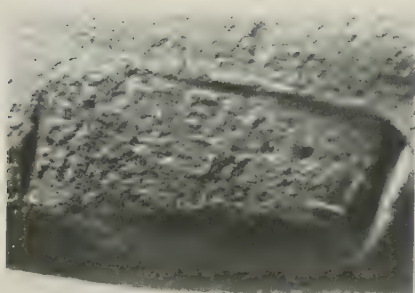
^ῥΕπὶ Φιλίππο-
υ Εδβοῦλον
trident

SS 312 (Δ).

Like SS 869, 1143, 1190 (Θ—HF?). The initial letter which is faint on the present seal, is absolutely clear on SS 869. The shaft of the trident has a round knob near its extremity. Probably all three are from

the same die. The handles all show the level upper part as in Pl. II, 6. Like D. 314, 97 and probably 98.

The original die is recovered from *Catal. Génér. des Antiquités égypt. du Musée du Caire*, Vol. XVIII, *Greek Inscriptions* by J. G. Milne, p. 5, no. 26102. A facsimile is given, and the trident is unmistakable. The cut die has been widely accepted as whole. Cf. Preisigke-Bilabel, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, III, 1, 1926, p. 68, no. 6575: 'Yevβούλου.



148

- 148 ³Επὶ Ξενο[κλ]έ-
ο[υς] Ἀ[θ]α[ν]ο[ν]
οἱ[ον Κν]ι trident right

SS 191 (A—HD, lowest stratum).

Read by the help of D. 219, 456.

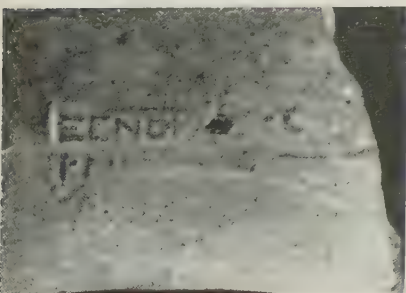


149

- 149 ³Επὶ Τελέ[κ]ε[ον]-
τος Ἀθ[α]ν[ο]ν
ον [Κν]ι δ[ι] (ον)
trident right

SS 288 (ΣΤ— with sherds not later than Megarian bowls).

Reading based on D. 172, 186 and 224, 492.

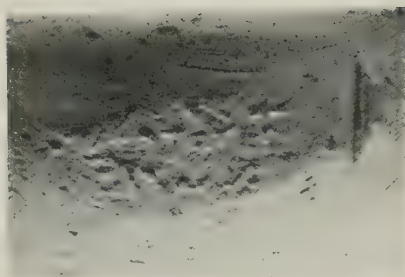


150

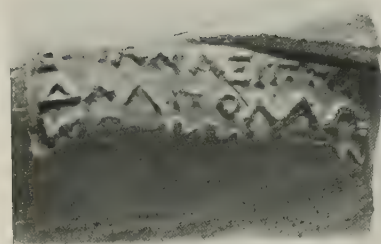
- 150 [³Επὶ Διοκλεῖς]
Ξενοκλεῖς
Κνι δ[ι] (ον)
trident right

SS 299 (Ε).

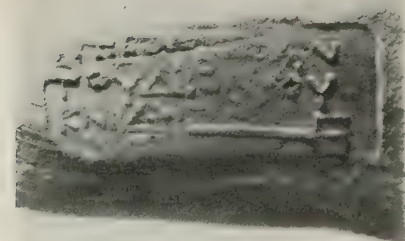
A comparison with SS 391 (Ζ), 462 (Ζ—ΒΛ) and 1775 (Θ—“Hellenistic and a little late Roman”) makes it probable that this also should be restored like D. 178, 222. The trident on these seals is a large rough implement with barbed prongs. Part of the upper prong appears along the lower preserved edge of this seal. D. publishes also seals of a fabricant Xenokles under an eponym Menidamas, but the attribute is not a trident.



151



152



153



154

151

Ξενο-
[Ἐπὶ Διο-]
κ]λεῦς Διο-
δότου Κνίδι-
ον trident right

SS 122 (A). Slip.

It appears necessary to read Diodotos in the place of the fabricant's name on this seal. If so, it is the only definite case of its occurrence as fabricant. The eponym is probably either Diokles or Xenokles; the latter is more usually a fabricant than an eponym.

152

Ἐπὶ Ἀναξίπιδι-
δα Ἀπολλω-
νίου Κνίδιον
[trident]

SS 51 (A—HD).

A large portion of rim is preserved which is like that of Pl. II, 6, but is a little less domed. The handle arches a little.

Like P¹. II, 19; also probably D. 153, 69–70. Anaxippidas is the name of a Rhodian fabricant which occurs on four seals in the Lindos collection. I do not find the name on Knidian seals other than those cited here and three similar examples cited by Pridik.

153

Ἐπὶ Ἐρμοφάν-
του Διονύου
Κνίδι(ον) trident

SS 189 (A—HD lowest stratum).

Doublestruck. Probably like D. 191, 294a.

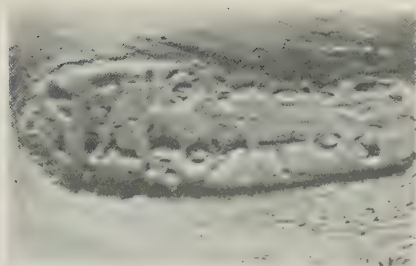
154

Ἐπὶ Ἐρμοφά-
ν]του Ἀμμων-
ν]ίου Κν[ίδιον

(retr. beginning in lower right corner)

SS 80 (A—HD).

No parallel has been found. The name Ammonios occurs once, as a fabricant, in D. (149, 41).



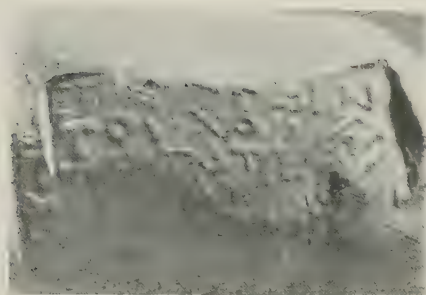
155

155

Ἐπὶ Θεόδωτο(υ)
Δράκοντος

SS 126 (A).

Fabric similar to the above. Like P¹. II, 154. Not found in D. The only other eponym I find named on a seal of Drakon is Xenokles (D. 254, 52 and 283, 67).



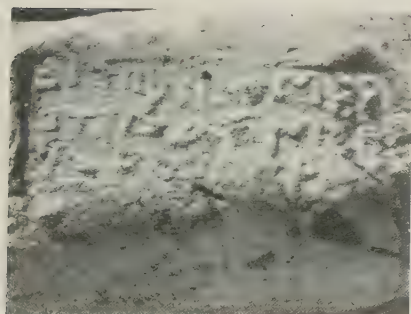
156

156

Ἐπὶ Ἑρμοφάν-
του Χαρ-
μοκράτε- vase
ε[ς Κρίδ]ιον

SS 176 (ΣΤ).

Doublestruck. Like SS 1443 (H') on which the attribute is clear save for the base. See D. 192, 299-300 and 301, 196.



157

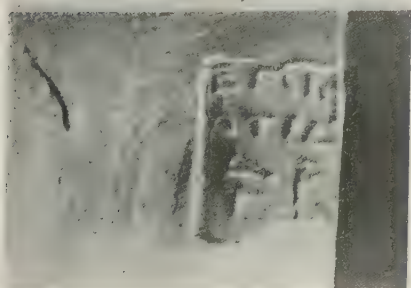
157-158

Ἐπὶ Φιλομβρ-
οτίδα Κρί(διον) Χ-
αρμοκρά-
τ[εως double axe left]

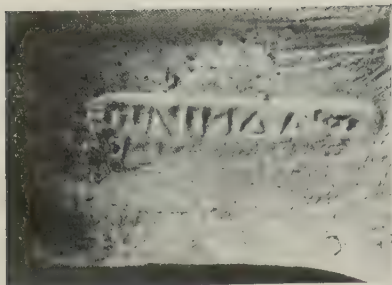
SS 283 (E). Slip.

SS 173 (ΣΤ). (Fragmentary.)

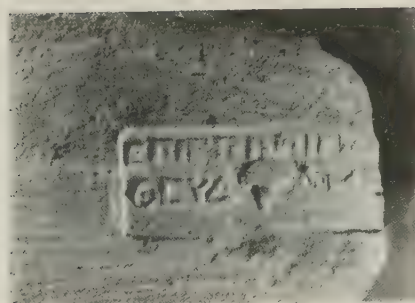
Like SS 610 (Z) on which part of the device is preserved. Like P¹. II, 254 and D. 270, 150.



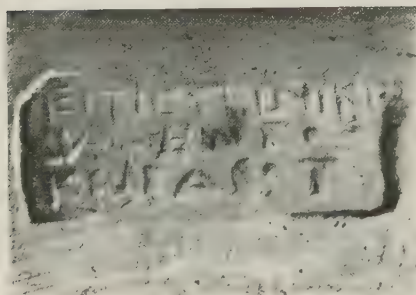
158



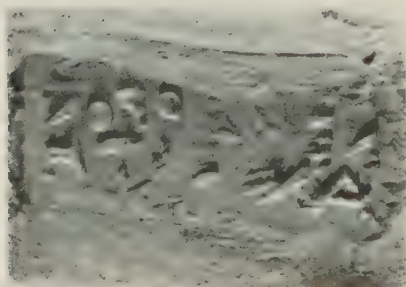
159



160



161



162

159

Ἐπινικίδα
 Ἀθῆν[αί]ον cluster?
 Κν[ιδί]ον

SS 183 (A—HD, lowest stratum).

D. 217–218, 448 and 449, give the reading, the second without attribute, the first reading: “attribut à droite, grappe de raisin.” Dumont does not read the first line as all one word, but a comparison of his 364, 193 (= **160** below) with his 218, 450 suggests that the reading here proposed is the correct one, implying an error on the part of the scribe.

160

Ἐπὶ Ἐπινικίδα
 Θεοδ cluster ἄμιον

SS 265 (Δ).

A bit of rim is preserved which is thinner and flatter topped than Pl. II, 6.

Like D. 364, 193. Cf. also 218, 450:

ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΔΑ
 ΘΕΥΔΑΜΟΥ
 ΚΝΙΔΙΝΟ trident

161

Ἐπὶ Ἐπινικί-
 δα Μέντορ(ος)?
 Κνιδίον

SS 347 (E).

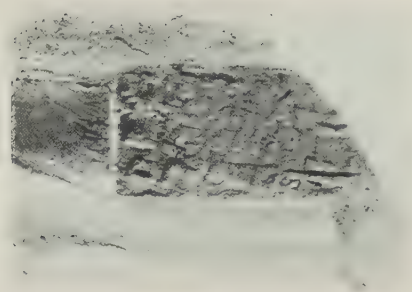
The fabricant's name I have not found on other Knidian seals. Cf. **28**.

162

Ἐ[πὶ Εὐφρά-]
 νορος Μέν-
 ητος Κνίδι-
 ον

SS 181 (A—HD, lowest stratum).

Like D. 199, 340.



163

163

*Ἐπὶ Ἐὐφράν[ορ-
ος Εὐβουλί-
δα Κρί-
διον . . . altar*

SS 259 (A—HD, top).

The reading is based on a combination of texts: D. 198–199, 338 a and 341 a–b. The letters are very faint. Lunate sigma.



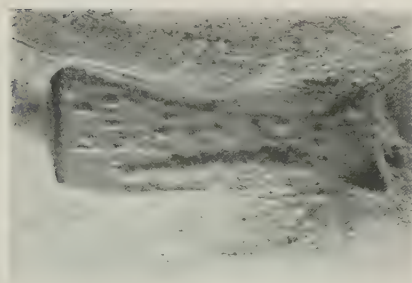
164

164

*Ἐπὶ Καλλιδάμ[α
Ἀναξάν[δορον
Κρί[διον*

SS 322 (E).

The large variety of eponyms recorded with this fabricant does not include Kallidamas. The upper line is faint, but the reading is fairly certain. Probably before 146: the eponym is named on the seal found in Corinth, Powell, p. 37, g (a seal of the potter *Δωρίων*).



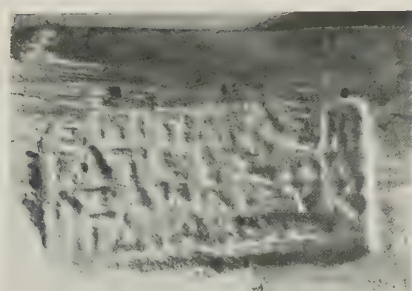
165

165

*Ἐπὶ Μενεχρά-
τεως Ἀναξάν-
δορον Κρίδι(ον)
club*

SS 49 (A—HD). Slip.

Like SS 832 (H') which is probably from the same die. See D. 213, 419–421. The club is a regular monetary device of Cos, and on several series of Coan coins occurs the name Anaxandros. Cf. B. M. C. *Caria*, p. 201, no. 76 (ca. 190–166? B.C.).



166

166–167

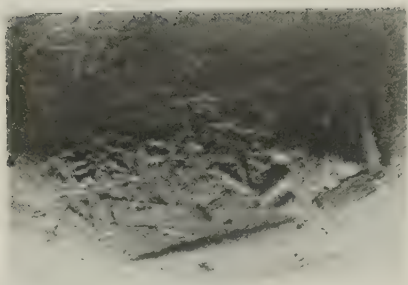
*Ἐπὶ Τιμασία-
ράτεις Ἀν-
αξάνδορον Κ-
ρίδια attribute*

SS 303 (ΣΤ').

SS 107 (A). (Not illustrated.)

Like SS 825 (Z), 1567 (Z), 1795 (A) and 1832 (I—pit with objects of the 3rd cent. A.D.). Compare

D. 326, 2-4; also 154, 73; and 225-223, 497-500. The reading of all these is probably the same. But when an attribute is mentioned by Dumont it is called a "demi-vaisseau." It suggests here rather a simplified club. On the other Agora seals it is not well preserved.



168

168

[Ἐπὶ Εὐφραγῶ-]

[ϙα]

Μ]ενεστράτου

Κ]νίδιον cluster?

SS 37 (E).

Possibly from the same die as SS 629 (Z—Hellenistic level) from which the reading is taken. Several different attributes are named for Menestratos. D. does not speak of a cluster on any of his seals. A closely related emblem is preserved on two fragmentary seals of the 1931-1932 finds (SS 124 and 335) which are not included in this catalogue. (See p. 275.)



169

169

. ϙ . . // // // ϙα

Φιλτα

. . ων [Κ]ν ?

(retr.)

SS 155 (ΣΤ).

Slip. Flaw in upper part of stamp. In the absence of a parallel, no certain reading can be given. Philtatos is a rare occurrence as a fabricant. D. 258, 72 (and 257, 66—supplementary) read

Ἐπὶ Εὐφραγῶρα

Κνίδι double

φιλιάιον axe

SS 1447 (H'—late Roman context) probably also read thus. Compare also D. 197, 332. D. 138, 1 gives the only other eponym, and the abbreviated form of the fabricant's name:

Ἐπὶ δαμιοργῶ[ν]

Κλεμβρότου Φιλ-

τά(του) Κνίδιον



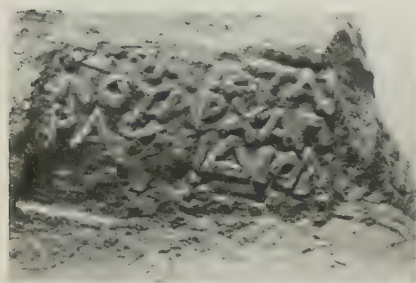
170

170

*Ἐπὶ Εὐ[φρα]γό-
ρα Ἀρχαγ[ό]ρα
Κνίδιον*

SS 24 (E).

Like SS 1063 (Z—late classical fill). Like
D. 197, 327.



171

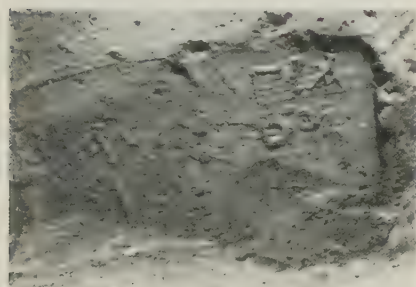
171

*Ἐπὶ Ἀρισταί-
ρον Ἀρχαγό-
ρα Κνίδιον*

herm, head right

SS 379 (Δ). Slip.

Like D. 161, 118-121, and 162, 123.



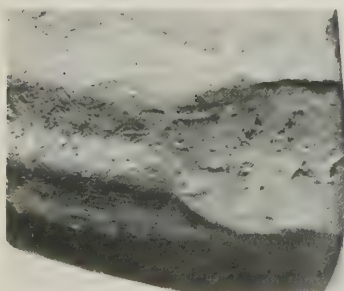
172

172

*Ἐπὶ Ἀγία
Ἀρχ[α]γόρα
Κν[ί]δ[ι]ον*

SS 21 (E). Slip.

Like SS 1068 (Z—late classical level) and 1631
(Z—late Hellenistic context). Like D. 328, 1 and 3.



173

173

*Ἐπὶ Ἀγί[α] Ἀρ-
χ]αγόρα Κ[νί]δ[ι]ον*

SS 153 (ΣΤ—probably late Hellenistic).

No exact parallel has been found.



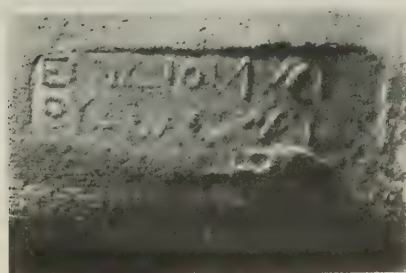
174

174

Ἐπὶ Πολί-
τα Ἀρχα-
γόρα Κνί-
διον

SS 344 (Δ). Slip.

Like SS 1195 (Θ—3rd cent. A.D. context), 1487 (I—late Roman and Byzantine pottery), 1736 (H); closely related are SS 1057 (Z—late Hellenistic context) and 1740 (H'—late Roman context). Like D. 221, 472–473; 167, 156–157.



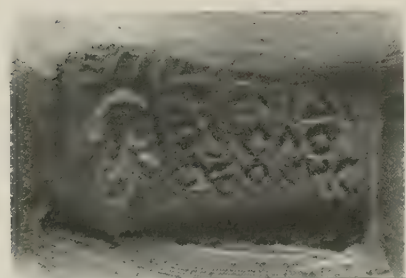
175

175

Ἐπὶ Διονυσί-
ον
Πιολεμαί-
[ον Κνί(διον)] amphora

SS 229 (ΣΤ).

Like SS 834 (Θ—with other possibly 1st cent. B.C. handles). Compare D. 181, 238–240. The amphora has a wide spreading foot.



176

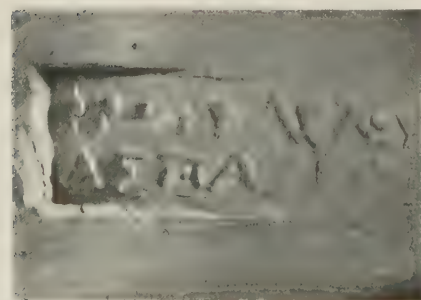
176

Ἐπὶ Διο[νυσί-
ον Κνίδι-
cluster on Ὀλο-
γέρης

SS 81 (Α).

Compare D. 252, 41. No other parallel has been found. Holophernes occurs with the eponyms Agias (D. 329, 9; also 386, 7?) and Aristodemos? (P¹. II, 42). SS 1764 (H) is a fragmentary circular seal of his with a prow in the centre.

Nos. 177–179. Seals with the title phourarch (see p. 241).



177

177

Φουράρχον
Ἀσπασίον

SS 309 (Α—HD, bottom).

A portion is preserved of the rather thin rolled rim. Small dots point off the lower line, of which the clearest is visible between the vertical strokes of the Η. The fabric as well as the seal is very similar to that of 162. D. 386, 3 gives the right end of what is probably the same seal. Our seal supplies the

name needed for the circular seals D. 135-136, 56 and 57, which read spirally inward (retrograde):

[Ἐπὶ Φιλ]τάτου Κυ φρουράρχου Ἄσ ον.



178

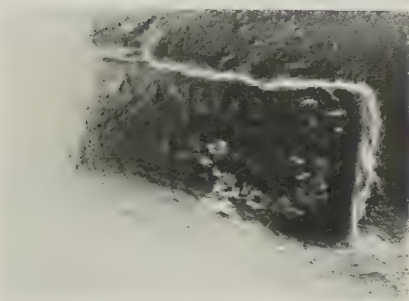
178

Φρουράρχου

Φιλ[ό]φρονος

SS 184 (A—HD, lowest stratum).

Portions are preserved of the rim which is closer to Pl. II, 6 than is that of the preceding number. Slip, extensively peeled. Like D. 132-133, 40-43; and 137, 63-64.



179

179

Ἐπὶ Σωκρά(τεως)

Φρουράρχο[υ]

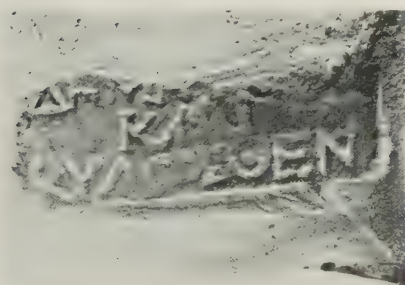
Φιλοκ[ρά]τεως

(retr.)

SS 313 (E).

Level, rather twisted upper part of handle. Clay a fairly even red all through. Same die as SS 1442 (H'—late Roman context). Probably like D. 367, 216.

Nos. 180-190. Seals of Firms or of Pairs of Officials (see p. 241).



180

180

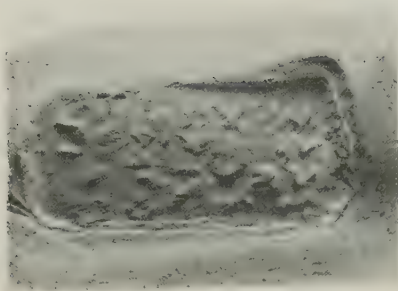
Δημ[ι]τ[ρί]ου

καὶ

Κυδοσθέ[ν]ος

SS 354 (ΣΤ'). Slip.

A common combination. Cf. D. 175, 200; 293, 140-142. For a seal with identical arrangement, see Nilsson, *op. cit.* p. 528, 858.



181

181-183

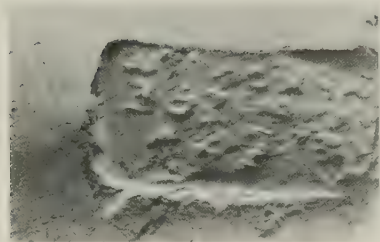
Ἀρχόντω-
ν Κυδοσθέ-
ρευς Δά-
ματος
(retr.)

SS 318 (Δ).

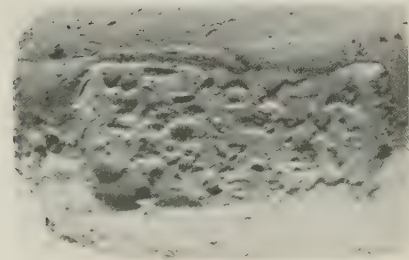
SS 143 (ΣΤ).

SS 234 (Α—HD).

Like SS 386 (H) and 1794 (A). From 318 and 1794 the reading of the last line is fairly certain. It seems probable however that the name is meant for that usually coupled with Kydosthenes: Demetrios. Other than this series, I know of no seals with the title archon. For that reason all three of these are illustrated.



182



183

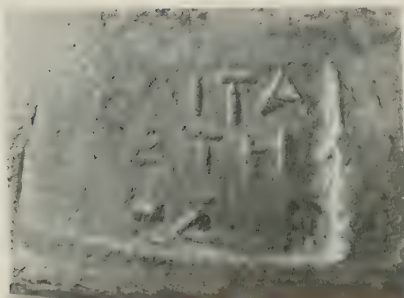
184

Πολίτα
Κράτη-
τος

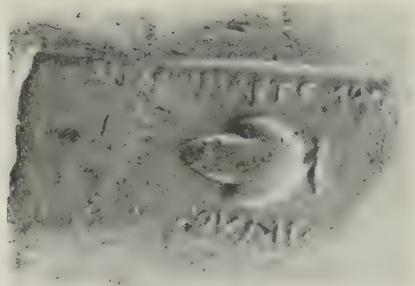
SS 325 (ΣΤ').

No definite parallel has been found. But compare D. 298, 175 and 333, 15, which are similar to SS 1776 (Θ):

Ἀνδρῶν Πολει-
τα Κράτητος



184



185

185

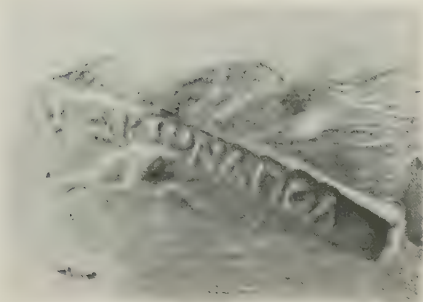
Ἀνδρῶν Ἀρτέμιων

cluster

Ἀριστοκλῆς

SS 302 (E).

D. 333, 16 may be the same, incomplete. For the combination of names, cf. particularly SS 1489 (see Fig. 5, 8 and discussion), and also D. 280, 46-52 and 340, 9.



186

186

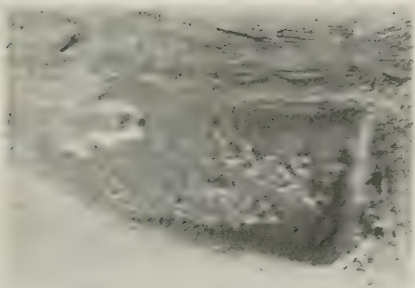
Ἀνδρῶν Ἀπολ-

λ] cluster δώ[ρου

[Διόγνητος] ?

SS 314 (E).

Like SS 635 (Z). For the combination see D. 334, 25, a circular seal.



187

187

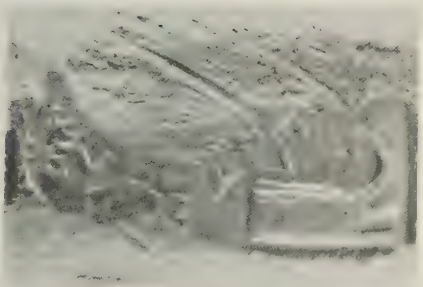
[Ἀνδρῶν?]

Ἀρισ] cluster τόβουλος

Με]λάντας

SS 307 (Δ—Late Roman fill).

Compare D. 330, 3 (somewhat supplementary). For the combination, see also 190.



188

188

[Ἐπὶ Κνιδίου Ἐβ-]

φ[ραντί]δα

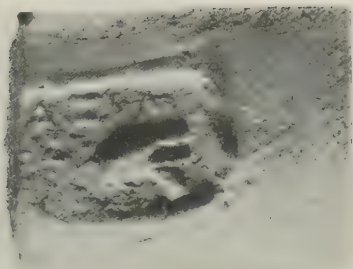
Καρνε]άδας

Ἐβου-

λος prow

SS 224 (Δ—WTR).

Like D. 287, 97 and 359, 159 which are also fragmentary. Compare D. 354, 122. For the suggested form Κνιδίου compare 161; it is a possible way of accounting for certain of D.'s fragmentary readings. Two of these names appear with Ἀνδρῶν on circular seals; see on 211-212. The attribute, type of seal and fabric of handle should be compared with SS 830 of the fabricant Agathinos (H'—not a closed deposit but with Athenian coins of the early 1st cent. B.C.).



189

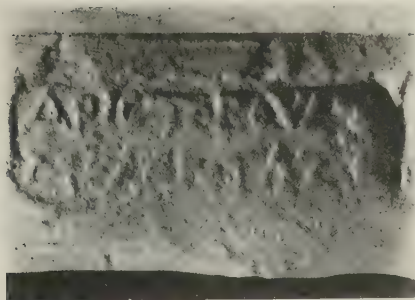
189

]ας καὶ?

]ης prow?

SS 346 (E).

The emblem somewhat resembles the preceding (inverted). Compare a coin of Smyrna, of the period Trajan-Commodus, B. M. C. *Ionia*, pl. XXVII, 8. The καὶ if correctly read indicates a "firm" seal.



190

190

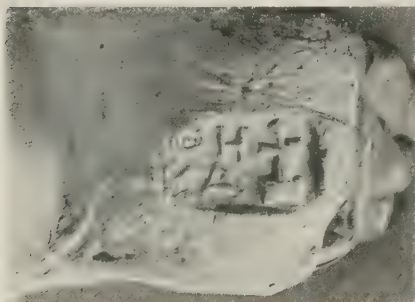
Ἀριστόβουλος

Μελάντας herm
upright

SS 278 (A).

From the same die as SS 1814 (H'—Hellenistic?). No certain parallel is found in D., but 277, 37 is probably one. Certain South Russian seals read Aristoboulos across the top and have a herm to the right. See Herm. 85, 484-486 and 128, 9. Melantas does not occur in the Hermitage collection. It appears elsewhere on seals with the word *Κνίδιον*; cf. D. 257, 70.

Nos. 191-194. Handles on which Eponym and Fabricant appear on separate seals (see p. 241).



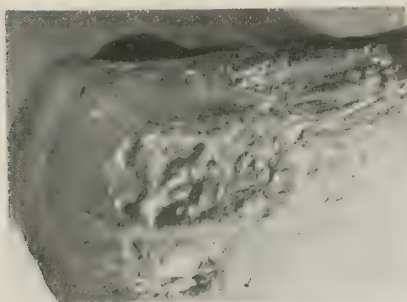
191

191

Ἀθη- herm
όρα

SS 239 (E).

A small handle proportionally broad with short slightly arched upper part. Rather crumbly red clay with bits. Like SS 824 (Z) and 1702 (H') and also probably like D. 302, 7; 303, 12 and 14; and P¹, II, 11 (see comment).



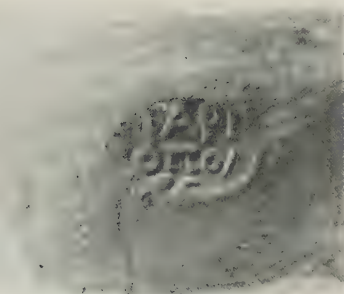
192

192

vine Ἀθη-
leaf? όρα
(point up)

SS 261 (E).

Fabric as in preceding. More of lower part preserved; it is attached to the arched upper part at a rough angle. Probably like D. 303, 10-11, 15; and 304, 19; also P¹, II, 9.



193

193

^εΕ]πὶ Ἀγγε[σ-
 τοπόλ-
 !ος

SS 16 (E).

Similar in fabric to preceding. Slip? Like SS 1499 (H). Cf. D. 308, 46-47. The name is fairly common on Rhodian seals. The handle is probably Knidian; in fabric it closely resembles the following one.



194

194

^εΕπὶ Ε[ὐ-]
 βούλ[ov K-]
 ρίδιο[r]

SS 129 (Δ).

This handle closely resembles the preceding in fabric and type of seal. Euboulos is rare as an eponym's name. I find it only on seals similar to this (D. 314, 99 and 101).

There is a series of similar seals, some naming the eponym Philosthenes, others Apollonios. Atheonas? (possibly a firm, Ἀθην-, Ὀνα-) appears to be the only fabricant. SS 1883, a definitely Knidian handle, has the same angle of upper with lower part as 192.

ODD STAMPS



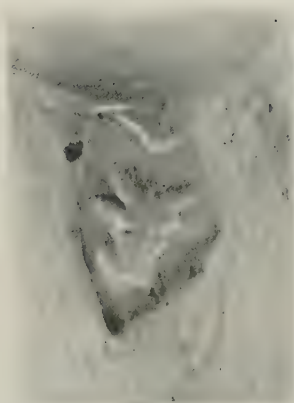
195

195

^εΕπὶ Μεμεν[οῦ] Κυρίδιον Σ
 star

SS 212 (ΣΤ).

Compare D. 214, 426 and 215, 437. They conflict over the doubtful upper left corner. In all three cases we probably have the remnant of a fabricant's name. The eponym Euphranor is named on a number of leaf-shaped seals, such as SS 465 (Z), 833 (Θ) and probably the series D. 258-260, 77-82.



196

196

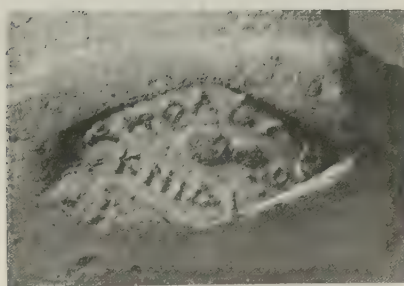
SS 147 (A).

D. gives one leaf- or heart-shaped seal with boukranion: 366, 206. Around the device he reads:

^Ἐπὶ Στρατοκλ[εῦς Κ]νίδι(ον) | [^Ἀν]δρίων

Our example is considerably smaller and letter traces are discernible at its edges. It seems probable that its die was cut down from one similar to that which made D.'s seal.

The year of Stratokles probably falls considerably later than the years of Menekrates and of Euphranor.



197

197

^Ἀπολλων|ίου Κνίδι(ον)

attribute

SS 277 (E).

Like SS 1433 and 1860 (H and I—both rather late Roman context) which are much worn. Like D. 232, 6.

CIRCULAR STAMPS



198

198

Κνδ-

οκλ[εῦς]

(retr.)

SS 131 (A—BHW).

Early Knidian fabric. The reading is based on a comparison with SS 872 and 1314 (both Θ—HF, fairly pure). They are from the same die which is a slight variant from that of this impression. The sigma is lunate. The only doubtful letter is the H which is definitely more like a N in 1314. Like D. Pl. XIV, 54. The name is rare but occurs as eponym in P¹. II, 194, with fabricant Protogenes. The only reference in Pape is to a handle reading:

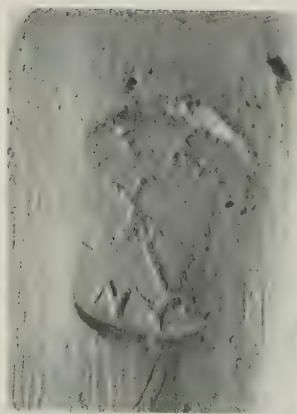
^Ἐπὶ Κνδοκλεῦς

^Ἀσκληπιάδα

Κνίδιον

(very slightly enlarged)

(see Vischer, *Kleine Schriften*, II, p. 80; found in Athens). It is known otherwise as a magistrate's name on a coin of Knidos dated 300-190 B.C.; see B. M. C. *Caria*, p. 91, no. 51.



199

199 $[^{\epsilon} \text{E} \pi \iota \text{ } ^{\epsilon} \text{H} \rho \sigma] \varphi \acute{\alpha} \nu [\tau \sigma \nu] \text{ } \mathcal{A} \acute{\epsilon} (\sigma \tau \sigma \varsigma) \text{ } K \nu [\iota \text{ } \text{ } ?$
 Φ

SS 282 (A—cistern deposit of the 2nd cent. B.C.).

The entire handle is preserved with both attachments, but no rim remains. Early Knidian fabric.

No parallel has been found which is close enough to make certain a reading. SS 1671 (Θ) is however suggestive:

Ἐπὶ Ἡροφάν-
του] Λέον-
τος] Αὔδου
Κνίδιον

From this seal has been made the restoration here offered. A seal similar in aspect is SS 556 (Θ—HF); around the same monogram it reads retrograde:

Ἐπὶ Ἀριστίωνος

An abbreviation $\mathcal{A}\epsilon(\$ occurs on SS 383 (Z) which is a circular seal with horizontal inscription.



200

200 Ἐπὶ Ζήνο[δότης] Ἡφαιστί[ωνος] Κν ? (retr.)
six-petalled rosette

SS 290 (E).

Compare P¹, II, 144:

Ἡφα[ιστ]ί[ωρο]ς Κνίδι[ον]
retr. round a six-pointed star

For the central device, ordinarily Rhodian rather than Knidian, see also D. Pl. XI, no. 14, with fragmentary inscription $\omega\text{COYKNID}$. The present handle appears to be Knidian. The spacing of the letters implies a gap after $\text{H}\Phi\text{A}\text{I}\text{C}\text{T}\text{I}\omega[\text{NOC}]$ which would easily accommodate at least an abbreviation of KNIDION . The two names are properly those of Rhodian fabricants. Zenodotos may possibly also

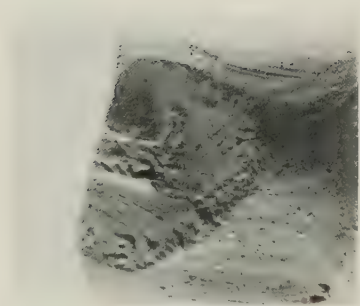
appear as an eponym (cf. 66 above). Apparently no Knidian name begins with **Z**. Hephaistion is not found on explicitly Knidian seals except the example quoted above, but Pridik (1896) and D. include under Knidian a pair each of rectangular seals, all four of which are probably to be restored:

Ἐπὶ Ἐπιχάρ-
μων Ἡφαί-
στίων

Cf. P¹. II, 111–112; D. 287, 100–101. P. also calls Knidian a handle with a seal (no. 264) reading:

Ἡ[α]ίστιων
Ἐπὶ Παν(σ)αν(ί)α
ουλοω ?

This seal suggests a period of Rhodian control. One Knidian seal with the name of the eponym Epicharmos has the rose as device (P¹. II, 110). Epicharmos may perhaps be dated in the first half of the 2nd cent. by two seals in D. and one from the Agora (SS 1496) of the fabricant Ariston, one of whose seals was found beneath the Stoa of Attalos (SS 1861—see p. 300, Fig. 5, 7, with discussion). The period of Rhodian hegemony in Knidos is given in Head, *H.N.*, p. 616, as 190 B.C., the date of the defeat of Antiochos, to 167 B.C. when Rhodes lost her mainland possessions.



201

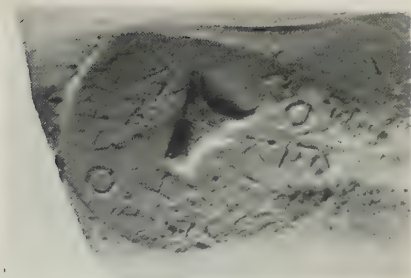
201 ΜΕΝ[?] ἐπιτρά[το]υ ?
forepart of ship

SS 326 (Δ—well at 14/1ΣΤ).

For circular seals with forepart of vessel, compare SS 1764 of the fabricant Holophernes. None found in D., unless possibly 320, 145–146 which read

ΜΕΝΕΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ
Prow

The device is one which appears on coins of Knidos of the period 300–190 B.C. Cf. B. M. C. *Caria*, Pl. XV, 14–17. If Menestratos is to be read here, it must be assumed that the gap was somehow filled by the device, though this would be unusual.

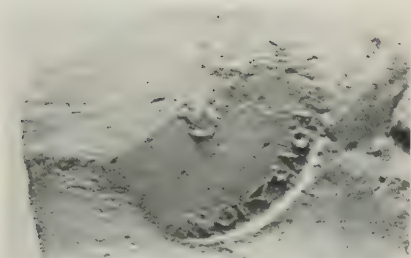


202

202 Ἐπ[ὶ Ἀ]μμοκράτειος . ἀνο-?
κράτειος
small boukranion

SS 92 (A).

Thick slip. No parallel has been found to help with the reading of this seal.



203

203 [Ἐπὶ Διοκ]λέους Διον[σίου Κνίδιον]
small boukranion?

SS 146 (E).

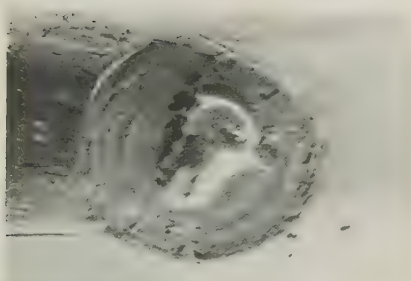
Slip. What is preserved in the middle is probably the muzzle of a small boukranion (compare that of **202**). A boukranion nearly as small, and similar lettering, are preserved on SS 648 (Z—Hellenistic filling), which reads, retrograde:

Ἐπὶ Διονυσίου[
boukranion

For the present reading compare D. 179, 229, a rectangular seal reading:

Ἐπὶ[?] Διοκλεῦς
Διονυσίου

Part at least of the word ΚΝΙΔΙΟΝ would be needed to fill out the space on our example.

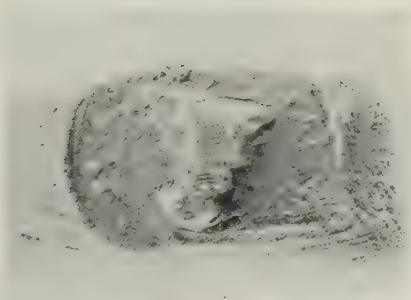


204

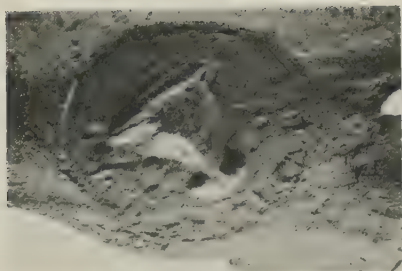
204-206 Δαμοκράτειος τοῦ Ἀριστοκλεῦς
boukranion

SS 185 (A—HD, lowest stratum).

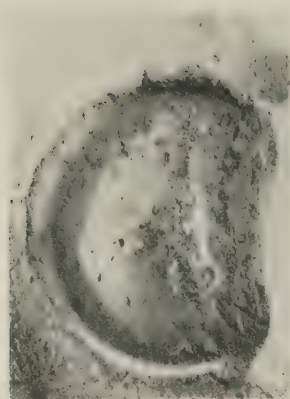
SS 187 (A—HD, lowest stratum). Slip.



205



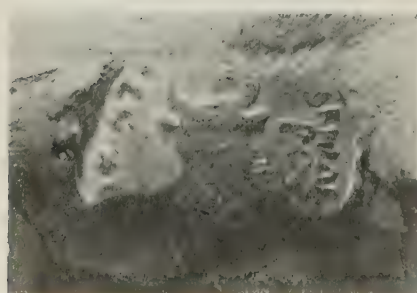
206



207



208



209

SS 40 (E). Slip.

No two of these are from the same die. They are like 7 seals of the 1933 collection, including one from Z—BL. Also like D. 281, 58.

207

SS 331 (ΣΤ').

It has not been possible to read the letters but the boukranion appears to be from the same die as SS 456 (Z—BL) and 616 (Z—stratum above BL).

208 Ἐπὶ Διονυσίου [.¹⁵. Κνίδι]
boukranion

SS 151 (ΣΤ).

Restored from SS 804 (Z—Hellenistic context) which is from the same die but is also fragmentary. SS 648 (Z—Hellenistic context) is another fragmentary seal giving the eponym Dionysios round a boukranion.

209 Ἐπὶ Τιμασίου[εὐς Νικάν]ο- Κνίδι[α
boukranion -ρος

SS 279 (A).

Restored from SS 928 (Z—late Hellenistic deposit with a consistent group of handles apparently of the 1st cent. B.C.). D. gives no circular seal with this eponym. Cf. however 364, 190: NIKANO[on a circular seal with boukranion.



210

- 210** boukranion with neck to right
(letters with base outwards)

SS 262 (E).

Portion of rim preserved; a simple rather small roll slightly flattened on top. Slip. Seals with this type of boukranion, and the letters base-outwards, have been found with 1st cent. B.C. associations in the 1933 collection, one being SS 929, found with SS 928, the mate of the handle just discussed.



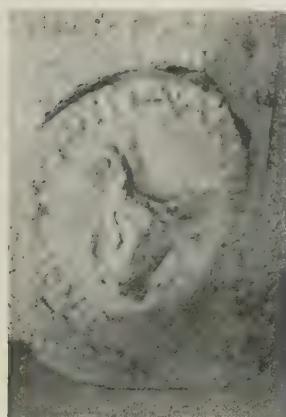
211

- 211-212** *Εὐβουλος Ἀνδρῶν Καρνεῖ[άδα]ς*
filleted boukranion

SS 236 (Δ).

SS 237 (Δ). Slip noticeable on top. Not illustrated.

Like SS 820 (Z—Roman level), and D. 335, 29.

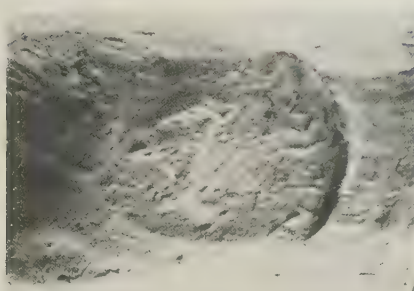


213

- 213** *Ἐπὶ Πι]ρίνου Διοσκούριδα Κνίδιον*
filleted boukranion

SS 351 (ΣΤ').

Restored from SS 1175 (H'—sherds of the 1st cent. A.D.) which is from the same die. D. 184, 254-255 are also probably the same.

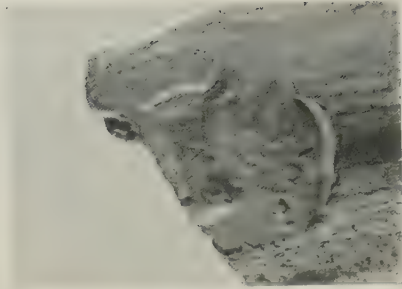


214

- 214** *[Ἐπὶ Ἀγ]ία Διοσκού[ριδα Κνίδιον] ?*
boukranion

SS 355 (ΣΤ').

Most of the handle is preserved. It shows a resemblance to the profile of Pl. II, 7. The combination of names occurs on SS 455 (Z—BL; a neck with two handles; simple rolled rim, rather small) and SS 1489 (Z), for which see Fig. 5, 8, with discussion.

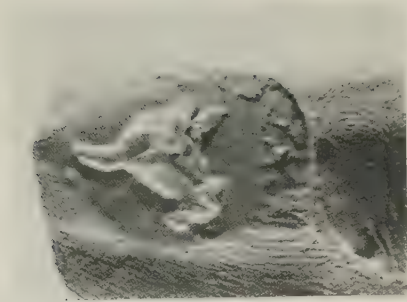


215

Three fragmentary seals with distinctive boukrania (not dated).

215

SS 71 (E).



216

216

boukranion

¹Επὶ οκλεῦς

SS 170 (Δ). Slip.



217

217

¹Επὶ Ἀνδρ[οκλεῦς?

boukranion

SS 257 (ΣΤ).

Cf. D. 338, 6 a:

]ΑΝΔΡΟΚΛΕΥΣ[

boukranion



218

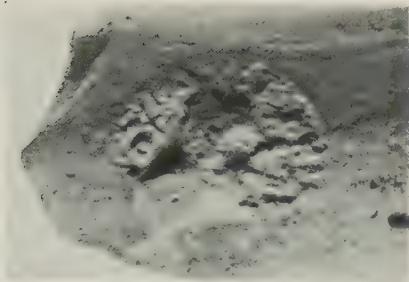
218-218 bis ¹Επὶ Α[...ca. 10?...] Κνίδιον

forepart of lion

SS 366 (ΣΤ'—cistern deposit, Hellenistic or later).

Portion of rolled rim preserved. Apparently from the same die as SS 1835 (I—consistent 3rd cent. A.D. filling).

SS 142 (ΣΤ) is a second example, on which the letters are not preserved.



219

219 Ἐπὶ Ἀριστομένηδ[εως Κνίδιον Κύπερ-]
forepart of lion ov

SS 339 (ΣΤ').

Compare D. 248, 13 (no indication of double line of inscription). The word *Κύπερον*, which occurs on a number of seals with this device, is interesting because the device is closer to the Cypriote lion coin type (cf. B. M. C. *Cyprus*, Pl. XVIII, of "Amathus?") than to the Knidian, which shows only the head and forepaw; cf. B. M. C. *Caria*, Pl. XIV–XVI. Seals like this suggest that like other Greek customs, that of stamping handles suffered a lingering decay in Cyprus.

Among the 1931–1932 handles there are some 33 more of Knidian type which received SS numbers but have not found place in this catalogue because of their fragmentary or worn condition. These include the two mentioned with clusters like that on **168** (SS 124 and 335); a much worn example (SS 295), without context, reading probably *Θράσων* retrograde; another much worn seal without context which probably names the eponym *Drakon* (SS 14); seven on which little or nothing can be made out but a worn boukranion (SS 83, 109, 174, 177, 213, 228, 364—all without context); one (SS 149) on which little or nothing can be read of the small narrow impression, but which is important because it was found in the "bronze head well" in A, and shows in its profile of rim and descending handle a link between **233** (Knidian? see Fig. 1, 6) and SS 1586, Pl. II, 6. The rest (SS 36, 39, 42, 44, 94, 96, 104, 152, 171, 175, 222, 226, 232, 248, 286, 301, 323, 336, 341, 345, 359, 365) are unrestored rectangular seals, save for 323, of which a photograph is here given:



SS 323

D. PARIAN



220

220

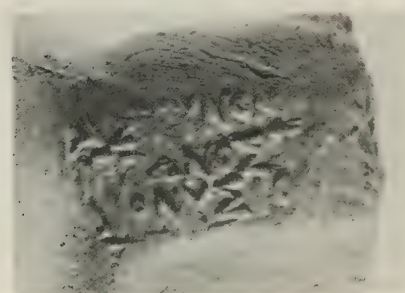
Παρίων

SS 26 (A). For the fabric, see p. 205.

See Pl. II, 8. Cf. D. Pl. X, 14 (text p. 387) and Schuchhardt 493, 1275. The five 1933 seals reading Παρίων or an abbreviation thereof were nearly all found in 3rd cent. context. The letter-forms on this example, however, suggest a later date.

E. SOUTH RUSSIAN

Most of the special literature on this subject, including both excavation reports and discussions, is in Russian periodicals. But an excellent analysis is given by Pridik (*Die Astynomennamen auf Amphoren- und Ziegelstempeln aus Südrussland*, in the *Berlin Sitzungsberichte*, 1928, pp. 342–380) of more than 6800 astynome stamps which are to appear in Vol. III of *Inscr. orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini* (cf. p. 217). Full lists and indices are included, and observations which show the importance of this part of the field to an understanding of the whole.



221

221

Ἀστυνόμον

Ἰππῶνος τοῦ

Διονυσίου

[]

branch

SS 97 (A—HD). For the fabric, see p. 205.

Like Herm. Pl. XI, 15, and text p. 72, 211–214. The fabricant's name is not restored. Pridik, *Die Astynomennamen*, p. 351, no. 120, names with the astynome Ἰππῶν δ Διονυσίου the fabricants Ἀγησίλας, Ἀθυστήριος, Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἀρτέμων, Διονύσιος, Εὐκλῆς, Καλλισθένης, Κτήσων, Πάπης, Φιλήμων, the device being regularly the "Lorbeerzweig" as here. Seals naming astynomes are rarely found outside South Russia (see Pridik's comment, Herm. p. 61). No certain example was found in the Agora in 1933. Cf. [Demosthenes], XXXV, 35: "... ἐνθυμεῖσθε πρὸς ἑμᾶς ἀντιὸς εἰ τινας πόποι ἴστε ἢ ἡκούσατε οἶνον Ἀθήνας ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου κατ' ἐμπορίαν εἰσάγοντας ..."

F. UNCERTAIN PROVENIENCE

There is no obvious arrangement for so miscellaneous a group of stamps. My plan has been to make convenient divisions which may be of assistance in the recognition of parallels. These divisions are arranged as follows:

- 222-236: Handles approximating Knidian in type.
 222-232: With rectangular seals.
 233-236: With circular seals.
 237-238: Double handles.
 239-254: Seals of miscellaneous fabricants of various unknown origins.
 244-247: Handles of micaceous buff clay.
 248-253: Small handles of red clay with light slip.
 255-265: Abbreviations in large letters.
 266-272: Monograms.
 273-283: Devices.
 284: Stamp on the handle of a heavy-rimmed jar fragment.
 285-288: Stamped rims (both Greek and Latin inscriptions).
 289-290: Late Roman jar tips.

Dates are suggested under individual numbers. Groups are arranged chronologically where possible. Notes on the fabric are given when this is not implied by the group into which the handle falls, or where it shows a variation.

Handles approximating Knidian in type with rectangular seals.



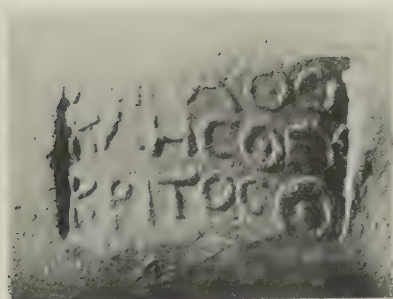
222

222

Ἀπολλώνιος
Πισίδας

SS 77 (A—HD).

A flaw in the die is noticeable in the lower left corner of the seal. Nearly square sigma: Σ . The numerous handles on which these two words appear are regularly of Knidian type; when a portion of rim is preserved, it is the early Knidian type (Pl. II, 6). The second word is perhaps an ethnic; I do not find it in other connections. Seven seals from Θ indicate by their context a date in the latter part of the 3rd cent. There is a remarkable lack of uniformity in the dies. With the same content are D. 275, 22 and 23; 276, 25-26. They must be dated before 146 B.C. because an example was found at Carthage (*CIL* VIII, Sup. III, p. 2191, no. 27). Cf. p. 215.



223



224

223

Ἀγαθο-
 ζλῆς θεύ-
 κριτος ☉

SS 208 (ΣΤ—the context though not definite would favor a date in the early 3rd cent B.C. Found with the Thasian seal 15, possibly within the early 3rd cent. stratum in which was found 6).

Like D. 272, 3; 289, 109. These two seals are the only reference I find to the second of the two names. For the emblem cf. 1. It appears on coins of Delphi dated before 421 B.C. See B. M. C. *Central Greece*, Pl. IV, 4; description, p. 24; note on significance, p. xxxiii: "This is symbolical of the *ομφαλὸς γῆς*, the umbilicus, or middle part of the circle of the earth."

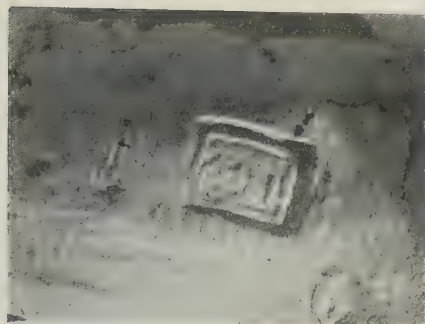
224-225

SS 353 (ΣΤ').

SS 356 (ΣΤ'). Not illustrated.

From the same die. The second letter on the top line is probably a M. The third letter of the second line has a vertical stroke to the left but seems to resemble a P rather than a N. The die appears to be re-used, with the previous letters imperfectly eradicated. No parallel has been found to help with the reading. On the double axe as a monetary symbol, cf. B. M. C. *Caria*, p. 25, footnote. It was also the special symbol of Tenedos. Cf. Head, *op. cit.* p. 551.

The angle of attachment and the curve are those of Knidian handles, as is the clay which is coarse and red with a grey core; but the effect is not quite typical. The handles are broader than usual; the clay shows dark bits in some quantity. The smooth pink unslipped surface and the short upper part resemble some of the *Ἀνδρῶν* seals of the Knidian group (especially SS 1457). A name *Ἀνδρῶν* occurs on coins of the 1st cent. B.C. of Aphrodisias, which in the 2nd cent. B.C. shows a double axe on some of its coins. Cf. B. M. C. *Caria*, p. xxxiv, note, and p. 26, no. 9 (for the name) and Pl. V, 10 (for the device). 1st cent. B.C.?



226

226-227

$M\eta$

SS 244 (A—BIIW).

SS 245 (A—HD, deep). Not illustrated.

The date is probably the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C.



228

228

SS 249 (E).

Similar to SS 790 (Θ—HF).



229

229-230

$M\varepsilon\nu$

$\Pi\theta$ $K(\nu\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu?)$

(retr.)

SS 267 (Δ).

SS 56 (A—HD, deep). Not illustrated.

SS 56 is a worn example from a slightly different die from the one illustrated. It is paralleled by SS 918 and 1006 (both Θ—HF). 3rd cent. B.C.



231

231

SS 117 (E—a coin of Constantius II, 323-361 A.D., from the same place).

Like SS 1810 (H'—late Roman filling?). Like D. Pl. XIII, 23. 4th cent. A.D.?



232

232

SS 50 (E—late Roman filling?).

Like SS 615 (Z—mixed classical filling) and 1080 (H'—late Roman mixed filling). Like D. 396, 5 (drawing). From the present impression which is incomplete at the left, there is missing at the left end a final lunate sigma, over which D. adds a sort of accent not found on our seals. ? A.D.

Handles approximating Knidian in type, with circular seals.

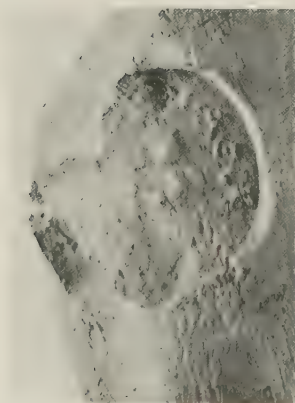


233

233

SS 371 ($\Sigma T'$ —bottom of cistern, early 3rd cent. B.C. context).

Handle of a nearly complete amphora; see Fig. 1, 6, with discussion. The amphora appears to be an early type of Knidian. The seal is probably some sort of monogram. I have not found a parallel.



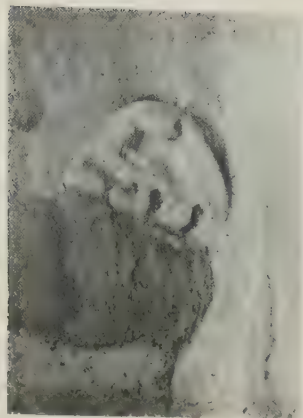
234

234

owl $\rho \rho'$?

SS 182 (A—HD, deep).

Apparently an adaptation of the Athenian reverse coin type. Of the owl one sees the body rounding out as in the earlier coins, not slanting away to the left, and the outline of the right wing across it, also part of the head, and a vestige of something above the head to the left. No exact parallel has been found and no coin with the legend so arranged has such late letter forms. The H occurs on an isolated Greek series; see Svoronos, Pl. XXII, 86, etc. 3rd cent. B.C.?



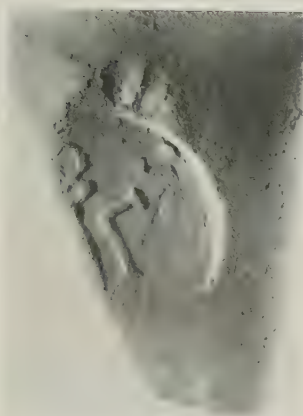
235

235

animal?
Z₀?

SS 53 (A—HD).

No exact parallel has been found. Cf. **256** which is a thick handle of non-Knidian type. 3rd or 2nd cent. B.C.



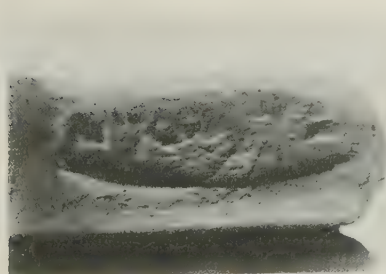
236

236

SS 154 (ΣT).

No parallel has been found.

Double handles, formed of two small ones nearly cylindrical in section, placed side by side. Red clay; cream slip. Several handles of this type were found in the Θ—HF.



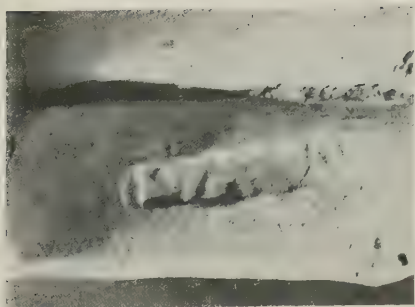
237

237

Kyrov?
(retr.)

SS 377 (Δ—WTR, with **276**).

Cf. SS 1440 (H) a double handle on which may be clearly read KYPOY. 3rd cent. B.C.?



238

238

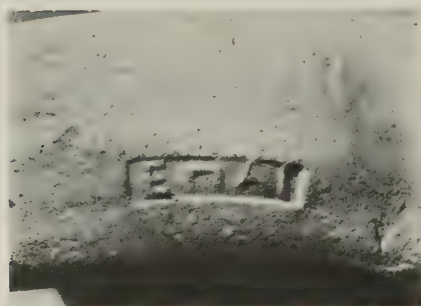
Retr.

Ἀνδρῶν

SS 186 (A—HD, deep).

Cf. Herm. 109, 174 which is not indicated as a double handle. Two double handles from Θ—HF, one of which was associated with lamps of Type XVIII, read *Ἀνδρῶν*, with a caduceus, left, below the word. The present seal bears the legend ordinarily used on coins of Andros. 3rd cent. B.C.?

Miscellaneous fabricants of various unknown origins.

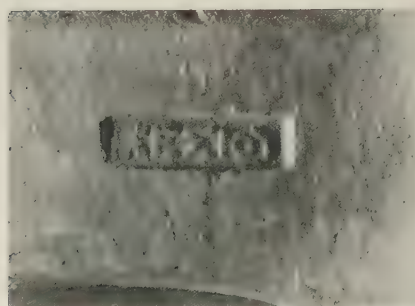


239

239*Ἐπαι*

SS 304 (ΣΤ').

Rather small handle, broad in section. Sandy greyish red clay, buff at surface. Same die as SS 1691 (Θ—4th and 3rd cent. context; a coin of Athens of 339–297 B.C.).



240

240–241*Ἰκεσίου*

SS 190 (A—HD, deep).

SS 332 (ΣΤ'). Not illustrated.

Thick handles of non-micaceous fairly fine dark red clay, with small grey core, and traces of light slip. Six handles found in 1933, of which five come from Θ—HF. Like D. 317, 126. The name is frequent as that of an astynome on South Russian seals. 3rd cent. B.C.



242

242*Κλενπό-**λεις* branch

SS 328 (Δ—well at 14/1ΣΤ, in 3rd cent. context, including coin of Athens 255–229 B.C.).

Broad handle of coarse red clay with blue bits. Black deposit like the Chian resin on the inside of the neck. (See p. 297.) I have not found the name with this attribute, nor this form of the name at all. For the attribute cf. **221** (South Russian).



243

243

SS 69 (A—Cave).

Rather small broad handle. Micaceous red clay, grey at core. Cf. Herm. 114, 316: ΣIMI and D. 377, 122: ΣIMI . 3rd cent. B.C.

Handles of micaceous buff clay.



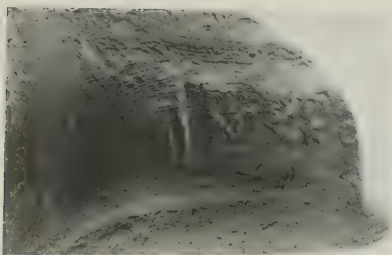
244

244

*Νικόσ-
τρατος*

SS 150 (ΣΤ).

A large part preserved of a rather small handle, broad in proportion, with short level upper part; narrow, slightly projecting rim. Grey at core. The name occurs on Rhodian (see N. p. 82) and on South Russian stamps (see index of Herm.).



245

245

[*Παρε-*
νίσχο[v]

SS 275 (Δ).

The handle widens distinctly to its attachment. Grey at core. Cf. Schuchhardt, 495, 1285, D. 322, 163, and P¹. II, 223.



246

246

*Φορμί-
ωνος*

SS 298 (Δ).

Fabric like the preceding. The name appears on South Russian seals.



247

247

Ι Η

Σ [Ω

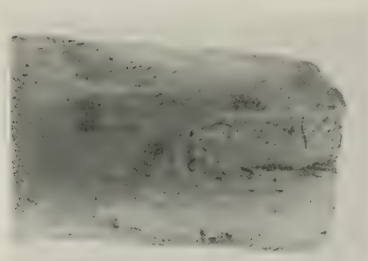
Ζ γ

Σ [ω

SS 255 (A—BHW).

Below the seal are two letters in dotted lines, incised in the wet(?) clay. From the same die as SS 1393 (Θ) from which it is restored. No other parallel has been found, though comparison may be made with seals on Pl. XVI of Herm. 3rd cent. B.C.

Small handles of red clay with light slip.



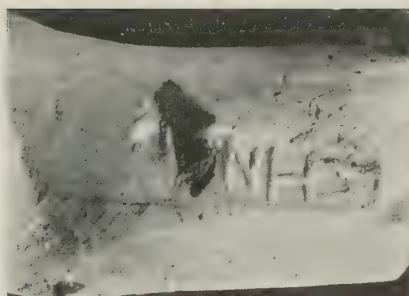
248

248

Κρονίου

SS 198 (Δ—WTR, with eight early Hellenistic handles).

Broad in section. The name not found on seals. 3rd cent. B.C.?



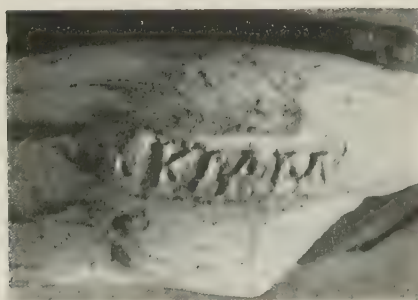
249

249

-σ]θένης

SS 165 (A).

Broad in section.



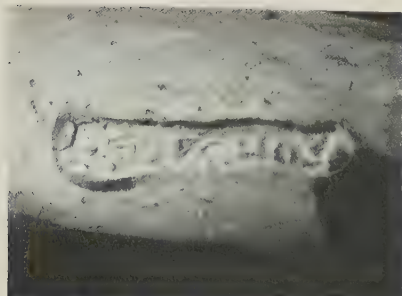
250

250

Κλαυ

SS 292 (A).

The lower attachment preserved of a short handle stamped on the rather open curve. Broad in section.



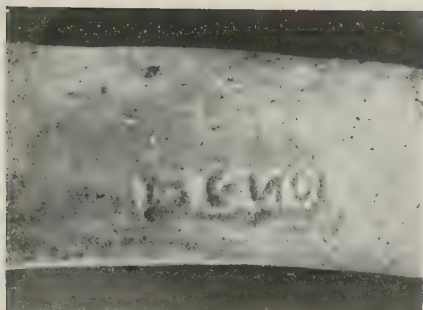
251

251

Θεογένου

SS 372 (ΣΤ').

Nearly cylindrical in section; comparable to 258. The fabric (shape and clay) is exactly like that of a series of 1933 handles which bear a seal of very similar appearance which I have not been able to decipher; it appears to read *ΩNVELLA*. These handles are from two different deposits of which each is definitely limited to the late Hellenistic-early Roman period. 1st cent. B.C.



252

252

Μενο

SS 230 (ΣΤ—possibly same filling as 258?).

Fairly broad in section. Clay rather micaceous. Red stain in traces on surface. Similar to SS 1570 (Ζ). 1st cent. B.C.?



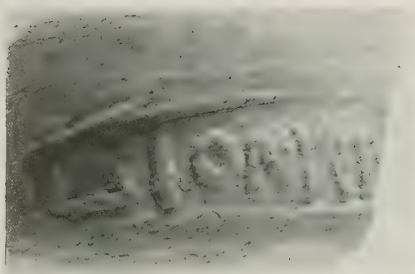
253

253

Μενιπ

SS 233 (Α—late Hellenistic).

Fairly broad in section. Clay very micaceous, with distinct grey core.



254

254

Λιοντόιο[v]

SS 380 (Δ).

Broad, rather roughly made handle of greenish buff clay.

Abbreviations in large letters.

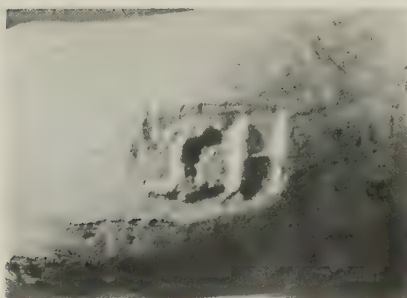


255

255

SS 70 (A—Cave).

Thick high-arched handle of red clay, greyish at core, with light slip. Cf. SS 688, 1295, 1816 (all Θ—HF). Late 3rd cent. B.C.



256

256

Zη

SS 158 (A).

Thick arched handle. Light red clay. Cream slip. Somewhat micaceous. Cf. **235**, on a handle of Knidian type. These two letters occur on half a dozen 1933 handles, sometimes with some sort of additional device. Four are from Θ, of which two are from the HF. The rest are from late deposits. The fabric varies somewhat. Like Herm. 112, 242; Schuchhardt, 493, 1278 (drawing). 3rd–2nd cent. B.C.



257

257

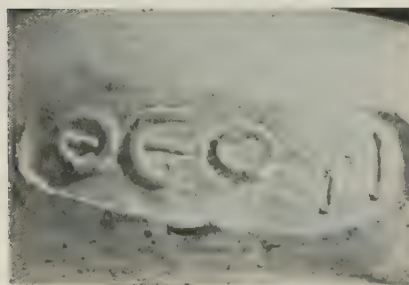
Αη[

Θεψ

Retr.

SS 349 (ΣT—cistern deposit, probably late 3rd–2nd cent. B.C.).

Broad in section. Bright red clay, rather micaceous.



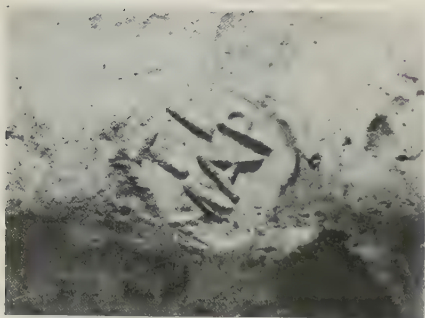
258

258

Θεοφι

SS 269 (ΣT—from jar in filling over drain; probably late Hellenistic–early Roman).

Nearly cylindrical handle. Red clay; distinct grey core; light slip. For fabric, cf. **251**. 1st cent. B.C.?



259

259

Ti-

μᾶρ

SS 362 (ΣT—bottom of drain, with a lamp fragment of Type XXVII, and three coins of Hadrian).

A broad massive handle curving down after a short level upper part. Clay and slip resemble Rhodian. The Lindos collection gives under "uncertain origin" three seals with $\begin{smallmatrix} Ti- \\ \mu\alpha\rho \end{smallmatrix}$ found in Rhodes (N. p. 526, nos. 822-824; a note on the fabric indicates a handle similar to ours). See also Herm. 115, 328. See N. 405 for the Rhodian name Timarchos. 2nd cent. A.D.



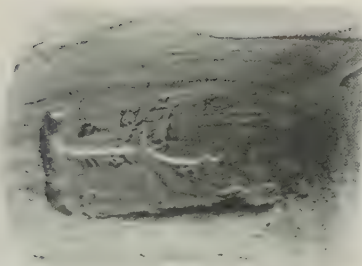
260

260

Ἐλφ

SS 128 (E).

Broad handle of coarse red to grey clay. Like SS 452 (Z—2nd-3rd cent. A.D.?), 806 (Z—Roman level), 810 (Z—disturbed area) and 943 (Z—chiefly late Hellenistic and early Roman). Like D. 371, 33a and 34.



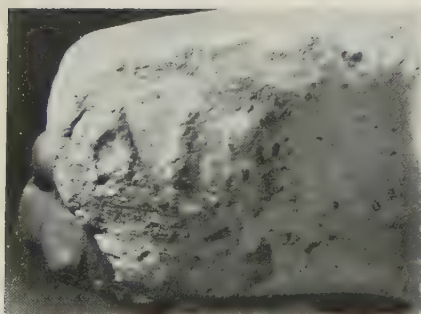
261

261

Ἀε[?

SS 358 (ΣT').

Broad handle of coarse red clay with light slip. The clay is similar to that of 264. Cf. D. 370, 24.



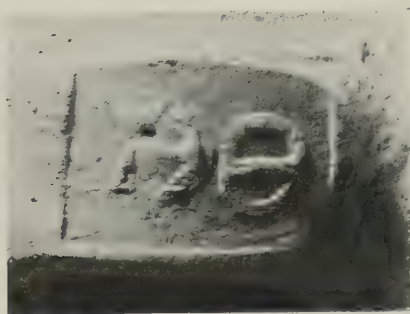
262

262

ΔΙ>

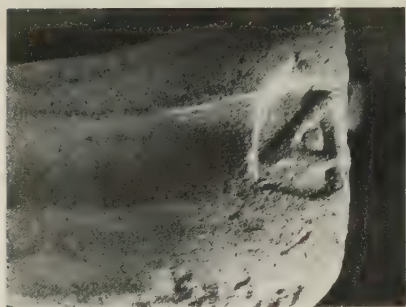
SS 337 (Δ—context chiefly late Roman).

Broad handle of coarse red clay with light slip. Stamped by two different dies?



263

Monograms (cf. also 233).



266



267



268

263-265

ΘΕΥ

(retr.)

SS 357 (ΣΤ'—top filling of a pit, where were found some sherds of Roman date).

SS 161 (ΣΤ—mostly late Roman with a few later sherds). Not illustrated.

SS 194 (Δ). Not illustrated.

Broad handles of coarse greyish red clay. Like five 1933 seals, from late or disturbed fillings, of which SS 1864 comes from the footing trench of a late Roman wall with early examples of lamps of Type XXVIII. Cf. D. Pl. XIII, 20 and p. 372, 48-50. 3rd-early 4th cent. A.D.?

266

SS 271 (ΣΤ—late 1st cent. B.C. filling?).

Thasian fabric. SS 1638 (H) is from a similar die. Like D. Pl. V, 35, text p. 70, 61 (considered probably Thasian). Herm. Pl. XVI, 6, may be the same. Probably earlier than the context would require.

267

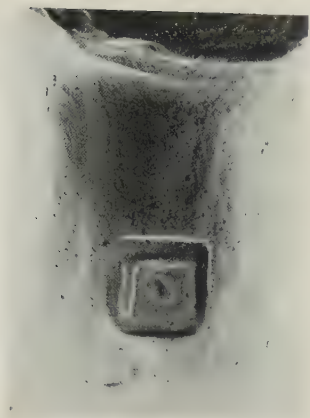
SS 18 (E).

Thasian fabric; particularly coarse and sandy clay. Slip, and traces of red at neck. From a closely similar die, SS 711 and 1303 (both Θ—HF, early parts); the clay finer in these two, and they are unslipped.

268

SS 311 (Δ—Hellenistic level).

Thasian fabric; coarse, like the preceding.

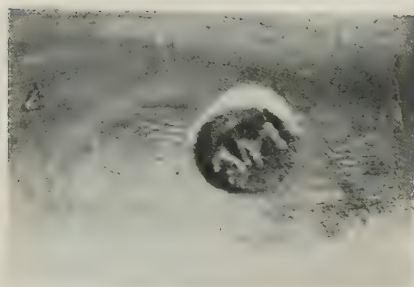


269

269

SS 60 (A—Cave).

Small, rather thick handle with short arched upper part. Fine micaceous clay; pale buff. Like SS 1540 (Θ—HF). 3rd cent. B.C.

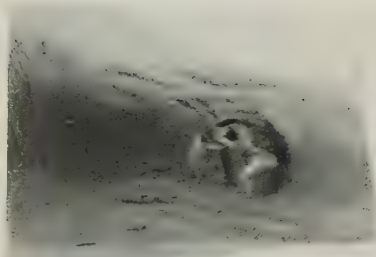


270

270

SS 88 (A).

Fabric like the preceding. Presumably the same date.

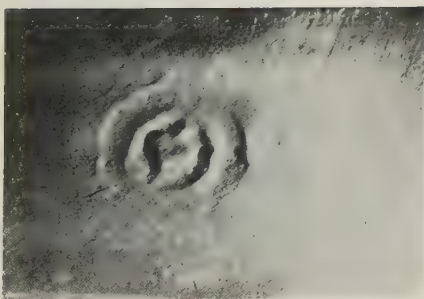


271

271

SS 140 (A—BHW).

Thick handle. Fine micaceous clay with large red core; pinkish buff near surface, which has been carefully smoothed. Cf. D. Pl. XIV, 14. Herm. Pl. XVI, 2 is very close, but the monogram there represented is actually part of two Thasian seals. Early 3rd cent. B.C.



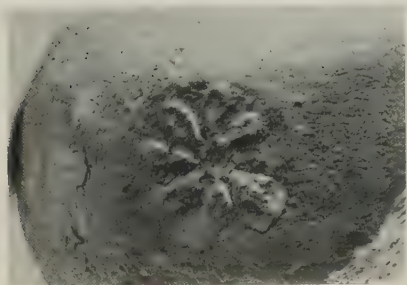
272

272

SS 214 (ΣT—possibly from early 3rd cent. stratum).

Fabric like the preceding.

Stamps with various devices.



273

273

SS 136 (Σ T—4th–3rd cent. context, with two Rhodian handles, **23** and **25**).

Thick arched handle, perhaps Rhodian; the buff clay shows a gritty darkened surface under the peeling slip. SS 472 (Θ —HF) which is more deeply stamped shows letter traces round a similar rosette. N. gives (p. 523, no. 787) as Rhodian a circular seal showing a flower with eight petals.

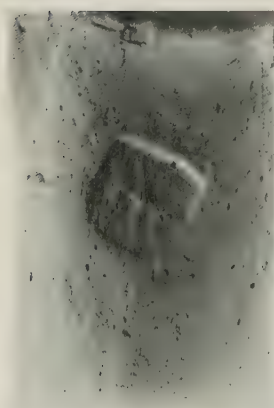


274

274

SS 254 (A).

Thick handle with short high-arched upper part. Medium coarse clay with fine particles of mica; orange red with greyish core. Cf. Herm. Pl. XVI, no. 49–50 which are perhaps sufficiently similar to this to suggest that this also is a combination of letters, not a representation. Similarity to the next number suggests that this also may be dated in the 4th–3rd cent. B.C.

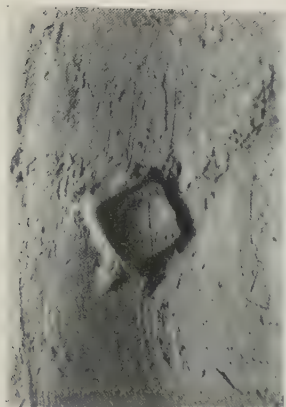


275

275

SS 280 (Σ T—context perhaps 4th cent.).

Fabric similar to the preceding. Seal also similar.

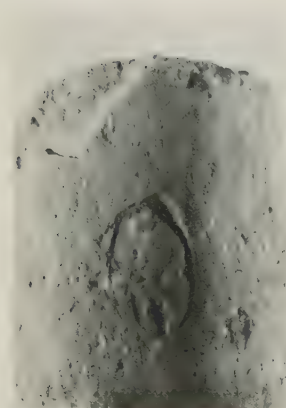


276

276

SS 378 (Δ—WTR with 237).

Handle of Knidian type. The seal contains a central device in relief, rather like a retrograde rho with solid loop and very short stem; the die had a narrow raised border. Like three seals from Θ, one certainly from the HF. Latter part of 3rd cent. B.C.

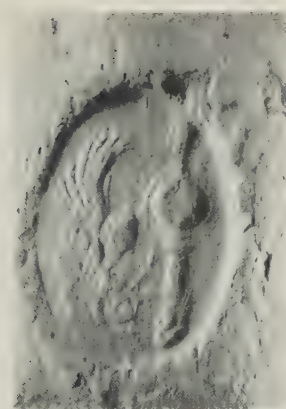


277

277

SS 108 (A).

Thick handle; close-grained red clay, with considerable traces of dark red paint. The worn impression is in general outline like that illustrated in Herm. Pl. XV, 19, which represents a male figure dancing left. That figure is standing on the left leg with the right knee raised high. The left arm bent at the elbow is held close to the body. The outline of the head in our example is falsified by a chip from the top.



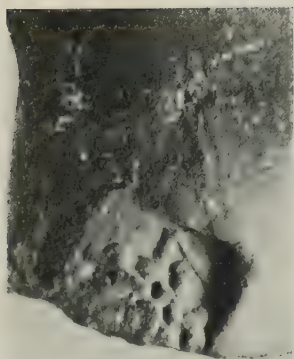
278

278

SS 33 (A—HD, top).

Handle approaches cylindrical. Slightly micaceous red clay. Gem impression: a sphinx crouches before a trophy? 3rd-2nd cent. B.C.?

(twice natural size)



279

279

SS 20 (E).

Rather broad handle of very coarse slightly micaceous red clay with grey core. The seal shows a bunch of grapes. Cf. the examples on Herm. Pl. XV.



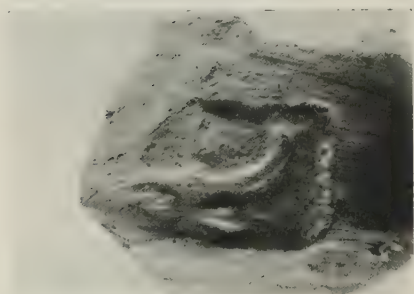
280

280

SS 178 (Σ T). The fabric resembles that of late Knidian handles.

The impression, which is incomplete at the left, apparently gives a crude representation of a half-ship. Like SS 813 (Z—Roman level) and 1163 (Z—late filling).

Roman period?



281

281

SS 264 (A). Fabric as in the preceding.

Something of the same sort appears to have been intended as on the preceding seal. Cf. B. M. C. *Ionian*, Pl. XXVI, 11; Pl. XXVII, 8, 10, 11 (coins of Smyrna in imperial times).



282

282

SS 376 (Δ). Fabric as in the preceding.

Seals similar to this, also with a representation of a palm leaf, were found in late deposits in 1933. The evidence is not conclusive, but points at least to the Roman period.



283

SS 270 (Δ').

Red clay, crumbly, and highly micaceous

283

(one-half natural size)

The following handles, which have 1931-1932 SS numbers, have not been included in this catalogue:

SS 45 (A--HD), cylindrical in section, bearing a fragmentary seal with two large letters preserved:]TA

SS 273 (A), fabric like that of 245-246, bearing the fragmentary seal:] ξ ν γ ξ [

SS 321, with incised letters.

The next number is placed here because by its fabric it forms a transition to the jars of which the rims, not the handles, are stamped:



284

284

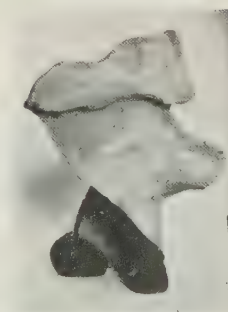
]M

.

]Q

SS 375 (Σ T).

Profile of handle and rim illustrated to the right. Coarse pinkish clay, buff at surface. No parallel has been found for the stamping of this type of handle.



STAMPED RIMS AND TIPS

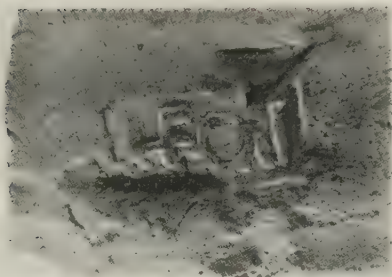


285

285

P 499 (Δ —well in 14/1ΣT).

On the rim of a pot nearly complete but in fragments. See photograph of P 498, Fig. 4, for the shape. The finding place of the two jars (see p. 208) establishes the type as one in use at least as early as the second century B.C.

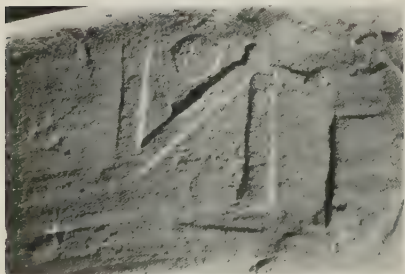


286

286

SS 256 (ΣT).

Rim fragment.

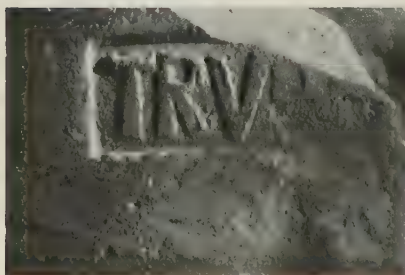


287

287

P 892 (ΣT).

Neck fragment with stamp on rim. See Fig. 3.



288

288

SS 207 (Δ').

Neck fragment with stamp on rim. See Fig. 3. The stamp is above the preserved handle.



Fig. 3. Scale 1:12

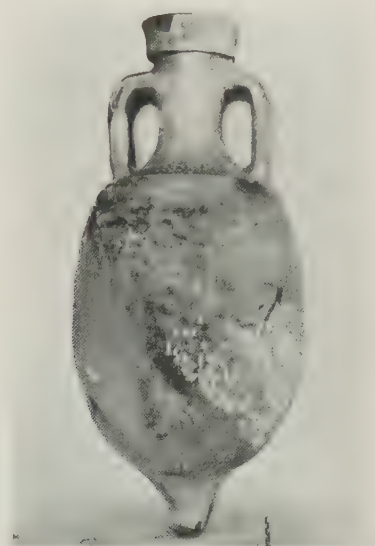


Fig. 4. P 498. Scale 1:12

289-290

SS 112 and SS 123 (both from E).

Stamps on the tips or pointed bases of small jars. The clay is rather fine; it has baked grey except for a surface coat of reddish buff.

Mr. Waagé, in whose section these objects were discovered, has been kind enough to communicate with me on the matter. I quote from a letter of October 17, 1933: "As I remember, I called them late because they turned up along with the latest Roman pottery (C); by late I mean that they should fall in or near the century 450-550. For the popularity of monograms at that time compare the coins . . . silver plate and capitals of columns (at H. Sofia for instance). The only other similar stamps I can recall are three from Alexandria: Expedition Ernst von Sieglin, ed. by T. Schreiber, vol. II, Part III, R. Pagenstecher, p. 165 You will notice that the one on the amphora is the same as your 123 [290]. The shape is described as of 'kleine henkellose Amphoren.' In the photograph it is hard to tell where the break occurs but I think that only the mouth is missing. With such thick walls and small capacity, they must have held some special brew Obviously the names are Greek (this supports the date in excluding Italy as the provenience) . . . It is interesting to note that three of the four have MK in common although the accompanying letters differ, whence various theories might be drawn."



289



290

III. APPENDIX

A. SELECTED SEALS FROM THE 1933 CAMPAIGN

1. DESCRIPTION OF PLATE I: FRONTISPIECE

The design of a sphinx seated before a lidded amphora was evidently copied on the mould for no. 1¹ from a coin similar to that illustrated at the right, no. 2;² the impression therefore repeats the figure in reverse. Since this type is found only on coins of the island of Chios, the mark indicates to us, as to the public for which it was intended, that the contents of the jar, until it was opened, were genuinely Chian. Latin and late Greek literatures are full of evidence in the form of comments, anecdotes, and quotations from earlier writers, as to the esteem in which the wine of Chios was held; it is the famous wine of antiquity. There was a not unnatural excitement, therefore, over some broken jars found last year in an ancient well when it was realized that they were stamped with the arms of Chios. One of these jars is illustrated on p. 202 (Fig. 1, 1). Of the five reconstructed, the shape and dimensions are so constant that evidently a uniform capacity was intended. This is approximately 22 litres, or six gallons.³ An anecdote of Plutarch⁴ informs us that in the time of Socrates an amphora of Chian wine sold in Athens for one mina, which is a hundred drachmas, or a hundred day's wages to the skilled workman of that period.⁵ Our jars are dated by the deposit in which they were found in the third quarter of the fifth century B.C., probably about 430. In 440, Sophokles the dramatist was soldiering in the east, a general under Perikles against Samos. As his appointment is said to have been due to his success with the *Antigone* at the Dionysia in the preceding year,⁶ it is not surprising that he enjoyed what interludes he could in friendly Chios at such convivial parties as that described by the famous Chiot, Ion, a fellow guest.⁷ Doubtless among his ξένια ("guest-gifts") he took home a jar or two of the wine. Ion at any rate was generous to Athenians⁸ with his native wine, which a fifth century poet⁹ says Dionysos himself recommends above

¹ SS 1839. See p. 303, no. 1. The seal and coin are both at twice actual size.

² This coin is in a private collection. The stamp actually copies a slightly later type: Head, B. M. C. *Ionia*, Pl. XXXII, 3 4, and Babelon, *Traité des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines*, Part III, Pl. XII, no. 8. The shape of the amphora depicted, of which the cover is clear on the coin, is the same as that here given in Fig. 1, 1, hence the jar was stamped with a contemporary coin type. Head dates this series 478-412 B.C.; Babelon, "before 494" (see text, Part II, Vol. I, p. 301). Mr. Sydney Noe has called my attention to the fact that the date is narrowed to 460-440 by Mrs. Brett in *Amer. Journ. Numis.*, XLVIII, 1914, p. 45.

³ The jars were measured with wheat, since they had been mended.

⁴ 470 F; *de tranquil. animi*, 10.

⁵ The standard wage recorded in the building accounts of the Erechtheum is a drachma a day. See Stevens and others, *The Erechtheum*, Cambridge, Mass., 1927, p. 422.

⁶ According to an *argument* of the play, attributed to Aristophanes of Byzantium, this was the case.

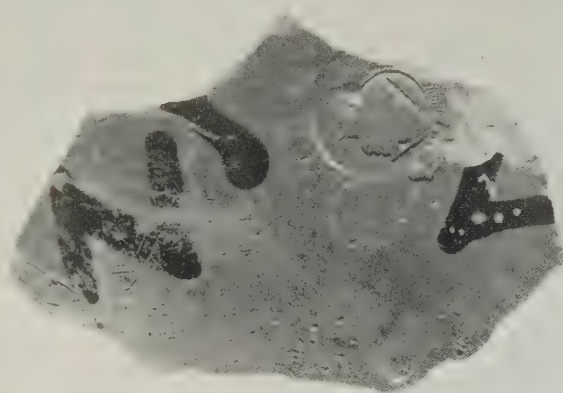
⁷ As quoted by Athenaeus, XIII, 603 e ff.

⁸ Ath. I, 3, f: ὁ δὲ Χῖος Ἴων τραγῳδίας νικήσας Ἀθήνησιν ἐκάστω τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔδωκε Χῖον περάμιον.

⁹ Hermippos, quoted by Ath., I, 29 e. On the poet, see Norwood in the *University of Toronto Quarterly* for 1933. I owe the reference to Dr. Thompson.

all others of human making. Those acquainted with modern Greece will learn with mixed feelings that it would perhaps have tasted curiously familiar to them, since at the bottom of the Chian jars and on many of the pottery fragments from the well was found a heavy deposit of resin.¹

We have not found stamped handles to indicate that Athens regulated or guaranteed her exports. The official Athena head here illustrated² more probably marked a standard measure in use in some shop along the south border of the Agora, where it was found. The fragment P 496, which was found nearby in a previous season, came from a similar vessel, if not from the same one: the fabric matches, and the seals are probably from a common die.³ A clay measuring cup also found in Athens, and preserved in the National Museum there,⁴ is stamped with both the Athena type and the owl on the reverse of the coins of Athens, and around the middle in glaze letters like those of P 496 may be read $\Delta\text{HMO}\Sigma[\text{IO}]\text{N}$, "official," the word by which standard weights are often marked. Evidently we are to recognize the beginning and end of this word on our fragment.



P 496. 1:1

The central composition,⁵ stamped on an unmistakably Rhodian handle, cannot but attract the attention of students of Lysippos. Of his group in bronze of the same subject, greatly admired by Pliny,⁶ we have no certain copy. The quadriga is a not

¹ Some of these fragments came from amphorae of a different type. But I scraped a sample of deposit from the broken neck of a jar to which a Chian stamped handle was attached, and this was tested and proved resinous by Dr. Crenshaw of the Department of Chemistry of Bryn Mawr College.

² No. 3, SS 1420 (Z), at twice actual size.

³ A bit of black glaze on the inside of the handle attachment corresponds with another on the inside of the lettered sherd, at the top where the pot narrowed toward its neck. Both pieces are carefully made, of good, apparently Attic, clay. The identity of the two stamps, in spite of the flatness of one, is hardly to be doubted when one has the actual fragments to compare. The photograph of the handle seal is a little misleading.

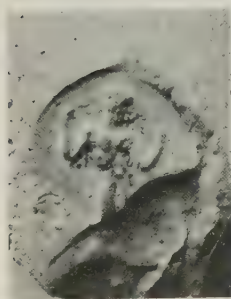
⁴ My knowledge of the *metron*, Athens National Museum, no. 2418, is due to the kindness of Professor J. D. Beazley, who communicated to me all particulars, including the opinion of Mr. Vlastos the Greek numismatist and collector on the coin types it bears, which in style (superiority of execution and originality) are to be paralleled in the fifth century, although the reverse type (double-bodied owl) is after 393. I do not know if his Athena stamp is the same as ours, the closest parallels to which from the point of view of realistic drawing are far from being its equal in execution. A similar measure found in the Agora in 1934 is shown in *Illustrated London News*, June 2, 1934, p. 863.

⁵ No. 5, SS 1183 (Θ), at twice actual size.

⁶ *N. H.*, XXXIV, 63.

uncommon coin type; even so, a Rhodian artist can hardly be expected to have worked on such a design uninfluenced by so illustrious a model.¹ The seal is dated in the term of the priest Eukratidas.² We do not know what year that was, but the shape of the handle (cf. p. 220) places it in all probability in the early second century B.C., when Rhodes succeeded to her greatest empire after the naval victory at Side. The first half of the century was a period of great artistic enthusiasm: it produced the frieze of the great altar at Pergamon, with its evidence of admiration for older art, and probably a work ascribed by some to a Rhodian sculptor, the winged Victory of Samothrace.

The impression on the remaining handle³ is evidently from an engraved gem. It represents a youth, designated as a victorious athlete by the olive crown to the left, binding his hair with a long ribbon the ends of which hang from his raised hands while the centre passes lightly across his hair high on his head. The pose so far as preserved



SS 415

resembles that of the figure we recognize as the Diadoumenos of Polykleitos;⁴ it is reversed, as would happen if the gem were the true copy. There are gems of a late period which copy very exactly the figure known to us in marble and terracotta replicas.⁵ As the deviations in the present specimen do not result from a lack of skill⁶ they are worth noting; I add a supplementary photograph for the sake of details brought out better by the different lighting. An earlier moment in the action has been selected: the fillet has just been laid across the head so that the whole length is spread out, whereas in the Polykleitan figure it has been passed round and is being drawn tight with the abbreviated ends.⁷ The most obvious resulting difference is that the new head is not the familiar one tight-bound at brow level. Again, in the new figure both elbows droop, but in the others one is raised so that the upper arm is nearly horizontal, an easier position for the final tying. Of the legs too little is preserved for certainty, but on the handle there seems to be less

¹ This was the opinion of Maiuri in *Atene e Roma*, I, 1920, pp. 133 f. In this article he publishes four seals with this device giving a photograph of the best preserved and a restored drawing. Their only legend is a month name, in an upcurving line beneath the horses' feet. I know of no other seals with this device.

² The reading is as follows:]έρον [ἐν] ἱερ]έως Εὐκρατίδα. The fragmentary word is very probably the name of the fabricant, given Maiuri's seals as supplementary.

³ No. 4, SS 415 (9). The fragment is from the curved part (no attachments preserved) of a thick handle of close-grained finely micaceous clay with bits; in color, buff, showing on the break a redder ring near the surface. The impression is slightly incomplete to the left and chipped away below. Otherwise, though fresh, it is damaged on the figure's right hip and pitted just in front of the face and below the arms. Fabric conceivably Attic.

⁴ Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXIV, 55. Lucian, *Philopseud.*, 18. A new marble copy has recently been put on exhibition in New York. Cf. *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, December 1933, pp. 214-216, a preliminary report by Miss Richter. A more extended study is to appear in an early number of the *A. J. A.*

⁵ Compare with Miss Richter's illustrations (*The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, figs. 650-652) for the whole figure, Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, Pl. XLIV, 41, and for the head alone *ibid.*, Pl. XI, 26-27.

⁶ Cf. Sidney Colvin, *J. H. S.*, 1881, p. 352, for a crude gem representation of the type.

⁷ Cf. *Antike Gemmen*, Pl. XLIV, 41.

freedom in their pose. There is a tentative, diffident air about the whole figure in distinct contrast to the poise of the youth produced by the master of a Canon.

These may be variations introduced by a copyist of Greek rather than Roman period.¹ But it should be remembered that there was a choice of models by great sculptors. Pausanias in Olympia saw two versions by Pheidias, one a free-standing victor statue,² the other, perhaps also in the round, a part of the decoration of the throne of Zeus. The word used is in each case not *diadoumenos*, "tying round," with an implication of crossed strands, but *anadoumenos*, simply "tying," with no such implication. I suggest that this expression suits the gesture of the boy on the seal.³

The Olympic victory was not a matter of mere personal glory. The honor attached to a man's family and to his state, the name of which was read out by the herald when the victory was proclaimed.⁴ The victor's superior strength and skill and the beauty which accompanied them might even be made the subject of divine worship. It should therefore not surprise us to find current after some generations a commemoration of the event. The theme seems not quite as appropriate to a wine jar as is another gem impression from the third campaign, on which a satyr pipes and dances.⁵ The amphora may have been used for oil, as amphorae of oil were prizes in the Athenian contests, or no reference to content need have been intended. There is however the ribbon or *tainia*, so prominent in this design, although the olive crown is specific. Some scholars have denied that the *tainia* was a token of victory: it was used on other occasions, such as symposia, or drinking parties, and was probably given to the victors simply as a desirable toilet article. Yet it is carried very generally by victors, and by Victory herself on the hand of Zeus in the temple at Olympia. I rather think the symposium is the right note, not only the coming night's celebration with its holiday from training, but the immediate heady effects of success after a prolonged endeavor.



SS 659

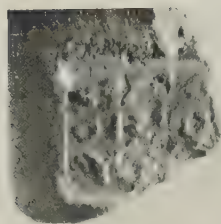
¹ The handle probably belongs to a period between the late fourth and early second centuries B.C. It came from a part of the filling in Section Θ (see p. 208) disturbed in Byzantine times.

² Pausan., VI, 4, 5.

³ The usual suggestion for the *Anadoumenos* is the so-called Farnese *Diadoumenos* in the British Museum (*B. M. Cat. of Sculpt.*, Vol. I, no. 501). Cf. Richter, *op. cit.*, fig. 621. W. W. Hyde, *Olympic Victor Monuments and Greek Athletic Art*, p. 151, gives a brief statement and a lengthy bibliography. It is "now almost universally regarded as an Attic work." A broad band has been knotted at the back of the head (cf. *Annali*, 1878, Pl. A, for side and back views of the head) and the preserved hand still holds one end of it. The shape and unlovely set of this *διάδημα* are rather accurately described by Kallistratos in his remarks (*Stat.* 11; see Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, no. 1268) about a statue on the Acropolis which he says Praxiteles "set up": ὁ δὲ τῷ τελαμῶνι καταστέφρων τὴν κόμην καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀφρύων ἀπωδύμενος τῷ διαδήματι τὰς τρίχας, γυμνὸν πλοκάμων ἐτίθει τὸ μέτωπον.

⁴ The facts and scholarly opinion cited in this paragraph are drawn from Hyde, *op. cit.* in n. 3.

⁵ SS 659. See tail-piece (twice natural size).



1



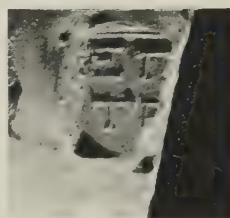
2



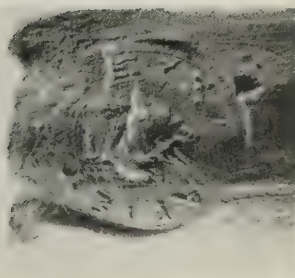
3



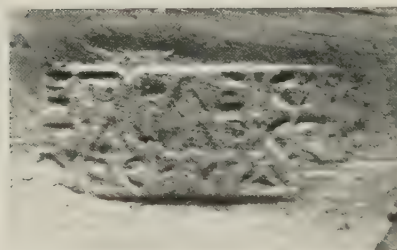
4



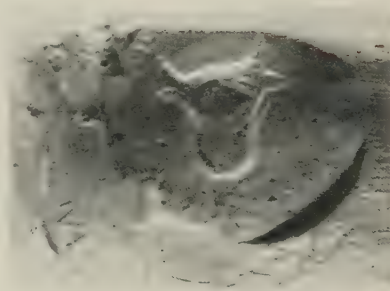
5



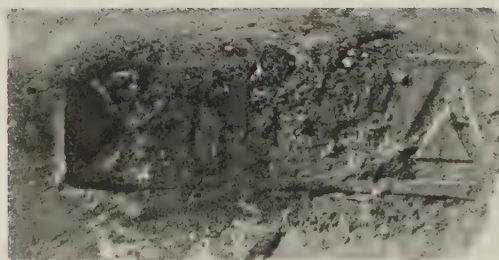
6



7



8



9

Fig. 5. Seals found in 1933 1:1

2. DESCRIPTION OF FIG. 5: PAGE 300

1. Thasian seal from a closed deposit of the end of the 5th cent. B.C.

SS 1675 (Θ—water deposit in drain). Fragment of a slightly arched handle. Micaceous russet clay. Read by the help of Herm. 53, 398.

Τελεσ(
Θάστοι
Ετρ]ρα(
(retr.)

2. Thasian seal dated in the first part of the 4th cent. B.C. and showing coin type.

SS 1723 (Ζ). The lower attachment and nearly the whole handle are preserved. Length as bent *ca.* 0.20 m. Arch slight. Micaceous buff clay, with red ring near surface; the inside of the pot shows red under the shoulder attachment. Right thumb print at base of handle.

ΑΡΙΣΤΟ		
Ζ	Herakles	ΜΕΟΡΑΣ
Σ	kneeling	
Ι	drawing	Ἀριστομέ(νης)
Μ	his	Θράσω(ρος?)
////	his	Θ[α]σίωρ
////	bow	
////	vac.	
Θ		

Found in a well in which there was no pottery datable later than the early 4th cent. B.C. A fine fresh seal with this device, a coin type of Thasos of the 5th and 4th centuries, and with the first of these two names, was found in 1932 by Dr. F. J. de Waele in Corinth, in a deposit closed by 338 B.C.; see *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 437. Cf. Herm. 39, 75.

3. Early Rhodian seal patterned on Thasian.

SS 1355 (Θ—HF). Rather broad handle, rising high from attachment. Light reddish buff clay; cream slip; large red stain on top.

Σωτήριος (lunate sigma)
eagle

For the name as Rhodian, see N. p. 88. Nilsson does not cite any bird in his attribute lists, nor any exception to his observation (p. 152) about the position of the inscription on Rhodian stamps, that the letters are not continued on the short sides. Compare the seal from Samaria, Reisner, *op. cit.*, p. 312, no. 77: "ΣΩΤΗΡΙΧΟΥ circular, eagle l., head turned back, outspread wings."

- 4 and 5. The left and right handles of a fragmentary Rhodian amphora giving a new combination of eponym and fabricant.

SS 1577 (Z—late Hellenistic filling). Most of the neck is preserved, as illustrated. The angular handles are of the narrow-waisted type illustrated by Maiuri, *op. cit.*, p. 255, fig. 3, V. Buff clay; peeling slip. Ht. 0.29 m.

4 (SS 1577 a)

Ἐπὶ Παισωνί-
α Πανάμου

5 (SS 1577 b)

Ἐπ[ιζρά-
τε[υς

For the restoration of the right-hand seal, cf. N. Pl. I, 3, and text 194, 1–5. Date probably 180–150 B.C. See on **36–37**.



SS 1577

6. Early Knidian handle patterned on Rhodian.

SS 885 is illustrated; it has the best preserved impression of three handles probably stamped with the same or a closely similar die. The other two are SS 674 and 1310. All three are from the Hellenistic filling in Section Θ; from the accompanying handles, they should probably be placed in the third quarter of the 3rd cent. B.C. The seals of 674 and 1310, which may be two handles from the same pot, are so nearly obliterated that the three might not have been brought together but for their peculiar common fabric: a Knidian section and profile (674 has a portion of rim preserved; it is that of Pl. II, 6); clay approximating Knidian, but a remarkably Rhodian surface effect. The color of the slip and of the red stain below the rim of 674 strengthen considerably the Rhodian impression one receives from a photograph of the seal, and the boukranion is easily taken for a rose.

Ἀριστοκλεῦς vac.?

boukranion, with neck to left

For the reading, cf. D. 343, 35, and P¹. II, 31. It would be of particular interest if one could establish this Aristokles as the father of Damokrates mentioned on a widespread series of seals; cf. **204–206**.

7. Knidian handle dated by the building period of the Stoa of Attalos.

SS 1861. From a trial pit in the stoa, an investigation connected with the neighboring Section I. It must antedate the building of the stoa in the reign of Attalos II and is probably from the pre-stoa fill. See also on **106** and **126** to which two handles definitely of the pre-stoa fill are related. The comparatively late part of our

sequence into which this seal appears to fall makes the *terminus ante quem* a rather close date. Dark greyish red clay; thin remains of light slip. Like D. 209, 397.

Ἐπὶ Κλεισιλ-
πίδα Ἀρίστω-
ρος Κνίδι trident

8. Knidian handle double-struck by two different dies.

SS 1489 (Z). Somewhat twisted handle with short arched upper part; worn bit of rim preserved (flat top; no drip). Red clay slightly greyish at core; possible traces of slip. The die from which the boukranion is clear seems to have been applied over another impression, of which the boukranion appears, faintly, at right angles to the clear one. In this not absolutely certain order, the two read:

1. Ἐπὶ Ἀγί[α Διοσκ]οῦ[ριδᾶ] Κνίδ[ιον]
boukranion

2. Ἀνδρ[ῶν] Ἀριστοκ[λής] Ἀρτέμω[ν]
boukranion

Note the ..OY.. of Dioskouridas across the brow of the clear boukranion. For the first combination of names, see on **214**; for the second, on **185**. They are both dated, independently, with good probability in the 1st cent. B.C.

9. Early Christian seal.

SS 1092 (Θ—surface). The slightly rising upper part is preserved of a massive roughly made handle; the fragment was much worn after being broken. Coarse clay full of dark bits, brown, with bright red core; worn slip, now dark grey.



Δι[ο]γ(?) Christian monogram (retr.)

B. COMPARATIVE SHAPES OF STAMPED AMPHORAE

DESCRIPTION OF FIG. 1: PAGE 202

1. Chian amphora: third quarter of 5th cent. B.C.

SS 1838. Ht. 0.702 m. One of a series of nearly complete jars found in Section I in an ancient well the filling of which can be dated closely by the red-figured and black-glazed stamped ware included. Of the large jars, seven bear stamps: five, of which this is one, have the Chian coin type illustrated Pl. I, 1; these are all similar in shape

to a sixth, the stamp of which shows simply a kantharos; the seventh is no. 2 of this figure. For Chian clay, see the note on fabric (p. 201). For the profile of the handle, see Pl. II, 1. The capacity of each of the six similar jars is roughly twenty-two litres.

2. Amphora from the same deposit as the above.

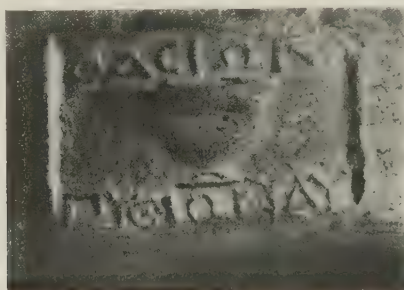
SS 1844. Ht. 0.62 m. Buff clay, micaceous and sandy. Just below the rim is set the stamp here illustrated.

3. Thasian amphora: 4th cent. B.C.

P 675. Ht. 0.55 m. For profile of handle, see Pl. II, 2. For stamp and note on context, see 4. On the neck is a N in red paint, neatly executed.

4. Thasian amphora: 3rd cent. B.C.?

Athens, National Museum. Ht. 0.75 m. First published in D. (p. 15, figs. 3-4). Micaceous dark red clay. The rim profile appears to be slightly more developed than that of Pl. II, 3.



Θασίων
vase
Πυθίων αἰ

The other handle is unstamped.

5. Rhodian amphora: early 3rd cent. B.C.

SS 370 (ΣΤ— in a cistern; deposited not much later than two Kertch vases to be dated about 310 B.C., the fragments partly mingling). Ht. 0.75 m. Light reddish buff clay with some bits; worn remains of slip. Between the handles, at the base of the neck, observe the scratched letters:

KP*

For the stamp, see 77.

6. Amphora from the same deposit: Knidian?

SS 371. Ht. 0.79 m. Fairly fine reddish buff clay with dark bits and a few particles of mica. For the stamp, see 233. The handle to the right in the photograph is a restoration.



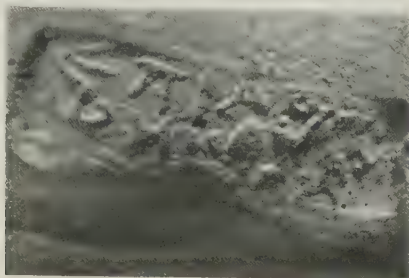
SS 1844

7. Knidian amphora: 2nd cent. B.C.?

Chalkis museum. Ht. 0.875 m. A large part missing from the other side of the body. Very greyish clay. On the neck between the lower handle attachments, on the unphotographed side, are letters 0.04 m high in dark matt paint:

ΠΡΑΛ

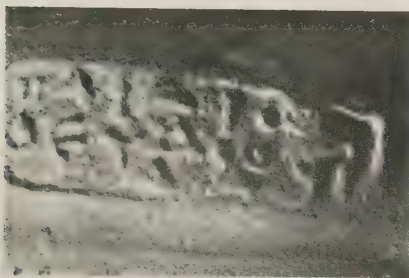
The stamps are not from the same die, but supplementary (see p. 205). They are set so that the one on the right handle is inverted.



a)

Ἐπὶ Ἀ[π]ολλέ-
ωνιον Κν-
ιδιον

Cf. D. 305, 30 b.



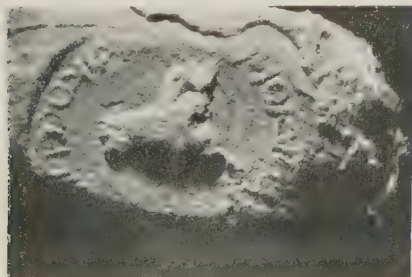
b)

Ηαιδίων
Θεωδωρί-
δα

Cf. D. 296-298,
162-169.

8. Knidian amphora: ? A.D.

Thebes museum. Ht. 0.94 m. Surface covered with a lime deposit except in small patches including one handle. Coarse red clay with dark bits. Both handles stamped, but only the boukranion recognizable on one. The other is as follows:



Ἐπὶ [...^{ca.}...[?]...] Κνιδιον Ι[...^{ca.}...^{4.}]διος (retr.)
boukranion

No parallel has been found. "Κνιδιον" interpolated in the middle of the legend is very rare on circular seals.

C. COMPARATIVE PROFILES AND SECTIONS OF HANDLES

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE II: OPPOSITE PAGE 310

The sections are taken at the centre of the seal save in the case of no. 1; the irregular raised portion on no. 7 is its rather prominent boukranion. The types illustrated by nos. 5 and 6 continue well into the 2nd century with little change. Note in the descriptions of nos. 4 and 5 that the dates have been somewhat modified by investigations subsequent to the preparation of Plate II.

1. Chian handle: third quarter of the 5th cent. B.C.

Handle of the amphora SS 1839 of which Fig. 1, 1 is a mate from the same deposit.
For stamp, see Pl. I, 1.

2. Thasian handle: 4th cent. B.C.

Handle of the amphora P 675; see Fig. 1, 3.
For stamp and note on context, see comment on 4.

3. Thasian handle: 3rd cent. B.C., second third.

SS 139 (A—BHW).
For stamp, see 8.

4. Rhodian handle: 3rd cent. B.C., before ca. 225.

SS 1528 (Θ—HF, possibly disturbed). Stamp of the fabricant Pausanias. Cf. 30–35.

5. Rhodian handle: 3rd cent. B.C., last quarter.

SS 671 (Θ—HF).



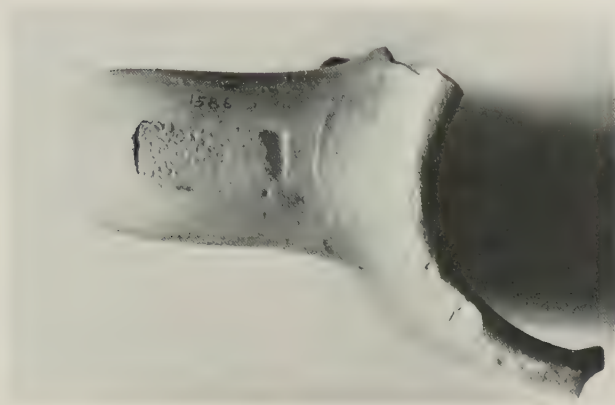
Ὀλύμπου rose

Like N. 343, 1.

No. 5. SS 671

6. Knidian handle: latter part of the 3rd cent. B.C.

SS 1586 (Z—mixed classical filling).



No. 6. SS 1586

Ἰάσονος Κν[ί]διον
ἐπὶ Ἀθισιά-
χου trident right

Like D. 261, 91.

7. Knidian handle: Roman period.

Handle of an amphora in the Thebes museum.

For photographs of the pot and seal, see Fig. 1, 8 and p. 305, 8.

8. Parian handle: probably 2nd cent. B.C.

SS 26 (A).

For seal, see 220.

IV. INDEX OF NAMES ON STAMPS PUBLISHED IN THIS ARTICLE

K = KNIDIAN; R = RHODIAN; T = THASIAN; SR = SOUTH RUSSIAN; UNC = UNCERTAIN PROVENIENCE

OFFICIAL TITLES

Ἀνδρες, K 185-187, 211-212; SS 1489, see

Fig. 5, 8

Ἀρχοντες, K 181-183

Ἀσύννομος, SR 221

Δαμογόος, K 131

Ἱερθεύς, R 39, 40, 72, 74, 96

Ἰππαρχος (perhaps a proper name), K 132

Φρούραρχος, K 177-179

RHODIAN MONTHS

Ἀργιάντιος, R 17, 29, 36, 75

Ἀγραμίτιος, R 23, 53, 55, 73, 76, 96(?)

Βαδρόμιος, R 57(?)

Δάλιος, R 16, 20, 42, 47, 66(?)

Διόσθιος, R 27

Θεσμοφόριος, R 25, 26, 54, 85

Θενδαίσιος, R 28

Καρνεῖος, R 21, 24, 43, 44, 59

Πάναμος, R 41, 71; SS 1577 a, see Fig. 5, 4

Σμίνθιος, R 50, 86, 95(?)

Ἰακινθῖος, R 19, 49, 81

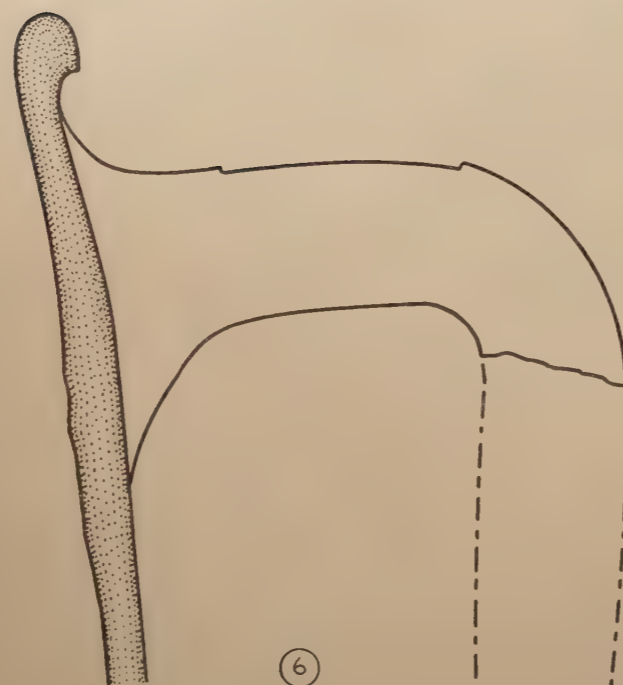
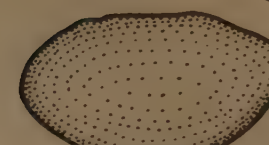
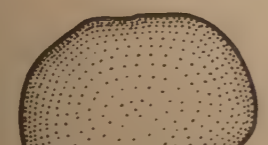
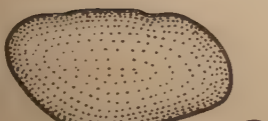
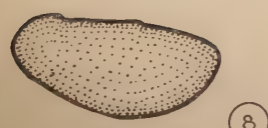
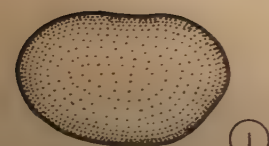
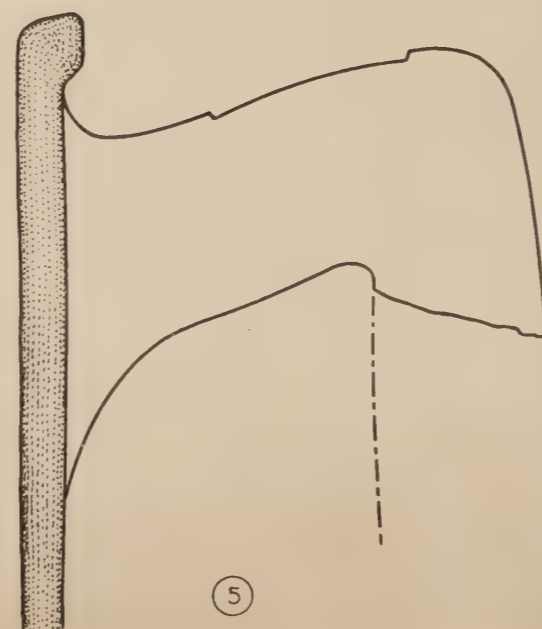
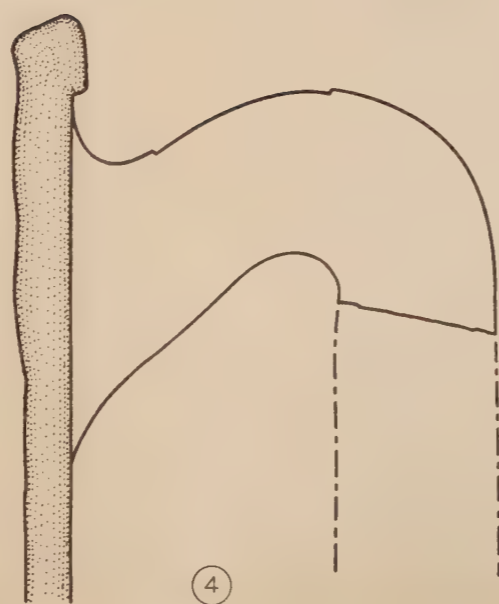
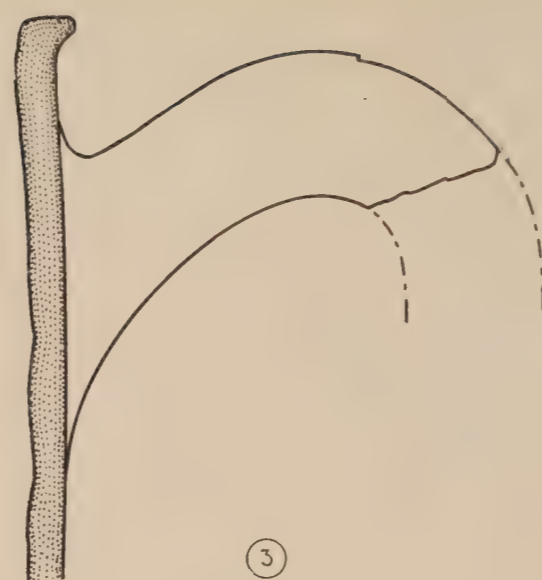
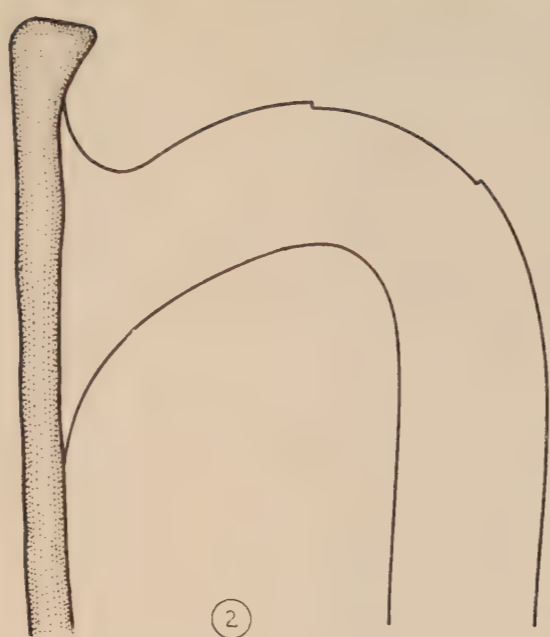
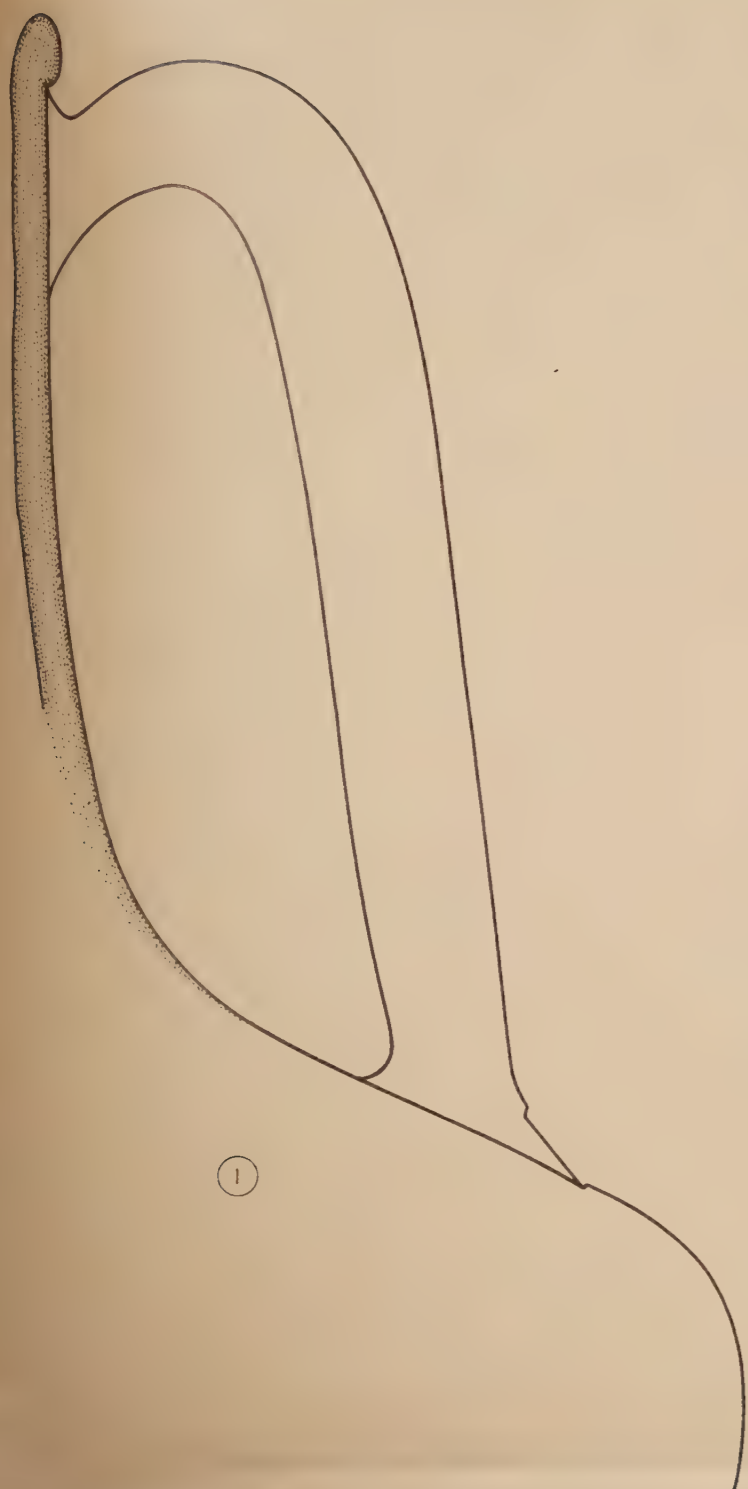
(Not represented are *Πεδαγείτννος* and the intercalary month *Πάναμος δεύτερος*.)

PROPER NAMES

- Ἀγαθοκλῆς, K 138, 141; R 51; UNC 223
 Ἀγίας, K 172–173, 214; SS 1489, see Fig. 5, 8
 Ἀγλοόμβροτος, R 41
 Ἀγλώκριτος, R 22
 Ἀγοράναξ, R 49–50
 Ἀθανόκριτος, K 148–149
 Ἀθη, UNC 234
 Ἀθήναιος, K 159
 Ἀθηόνας?, K 191–192
 Ἀισχυλῖνος, R 70
 Ἀμμώνιος, K 154
 Ἀνάξανδρος, K 164–167; R 58
 Ἀναξιππίδας, K 152
 Ἀνδρι, UNC 238
 Ἀνδροκλῆς, K 217?
 Ἀπολλόδοτος, K 186
 Ἀπολλώνιος, K 119, 152, 197; Chalkis museum amphora, see p. 305, no. 7a. Ἀ. Πισίδας, UNC 222
 Ἀρισταγόρας, K 144–145
 Ἀρίσταινος, K 171
 Ἀρίσταρχος, K SS 1586, see p. 307, no. 6
 Ἀριστείδας, K 112; R 57, 96
 Ἀριστίων, K 101?; R 46
 Ἀριστόβουλος, K 187, 190
 Ἀριστοκλῆς, K 119, 185, 204–206. SS 885, see Fig. 5, 6; SS 1489, see Fig. 5, 8
 Ἀριστοκράτης, R 52
 Ἀριστομήδης, K 130, 219
 Ἀριστομένης, T SS 1723, see Fig. 5, 2
 Ἀριστόπολις, K 193
 Ἀρίστων, K SS 1861, see Fig. 5, 7; R 55
 Ἀριστωνίδας, R 39
 Ἀρμοσίλας, R 85
 Ἀρτεμίδωρος, R 26–27
 Ἀρτέμων, K 185; SS 1489, see Fig. 5, 8
 Ἀρχαγόρας, K 170–174
 Ἀρχιλαίδας, R 59
 Ἀσκ(λ)ηπιάδης, K 127–129
 Ἀσκληπιόδωρος, K 120, 133–134
 Ἀσπάσιος, K 177
 Ἀστράγαλος, K 109–111
 Βά(των?), T 9
 Βρόμιος, R 60
 Γόργος, T 13
 Ἰάμας?, K 181–183
 Λαμάτριος, K 144–145
 Λαμοκλῆς, R 42
 Λαμοκράτης, K 202, 204–206; R 90–92
 Δε[, UNC 261
 Δη[, UNC 257
 Δημήτριος, K 140, 180
 Δι, UNC 262
 Διογένης, K 143
 Διόγνητος, K 186
 Διόδοτος, K 151
 Διοκλῆς, K 150–151(?), 203(?)
 Διον, SS 1092, see Fig. 5, 9
 Διόννος, K 153
 Διονύσιος, K 131–132, 175–176, 203, 208; SR 221; UNC 254
 Διος, R 45
 Διοσκουρίδας, K 213–214; SS 1489, see Fig. 5, 8
 Δίσκος, R 24–25
 Δοξαῖος, K 122
 Δράκων, K 102–105, 155
 Ἐι?, UNC 255
 Ἑλλάνικος, R 87
 Ἑλφ, UNC 260
 Ἑπαι, UNC 239
 Ἑπίδαμος?, K 99
 Ἑπικράτης, R SS 1577, see Fig. 5, 5
 Ἑπινικίδας, K 159–161
 Ἑπιφάνης, K 132
 Ἑρμοκράτης, K 125, 133
 Ἑρμόφαντος, K 153–154, 156
 Εὐαλκίδης, T 12
 Εὐβονλίδας, K 163
 Εὐβονλος, K 147, 188, 194, 211–212
 Εὐκράτης, K 108, 130
 Εὐκρατίδας, R SS 1183, see Pl. I, 5
 Εὐκρατίων, K 117, 123
 Εὐρύνα, T SS 1675, see Fig. 5, 1

- Εὐφραγόρας*, K 168, 170
Εὐφραντίδας, K 188
Εὐφράνωρ, K 162-163
Εὐφρόσυνος, K 146
Εὐφρων, K 138
Ζη, UNC 235, 247, 256
Ζηνόδοτος, K 200; R 66
Ζήνων, R 77-78
Ἑγήσιππος(?), T 7
Ἑράκλειτος, T 4
Ἑρόδοτος, K 139
Ἑρόφαντος?, K 199
Ἡφαιστίων, K 200
Θαλινβροτίδας, K 120
Θεαίδης, R 47
Θέδοτος, K 155
Θεογένης, UNC 251
Θεοφι, UNC 258
Θέστωρ, R 53
Θεν, UNC 257, 263-265
Θευγένης, K 106
Θεύδαμος, K 160
Θευδόσιος, K 141-143
Θευδωρίδας, K Chalkis museum amphora, see p. 305, no. 7 b
Θεύκλιτος, UNC 223
Θηροκράτης, K 97-98, 139
Θρασύδαμος, R 81
Θράσων, K 97-100; T SS 1723, see Fig. 5, 2
Ἰάσων, K SS 1586, see p. 307, no. 6
Ἰκέσιος, UNC 240-241
Ἰμ[, UNC 224-225
Ἰππαρχος, K 132
Ἰπποκράτης, R 93-94
Ἰππόλοχος, K 134
Ἰππών, SR 221
Καλλιδάμας, K 164
Καλλικράτης, R 29; T 2
Καλλικρατίδας, R 54
Καρνεάδας, K 188, 211-212
Καρνεόδοτος, K 131
Κλαμ, UNC 250
Κλεανδρίδας, K 115-116
Κλεισιππίδας, K SS 1861, see Fig. 5, 7
Κλειτόμαχος, R 44
Κλεοφῶν, T 3
Κλέπολις, K 124
Κλευπόλεις, UNC 242
Κλέων, K 125
Κληνόπολις, K 126
Κράτης, K 184
Κρόνιος(?), UNC 248
Κυδοκλῆς, K 198
Κυδοσθένης, K 180-183
Κύπρος, K 219
Κῦρος, UNC 237
Λέων, K 199(?)
Μάρων, K 130
Μελάντας, K 187, 190
Μεν, UNC 229-230
Μενανδρος, R 66
Μενεκράτης, K 165, 195; R 38
Μενέστρατος, K 168, 201(?)
Μένης, K 162
Μενιπ, UNC 253
Μένιππος, K 135-136
Μενο, UNC 252
Μέντωρ, K 161; R 28
Μένων, R 73, 86
Μη, UNC 226-227
Μίνθος, R 19-21
Μόρις, K 108
Νεκίας, K 127-129
Νικα, K 105
Νικάνωρ, K 209
Νίκαρχος, R 64
Νικασίβουλος, K 106-107
Νικίας, K 123, 126
Νικόστρατος, UNC 244
Νίκων, R 69
Ξάνθος, K 135-137
Ξενοκλῆς, K 142, 148, 150, 151(?)
Ξερόστρατος, R 17, 18
Ξερότιμος, R 79
Ξενοφάνης, R 56
Ξενοφάντος, R 40
Ὀλοφέρνης, K 176
Ὀλύμπιος, R SS 671, see p. 306, no. 5

- Παρμενίσκος*, UNC 245
Πανσανίας, R 30–37; SS 1528, see p. 306, no. 4
 SS 1577, see Fig. 5, 4
Πισίδας—*Ἀπολλώνιος II.*, UNC 222
Πισίνους, K 213
Πολι(ούλης?), K 100
Πολιοῦχος, K 109–111
Πολίτας, K 174, 184
Πολυκράτης, R 23
Πολύχαρμος, K 130
Πολύχαρος, K 118
Πρ, UNC 229–230
Πτολεμαῖος, K 175
Πυθίων, T 11; Athens National museum amphora,
 see p. 304, no. 4
Ῥόδων, R 61–62
Σιμίας, UNC 243
Σιμωνίδης, R 74–76
Σκίπτος, K 112–118
Στρατόνικος, R 80
Σω, UNC 247
Σωκράτης, K 179; R 48
Σωσίφρων, K 146
Σωτήριχος, R SS 1355, see Fig. 5, 3
Σωχάρης, R 16, 67–68
Τελεκρέων, K 149
Τελες, T SS 1675, see Fig. 5, 1
Τελεσίφρων, K 113–114, 140
Τιμαρ, UNC 259
Τιμαρχίδας, T 6
Τιμασκοράτης, K 166–167, 209
“Υευβουλος,” K 147
Φανόκριτος, T 9
Φίλιππος, K 124, 147
Φιλόδαμος, R 43
Φιλοκράτης, K 179
Φιλομβροτίδας, K 157–158
Φιλοστέφανος, R 63
Φιλόφρων, K 178
Φίλτατος, K 169(?)
Φιλωνίδας, R 72
Φορμίων, UNC 246
Χαιριμένης, T 1
Χάρης, T 10
Χαρμοκράτης, K 156–158
Χρήσιμος, R 83–84



- | | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|---------|---------------------------------|
| ① | SS 1839 | CHIAN | FIFTH CENTURY |
| ② | P 675 | THASIAN | FOURTH CENTURY |
| ③ | SS 139 | THASIAN | THIRD CENTURY |
| ④ | SS 1528 | RHODIAN | FIRST HALF OF
THIRD CENTURY? |
| ⑤ | SS 671 | RHODIAN | SECOND HALF OF
THIRD CENTURY |
| ⑥ | SS 1586 | KNIDIAN | LATE THIRD
CENTURY |
| ⑦ | KNIDIAN AMPHORA
IN THEBES MUSEUM | | ROMAN PERIOD |
| ⑧ | SS 26 | PARIAN | PROBABLY
SECOND CENTURY |



E 153. Relief Krater of the Late Second Century, B.C.

TWO CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC POTTERY

PLATE III

INTRODUCTION¹

THE object of this study is to clarify and amplify that chapter in the ceramic history of Athens which covers the time between the end of the fourth and the end of the second century B.C. The two intervening centuries constitute a definite period in the development of Athenian pottery. From the end of the sixth down to the closing years of the fourth century, Athenian potters had concentrated on the decoration of their finer wares in the red-figure style. In the course of those two centuries the style had developed, had realized its fullest possibilities, and, in the natural course of events, had gone to seed. Among the most vigorous of the seedlings, was a style of ceramic decoration known as that of "West Slope Ware." It will be well represented in the groups to be discussed below. We shall find reason to believe that this new style sprang up in the closing years of the fourth century and flourished during the following two centuries and more. To a time but little later than that of the origin of "West Slope Ware" we must assign the beginning of the Athenian manufacture of "Megarian Bowls."² These rapidly assumed such popularity as to become the typical finer ware among the deposits of habitation accumulated during those same two centuries. The beginning of the new era in ceramic history was marked further by an increased readiness on the part of the worker in

¹ The circumstances in which the paper was written have made impossible extensive study of comparative material in other collections, and even exhaustive bibliographical references. It was felt, however, that the mass of pottery here examined provides very largely in itself the evidence for its own study. To Herren Kübler, Kraiker and Schwabacher I am indebted for the opportunity of examining the quantity of similar wares accumulated in the course of the Greek and German excavations by the Dipylon, and Dr. Kourouniotes I must thank for showing me the Hellenistic pottery and the kernoi of Eleusis. To Miss Lucy Talcott and Mr. Arthur W. Parsons of the Agora staff I am under special obligation. Miss Talcott is responsible for the study of the two red-figure pelikai (pp. 427 ff.). Mr. Parsons superintended the excavation of several pits sunk in the filling of the Stoa of Attalos in search of Hellenistic pottery with a serviceable *terminus ante quem*, and he has discussed with me the results. The drawings and paintings are by Mr. Piet de Jong, the photographs, excepting those for Figure 79 and the note to E 63, by Herr Hermann Wagner. My wife has read and improved the manuscript and has prepared the index. Mr. Eugene Vanderpool supplied numerous references and measurements in my absence from Athens.

Mr. F. O. Waagé has already made some notes, particularly regarding technical details, on the Hellenistic pottery from the excavation of the first season (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 279 ff.).

² I retain the terms "West Slope Ware" and "Megarian Bowls" because, although not properly descriptive (we might now with equal propriety speak of "North Slope Ware," and it has yet to be proven that a "Megarian Bowl" was ever made at Megara), yet they have assumed a very definite connotation in the minds of those who interest themselves in such things.

clay to copy the forms and the effects of the worker in metal. This readiness was not a new thing, for many of the vase forms of the sixth and fifth centuries, where they can be compared with those of metal vessels, show clearly enough their origin in metal prototypes. But in the third and second centuries the dependence of the ceramic art is still more marked, not merely in the shape, but also in the thinness of the fabric, in the glaze and in the decoration, whether executed in paint or in relief. This phenomenon suggests what is undoubtedly a fact, *viz.* that metal vessels had become much commoner. Of this fact the explanation is to be found probably in the increased wealth of individual citizens, perhaps also in the diminished values of the precious metals consequent upon the sudden influx of the long-stored treasures of the conquered east. Nor is it improbable that the decline in the artistic merit and technical finish of the contemporary wares in terracotta was in some degree responsible for the growing favor for metal vessels. But here cause and effect are entangled, and it may be equally true that the increasing popularity of metal ware reacted unfavorably on the professional pride and zest and income of the potter. The beginning of our period is indicated by these various phenomena. Its lower limit is suggested by the observation that the craftsmen of the Kerameikos, who had for long held the markets of Greece and Italy, and who during the third and second centuries, though gradually losing ground abroad, still held firm the home market, were compelled to witness, toward the end of the latter century, the beginning of serious competition from abroad in the field of finer wares, even on the stalls of their own market-place.

The method adopted for studying the history of these two centuries is as simple as, it is hoped, effective. From the large number of closed deposits of pottery and other objects gathered in the excavation of ancient wells and cisterns in the region of the Agora, five groups have been selected which can with certainty be arranged in a relative chronological sequence from a consideration of the relative stages of development apparent in the specimens of objects of various classes recovered from the individual deposits. The absolute chronology of the various groups, i.e. the time when they were closed, can be fixed with reasonable closeness from various bits of internal and external evidence. The simple and perishable nature of the objects makes it improbable that they should have been kept either for use or for ornament any great length of time before reaching the dumps, and our suspicion that each of the groups is closely homogeneous from a chronological point of view is confirmed by the obvious lack of development among the objects of a given class within any one of the groups. The fixed points thus established have been used in tracing the history of a number of the types of pottery represented in the groups. In the following pages a brief description of each place of finding (well, cistern or storage basin) is followed by a consideration of the evidence for its dating and then by a catalogue of the pottery belonging to that group; and, after the five groups have been so treated, the conclusions are given in the form of general discussions of the principal types of pottery. Fault may be found with a method of illustration and description that has resulted in so thorough a scattering

of the various specimens of each type or class of object but it seemed wise to emphasize the unity of the individual deposits, for they are each as compact, or more so, than a tomb group.

Since the study has been confined closely to the material recovered from the five deposits, it must by no means be regarded as a complete history of Hellenistic pottery. Large and important classes of the ware have been but briefly treated or have been completely passed over. I need mention only the bowls or saucers with relief *emblemata* inset in their floors, one of the most distinctive and most attractive products of the third century.¹ It will be obvious, too, that the chance spacing of the groups has left large chronological gaps in the period, notably in the later third century. Each excavation season adds to the available number of such closed deposits and the continued exploration of the Agora will, it is hoped, accumulate sufficient evidence, not only to close the gaps left by this study, but also to confirm or correct the conclusions already reached.

GROUP A

THE WELL

In the excavation seasons of 1932 and 1933 there came to light the foundations of a building of no great size, along the southwestern edge of that which now appears to be the main market-square. Already in antiquity it had been ruined and restored at least once. The restoration involved the laying of a new concrete floor, studded with pebbles, over the original floor. The house of this second period was served by a well in its southeastern corner.² The well-head (Fig. 1) consisted of a squared block of *poros* (L., 0.805 m.; W., 0.79 m.; H., 0.295 m.) having an aperture 0.345 m. in diameter, which is just large enough to permit the passage of a man. Leaded into the top of the head are the lower ends of iron supports, probably of a windlass. Measured from the top of this coping, the depth of the well was 4.45 m. Its sides were curbed with six drums of heavy terracotta tiles.

Numbers of large water jars, complete or nearly so, scattered through the lowest meter and a half of filling, proved that this depth of rubbish had accumulated while the well was still in use. There was, besides the water pitchers, a good deal of household pottery: plates, saucers, bowls, cups, lamps, etc. and not a few fragments of large wine amphorae and roof tiles. A small lead weight (IL 59) had also fallen in, and a lead lid for a small container (IL 60). All this must have gathered within a limited number of years, for there is no consistent difference in point of development

¹ Apart from the material examined in this paper, the terracotta figurines and the wine amphorae with stamped handles which came from these useful contexts may at some future date be studied with profit.

² The well lies 30 m. to the south of the Tholos.

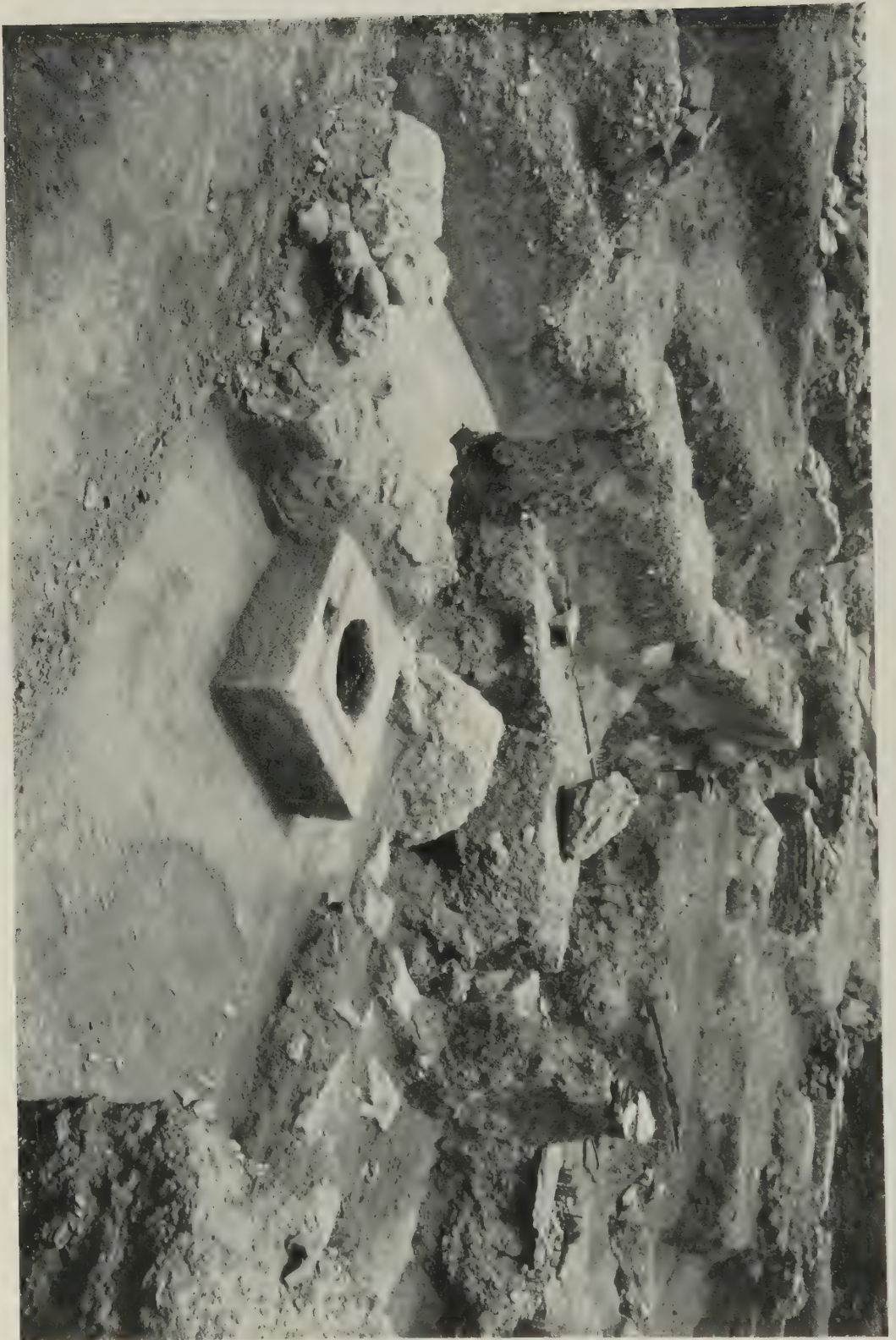


Fig. 1. Well A from the Northeast

between the objects coming from the very bottom and 3.0 m. below the mouth. The objects from this lowest filling are numbered **A 1—69** in the following catalogue.

The filling, however, between 1.50 m. and 3.0 m. below the top of the well-head was clearly different. The water pitchers were lacking. Indeed the pottery was scanty and very fragmentary. It includes **A 70—79**. On the whole, the pottery of this layer is slightly later than that from the lower; as shown best by the presence in the upper of the Megarian bowls of which not a sherd was found in the lower. We may suppose that this upper meter and a half was thrown in sometime after, though not long after, the well ceased to be used, probably when the house itself was finally abandoned. The sherds immediately overlying the house-floor close around the well-head are contemporary with those from the upper of the two fillings just described.

A rough stone slab was placed over the mouth of the well and it lay there undisturbed until lifted by the excavators. The ground level round about gradually rose with gathering rubbish and some of this later accumulation filtered in through the crevices along the cover slab, filling the shaft to within half a meter of its top. The latest sherds from this infiltrated earth are of the third century A.D. (fragment of a late lamp of Type XXVII; a bit of Late Roman A ware).

A good clue to the date of the lowest deposit in this well is afforded by the numerous close correspondences between the objects recovered from it and those from the Chatby cemetery of Alexandria. The points of comparison will be indicated in the description of the individual objects. That cemetery appears to date from the foundation of the city; indeed many of the vases from its tombs were probably carried south with them by the first settlers. The definitely limited range among the objects themselves proves that the burial place continued in use for a limited and brief time. Breccia, therefore, seems well justified in supposing that the finds from the cemetery run down but little into the third century.¹ We shall, then, be not far wrong in dating the lowest filling of the well to the turn of the fourth and third centuries. The upper filling will be a few years later; for its precise dating there is no external evidence.

¹ E. Breccia, *Catalogue générale des antiquités égyptiennes, musée d'Alexandrie; La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, Cairo, 1912, pp. x and 190. Indeed, comparison of the pottery and lamps from Chatby with the latest of those from Olynthos (destroyed in 348 B.C.) would make one wonder whether the Chatby finds descend at all into the third century.

CATALOGUE OF GROUP A¹

BLACK-GLAZE WARE: A 1-37

A 1 (P 1813) Plate at 4.0 m. Fig. 2

Heavy fabric. Low foot-ring. On the floor, within a triple band of rouletting, are six stamped palmettes joined by arcs of circles. Good black glaze. The stamping on this and A 70 is very similar in style to that of the large plates at Olynthos (*Olynthus*, V, pls. 157-159 *passim*).

W., 0.238 m. The rim is broken away all around.

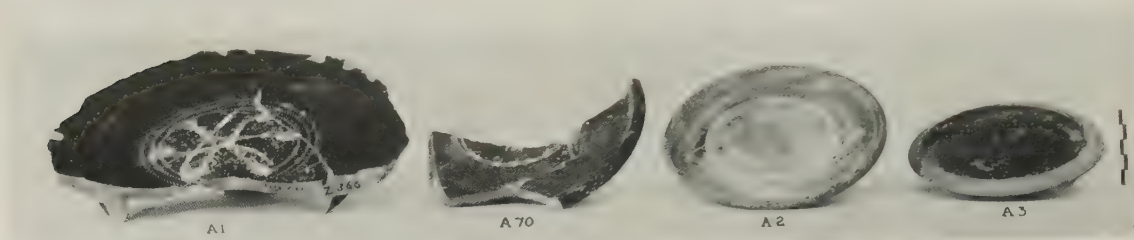


Fig. 2. Black-glaze Plates and Saucer from Group A

A 2 (P 2878) Plate at 4.45 m. Fig. 2

Similar in profile to A 70, but thinner in rim and foot-ring. On the floor, a broad, rouletted band. The glaze fired red both inside and out, and has practically all flaked away.

H., 0.025 m. D., 0.149 m. Broken but complete save for a chip from the rim.

A 3-5 (P 2879, 2867, 2868) Saucers with furrowed rims at 4.0-4.45 m. Figs. 2 and 117

Shallow; low foot-ring. The rim slopes down towards the outside and is marked by two deep furrows. Thin black glaze covers the floor inside the rim; elsewhere the surface is reserved. Similar saucers: C 2; E 27-32. A similar furrowed-lip profile occurs at Priene in the Hellenistic period (T. Wiegand and H. Schrader, *Priene*, Berlin, 1904, p. 442, fig. 554). A saucer of the same type from the Samian Heraeum shows an early profile, the furrowed lip being still quite level on top (*Ath. Mitt.* LIV, 1929, p. 45, fig. 33. 8).

H., 0.023-0.024 m. D., 0.124-0.132 m. All broken but nearly complete.

A 6 (P 1833) Bowl with outrolled rim at 4.45 m.

Foot-ring carefully moulded; lip rolled sharply outward. On the floor are five stamped palmettes set within a triple band of rouletting. Thin black glaze, fired red inside the foot-ring and over part of the interior. For the profile cf. *Ath. Mitt.* LIV, 1929, p. 44, fig. 32, 1.

H., 0.034 m. D., 0.094 m. Entire.

¹ The following abbreviations are used: D. = diameter, H. = height, P.H. = preserved height, W. = width, P.W. = preserved width.

A 7 (P 1832) Bowl with outrolled rim at 4.45 m. Figs. 3 and 115

Similar in profile to the preceding. On the floor inside are five stamped palmettes set within a triple band of rouletting and joined by arcs of circles. Excellent black glaze covers both inside and outside save for a reserved band just above the foot and for the bottom of the foot-ring. Scratched in the hard glaze of the floor: ME. These are the initial letters of the owner's name: *Mévor*. A cistern at the foot of the Areopagus yielded more of his table ware: the base of a kantharos marked MENΩN (P 897) and of another with the letters EN (P 898). Close by were found other fragments of similar ware, one incised ME (P 307), another MI (P 308), and a third M (P 309). From elsewhere in the excavations are recorded three more fragments, each incised ME (P 40, 41, 119).

Very similar stamping occurs on a like bowl from Chatby (*Sciatbi*, pl. LVI, 123: six palmettes of the same form as ours connected by *straight* lines). The palmettes on ours are closely similar in shape to those on the latest black-glaze vases from Olynthos, but the arrangement of the design is simpler than on most of the Olynthian pieces (Cf. *Olynthus*, V, pls. 155–159 *passim*).

H., 0.042 m. D., 0.127 m. Entire.



Fig. 3. Black-glaze Bowls from Group A

A 8 (P 2877) Bowl with outturned lip at 4.45 m.

The rim everted, but not rolled; the foot-ring high and plain. On the floor is a rouletted circle. Good black glaze covers inside and outside. A narrow band has been scratched bare just above the foot. On the bottom, inside the foot-ring, there are scratched through the hard glaze an *alpha* and a *pi*.

H., 0.038 m. D., 0.123 m. Broken but complete save for chips from the lip.

A 9–13 (P 2864, 1816, 1815, 1817, 4050) Bowls with outcurved lips at 4.0–4.45 m. Figs. 3, 115 and 117

High base-ring; flaring side-wall tending to become more angular as the series advances. **A 9** is covered with good black glaze, fired to purple in part. Of **A 10** and **11** the glaze has all fired red and has flaked badly. On the floor of **A 9** there is a double circle of rouletting. On **A 13** there are stamped palmettes within rouletted circles (Fig. 115). Similar bowls: **A 71, 72; C 3; D 2–6; E 33–44**. Closely similar is *Pergamon*, I, p. 269, No. 9, Beiblatt 35. For the profile cf. also fragments from Alexandria (R. Pagenstecher, *Expedition Ernst von Sieglin*, II 3, Leipzig, 1913, fig. 158, 3, 4, 6).

H., 0.037–0.046 m. D., 0.12–0.16 m. All broken but nearly complete.

A 14–18 (P 1834, 1818, 1835, 1837, 1836) Shallow bowls with incurved lips at 4.0–4.45 m. Figs. 3, 4 and 115

Heavy fabric; careful workmanship. Good black glaze. There are reserved lines on the bottom of the foot-ring and around its top. On the floors of **A 14** and **16** there are 4 stamped palmettes enclosed by rings of rouletting; on the floor of **A 15** there are 6 palmettes. The owner scratched his initial, a large *alpha*, through the glaze on the under-side of **A 15**. Similar shallow bowls were in common use at Olynthos in the first half of the fourth century. Cf. *Olynthus*, V,

pls. 154–156 *passim*. Comparison is made difficult by the lack of profile drawings. For the profiles cf. also pieces from Alexandria (*Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, fig. 158₂) and from Samos (*Ath. Mitt.* LIV, 1929, p. 43, fig. 31₁), both Attic imports.

Of **A 14**: H., 0.043 m. D., 0.135 m.; of **A 15**: H., 0.035 m. D., 0.122 m.; of **A 16**: H., 0.031 m. D., 0.101 m.; of **A 17**: H., 0.035 m. D., 0.113 m.; of **A 18**: H., 0.024 m. D., 0.086 m. All are complete save for **A 15** which lacks a fragment from its lip.

A 19–21 (P 2865, 1830, 1831) Deep bowls with incurved lips at 4.0–4.45 m. Figs. 4 and 117

Similar in shape to the preceding group, but deeper. Heavy fabric, careful workmanship, good black glaze. Close parallels for **A 19** are to be found in Attic exports to Samos (*Ath. Mitt.* LIV, 1929, p. 43, fig. 31₂) and to Alexandria (*Sciati*, pl. LVI, 117) and among the numerous small bowls of the earlier fourth century found at Olynthos (*Olynthus*, V, Nos. 872–878, pl. 175). A bowl with the same profile as **A 20** but with two horizontal handles is illustrated in *Sciati*, pl. LVI, 119 and 122.

Of **A 19**: H., 0.033 m. D., 0.07 m.; of **A 20**: H., 0.053 m. D., 0.113 m.; of **A 21**: H., 0.057 m. D., 0.109 m. Fragments are broken from the rim of **A 19**.

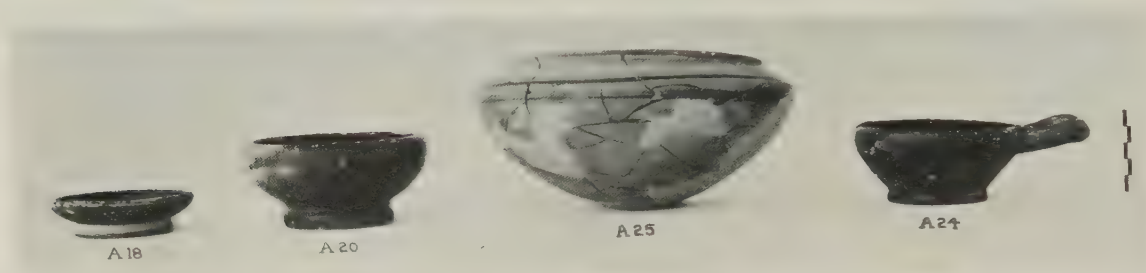


Fig. 4. Black-glaze Ware from Group A

A 22 (P 2863) Deep bowl with incurved lip at 4.0–4.45 m.

The foot-ring is high and thin, the walls lighter than those of the preceding. The glaze is firm but has a metallic sheen.

H., 0.057 m. D., 0.140 m. Broken and lacking fragments from the side-wall.

A 23 (P 2862) Deep bowl with incurved lip at 4.0–4.45 m.

Wall and foot-ring are massive. Inside and outside are covered with a dull black glaze, much flaked.

H., 0.096 m. Calculated D., 0.23 m. Only a small part of the bowl is preserved, but its profile is complete.

A 24 (P 2866) Deep bowl with incurved lip and one handle at 4.0–4.45 m. Fig. 4

A horizontal loop handle is attached to the lip. The glaze is dull and mottled black and red. Cf. *Delphes*, V, p. 165, Nos. 320–326, fig. 691: from a tomb dated *ca.* 400 B.C. (probably much too early). In the first half of the fourth century such one-handled bowls were very popular at Olynthos (*Olynthus*, V, Nos. 895–942, pls. 178–181).

H., 0.048 m. D., 0.100 m. Broken but complete save for small chips.

A 25 (P 2870) Lebes at 4.0–4.45 m. Fig. 4

The wall is remarkably light. Thin black glaze covers the inside and two narrow bands around the shoulder. For much the same shape in a smaller size cf. a rouge pot from Delphi (*Delphes*, V, p. 165, No. 339, fig. 694). The shape, of course, is reminiscent of the old classical lebes in terracotta, itself based on metal prototypes. Our piece, in its egg-shell thin and crisply baked fabric, is a successful copy of metal work but a most impractical vessel for everyday use.

H., 0.092 m. D., 0.196 m. Broken into many fragments of which some are missing.

A 26 (P 1829) Skyphos at 4.45 m. Fig. 5

Low foot-ring; bulging shoulder; flaring lip. The glaze has fired bright red both inside and outside save around the missing handle, where it is black. It is of good quality. A base of another such skyphos came from the same lowest filling. A closely similar piece is illustrated in *Delphes*, V, p. 165, No. 316, fig. 687: from the tomb dated ca. 400 B.C. There is an exact parallel from the cemetery at Chatby (*Sciathi*, pl. LVI, 120). The half century's difference in time between the Olynthian skyphoi of this shape and ours is marked by the greater contraction of the lower part and the decided bulge in the body of ours. Cf. *Olynthus*, V, Nos. 971–980, pl. 185.

H., 0.097 m. D., 0.094 m. One handle restored in plaster.

A 27 (P 1828) Kantharos at 4.45 m. Fig. 5

The body is low and compact; the foot-ring carefully moulded. Plain spurs project from the tops of the handles. The glaze is dull and has fired red on the bottom and the lower part of the body. In shape our piece is identical with a kantharos from Chatby (*Sciathi*, No. 168, pl. LIV, 109). Cf. also *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, fig. 151. The black-glaze kantharos of this general type was the popular drinking cup of the first half of the fourth century at Olynthos. The earlier date of the Olynthian specimens gives them a squatter, more compact shape, a foot more carefully moulded and broader in proportion to the total width of the vase and, more commonly, a heavy moulded lip, based closely on metallic prototypes. Cf. *Olynthus*, V, Nos. 505–532, pls. 148–150.

H., 0.086 m. D., 0.088 m. Entire, save for the tip of one handle.

A 28 (P 2876) Kantharos at 4.45 m. Fig. 5

Similar in shape to the preceding. Its glaze has fired red both inside and out around the foot-ring and lower part of the body.

H., 0.101 m. D., 0.098 m. Broken and lacking a fragment from the lip.

A 29 (P 1819) Kantharos at 4.50 m. Fig. 5

Its form is more slender than that of the preceding. Covered inside and outside with a dull black glaze which has completely flaked away over part of one side. A narrow band of glaze was scratched away from both the inside and outside of the foot. *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, fig. 147 is an exact parallel from Alexandria. Another from the Samian Heraeum: *Ath. Mitt.* LIV, 1929, p. 46, fig. 34, 2. For the shape cf. also *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, p. 23, fig. 31c.

H., 0.11 m. D., 0.083 m. Broken and lacking parts from lip and side-wall.

A 30 (P 2860) Kantharos at 4.0–4.45 m. Fig. 5

An almost cylindrical cup standing on a moulded foot-ring. Shallow grooves were run on the wheel around waist and lip. The handles are of the vertical strap variety, spurred each with a plastic mask. Dull black glaze almost completely flaked away. Identical vases were found in the cemetery at Chatby (*Sciathi*, pl. LI, 94; pl. LII, 101). Cf. also *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, fig. 148 and Baur, *The Stoddard Collection of Greek and Italian Vases*, New Haven, 1922, No. 213, fig. 47.

H., 0.116 m. D., 0.092 m. Mended from many pieces and lacking large parts of the side-wall.

A 31 (P 2859) Kantharos at 4.0–4.45 m. Fig. 5

Similar to the preceding in shape. The handles are spurred with plastic ivy leaves. Thin black glaze scratched away from a single groove around the body.

H., 0.114 m. D., 0.102 m. Fragments are missing from the side-walls.

A 32 (P 4098) Kantharos at 4.0 m. Fig. 5

Moulded base-ring; open mouth; strap handles spurred with plastic ivy leaves. Dull black glaze scratched away from a line around the body and another around the base-ring.

H., 0.072 m. D., 0.112 m. One handle and much of the side-wall restored in plaster.



Fig. 5. Black-glaze Drinking Cups and Pitchers from Group A

A 33–35 (P 1822, 1821, 1820) Kantharoi at 4.0 m. Fig. 5

Ovoid body; surmounted by a vertical neck with a slightly inset lip. The foot-ring is plain and heavy. Vertical strap handles. On **A 33** and **34** there is a wheel run groove around the body. Dull, black glaze which has almost completely flaked from **A 35**. There is a fragment of another such kantharos from the same depth. This same shape occurs in the Agora with West Slope decoration. A somewhat similar shape is found at Priene (*Priene*, p. 122, No. 69, fig. 540).

Of **A 33**: H., 0.12 m. D., 0.103 m.; of **A 34**: H., 0.115 m. D., 0.099 m.; of **A 35**: H., 0.154 m. D., 0.129 m. One handle is broken from each of **A 34** and **A 35**.

A 36 (P 1823) Oinochoe at 4.0 m. Fig. 5

Ovoid body; plain foot-ring; lip broadly flaring and pinched in at the two sides. The handle is triangular in section and terminates above in a spur projecting into the throat. Thin black glaze somewhat flaked. Cf. the plain pitchers **A 48** and **49**. Close parallels are to be found from

the tombs of Chatby (*Sciatbi*, No. 95, pl. XLIX, 78 [in plain black glaze]; Nos. 93 and 96, pl. XLIX, 76 and 79 [black glaze with a gilded wreath around the neck and with reeding on the lower body]). The form of ours (and of the Chatby examples) is a little plumper and obviously earlier than that of a series of pitchers of closely similar shape, but in faience, that bear figures in relief and the names of Egyptian rulers, beginning with Ptolemy Philadelphus (Breccia, *Cat. Gén. du Musée d'Alexandrie: Iscrizioni greche e latine*, pp. iii ff.; Pagenstecher, *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, pp. 118 ff.; 207 ff., pls. XXXI and XXXII. Especially useful for comparison is the vase bearing the name of Ptolemy Philadelphus [284–247 B.C.] illustrated by Pagenstecher, *l. c.* pls. XXXI and XXXII). For the shape cf. also *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, fig. 144, b₁ and b₂.

H., 0.195 m. D., 0.138 m. Chips missing from the lip are restored in plaster.

A 37 (P 2882) Oinochoe at 4.45 m. Fig. 5

Low foot-ring; low, plump body; trefoil mouth. Dull, purple glaze covers the inside and two broad bands around the body.

H., 0.225 m. D., 0.164 m. Broken into many pieces of which several from the lip and side-wall are lacking.



Fig. 6. West Slope Ware and a Kernos from Group A

WEST SLOPE WARE: A 38–39

A 38 (P 1812) Saucer with furrowed rim at 4.0 m. Figs. 6 and 117

Similar in shape to **A 3**, but more delicate. Inside and outside were covered with black glaze of fair quality. From the channels on the rim it was scratched away. On the floor a wreath of short-stemmed ivy leaves in thinned clay, interspersed with berries rendered by dots of white paint. In the middle of the floor a circular line of glaze was removed by the foot of another vase stacked here for firing.

H., 0.024 m. D., 0.128 m. Mended from several pieces and lacking part of the side-wall.

A 39 (P 2861) Kantharos at 4.0–4.35 m. Fig. 6

An almost cylindrical cup standing on a low foot-ring. There is a trace of a vertical strap handle. The upper part of the wall as preserved is filled with a group of diminishing rectangles

done in thinned clay and bounded below by one, above by two wheel-run grooves. The glaze is dull black, fired in places to red. Diminishing rectangles appear in the same position on a kantharos found at Delphi (*Delphes*, V, p. 173, No. 389, fig. 719): rectangles alternating with checkerboard on a piece from Aegina (*Aegina*, pl. 130₂). From one of the pits in the Stoa of Attalos there is a fragment from the lip of a similar kantharos with the same decoration. For kantharoi of similar shape but with different decorative schemes cf. *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, pp. 78f., Nos. 25 and 26; p. 91.

H., 0.113 m. D., 0.098 m. Only the base and a small segment of the side-wall are preserved.

A 40 (P 2869) Kernos at 4.0 m. Fig. 6

A sharp-edged flange doubly pierced on either side encircles the middle. The lip flares sharply. Fine buff clay retaining traces of white paint on the outside. Similar kernoi: **B 9, 10, 28, 29**.

H., 0.058 m. D., 0.094 m. The stem and foot and chips from the upper part are missing.

LAMPS: **A 41–47**¹

A 41 (L 859) Lamp, Type VIIa at 4.0 m. Fig. 7

Without handle. Its thin black glaze has almost completely flaked away. Another lamp of the same type: **B 38**. Lamps of this shape, with or without the side-knob, form one of the two types found in great numbers at Chatby, the other type being a simple saucer with its side-wall pinched in to make a beak. The second type was undoubtedly local; the first is distinctly Greek and many specimens of it must have been carried to Alexandria by the earliest settlers. We thus gain a good clue to the date of the type (*Sciatbi*, pp. 76 f.; pl. LVII). Nor is our specimen far removed in shape from some of the later lamps from Olynthos (*Olynthus*, II, pp. 141 ff.; Series 7, Nos. 71–88, figs. 305–307; V, pp. 279 ff., Group 8, Nos. 106–124, pl. 200). The rim of ours is slightly broader and the filling hole proportionately smaller than on the Olynthian lamps.

L., 0.08 m. W., 0.056 m. H., 0.038 m. Entire.

A 42–44 (L 860, 862, 863) Lamps, Type VIIb at 4.0–4.45 m. Fig. 7

Heavy walls; low base; one or more wheel-run grooves around the filling-hole. The inside is glazed, the outside lightly slipped and polished. Much of the slip has flaked from **A 42**. These lamps are very close in shape and fabric to those of the very latest type found at Olynthos (mostly of Attic manufacture): *Olynthus*, II, p. 143, Nos. 89 and 90, fig. 307; V, pp. 282 ff., Group 9, Nos. 125–133, pl. 201.

Of **A 42**: L., 0.092 m. W., 0.074 m. H., 0.046 m.

Of **A 43**: L., 0.091 m. W., 0.069 m. H., 0.046 m.

Of **A 44**: L., 0.091 m. W., 0.066 m. H., 0.043 m.

A fragment is missing from the side-wall of **A 44**.

A 45 (L 861) Lamp, Type VIII at 4.0 m. Fig. 7

Around the edge of the "discus" is a shallow groove. On the left side was a pierced knob. No trace of handle. The inside glazed, the outside polished. Cf. Broneer, No. 137, pl. III.

L., 0.083 m. W., 0.05 m. H., 0.038 m. The tip of the nozzle and most of the side-knob are broken away.

¹ The types as given in the catalogue are those established by Oscar Broneer in *Corinth*, IV ii: *Terracotta Lamps*, Cambridge, Mass., 1930.

A 46 (L 1566) Lamp at 4.0-4.5 m. Fig. 7

The side-wall is almost vertical; the rim is broad and flat, rising slightly toward the middle. Around the filling hole it terminates in a depressed shoulder, and it is set off from the side-wall by a groove. On the side is a pierced knob. Thin black glaze covers the inside; the outside is polished, but unglazed.

L., 0.058 m. Only a fragment from the top and side is preserved.



Fig. 7. Lamps from Group A

A 47 (L 1216) Lamp, Type IX at 4.45 m. Fig. 7

An angular side-wall; a flat-topped nozzle; a single groove around the filling-hole. Inside and outside are covered with glaze which has fired purple on top. The glaze was scratched away from the bottom of the groove. Cf. Broneer, No. 141, fig. 69 and No. 142, pl. IV.

L., ca. 0.059 m. Only a fragment from the top remains.

PLAIN WARE: **A 48-63****A 48** (P 2881) Water pitcher at 4.45 m. Fig. 8

Similar in shape to the black-glaze pitcher **A 36**. Gritty, buff clay, unglazed. Around the neck, a garland of ivy leaves and berries in black glaze that has almost completely disappeared.

H., 0.270 m. D., 0.169 m. Broken but complete.

A 49 (P 1838) Water pitcher at 4.45 m.

Similar to the preceding in shape, but undecorated. The clay is light yellow in color and contains much grit and many white particles.

H., 0.185 m. D., 0.181 m. The front part of the mouth is broken away.



Fig. 8. Water Pitchers and Cooking Vessels from Group A

A 50 (P 2872) Water pitcher at 4.45 m. Fig. 8

Bulbous body drawn in to a slender neck. The handle is round in section in its middle part. The lip has been restored on the analogy of a similar vase from another well. Buff, gritty clay.

H., as restored, 0.175 m. D., 0.180 m. The front of the lip and fragments from the side-wall are restored in plaster.

A 51 (P 1824) Water pitcher at 4.0 m. Fig. 8

The neck is thick; the mouth broad; the handle rises well above the lip. Made of buff clay containing not a little grit and mica. On the front are marks left by the fingers of the maker before the clay hardened.

H., 0.238 m. D., 0.171 m. Small fragments are lacking from the lip.

A 52 (P 2874) Water pitcher at 4.0–4.45 m. Fig. 8

The bottom is flat; the body slender; the lip flares slightly. A strap handle rises high above the lip. Gritty clay, yellowish green in color. A similar pitcher: **B 12**.

H., 0.202 m. D., 0.147 m. Broken into many fragments, some of which are lacking.

A 53–55 (P 2873, 1825, 2883) Water pitchers at 4.0 and 4.45 m. Fig. 8

The base is flat and but slightly offset from the side-wall. Ovoid body; tall, cylindrical neck; rolled lip; strap handle. A ridge encircles the neck at the level of the upper attachment of the handle. Buff clay containing grit and white particles. There are fragments of perhaps a score more of such pitchers from the bottom of the well. A similar pitcher: **B 39**. Several closely similar jugs were found recently in a Hellenistic tomb on Aegina. *Arch. Anz.* 1931, cols. 274 ff., fig. 35. The names painted above the individual burial places prove that two Thracians were among those interred. These were perhaps Thracian hostages or captives resulting from the Thracian campaign of Attalos II in 144 b.c. The dating by the months of the Macedonian-Pergamene calendar provides a *terminus ante quem* at 133 b.c. when Aegina passed into the hands of Rome by the will of Attalos III.

Of **A 53**: H., 0.328 m. D., 0.199 m. Of **A 54**: H., 0.283 m. D., 0.168 m. Of **A 55**: H., 0.260 m. D., 0.171 m. All three are broken but nearly complete.

A 56 (P 1839) Plain pelike at 4.45 m. Fig. 8

Plain foot-ring; concave collar around the mouth. Russet clay, gritty and micaceous. Similar pelikai of plain ware (locally made) have been found also at Olynthos (*Olynthus*, V, No. 635, pl. 160).

H., 0.207 m. D., 0.15 m. Fragments are missing from the lip.

A 57 (P 2884) One-handled cooking pot at 4.45 m. Fig. 8

Bulbous body; broad round mouth with angular rim; strap handle. Coarse gritty clay, deep red in color but much blackened by fire. Similar cooking pot: **C 69**.

H., 0.203 m. D., 0.199 m. Parts of the side-wall restored in plaster.

A 58 (P 2875) Casserole lid at 4.0–4.45 m. Fig. 8

A plain, convex lid with a small knob on top. Coarse gritty clay blackened by exposure to fire. Similar lids: **D 73–75**, **E 146–148**.

H., 0.049 m. D., 0.212 m. Broken but complete save for a couple of small fragments.

A 59 (P 4055) Lekane at 4.45 m. Fig. 122

Heavy foot-ring; practically straight sides; broad flat rim. Gritty, buff clay covered on the inside with red paint, daubs of which appear also on the outside.

H., 0.099 m.; estimated D., 0.23 m. About one-quarter of the vase is preserved, showing the complete profile.

A 60-62 (P 4056-4058) Rim fragments of lekanai. **A 60** and **61** are from 4.45 m.; **A 62** from 4.0 m. Fig. 122

One may judge of the complete wall profile from **A 59**. The clay of all the pieces is coarse, somewhat gritty, and buff in color. **A 62** is covered with brown glaze inside and out; **A 60** on the inside and the top of the rim only. The other pieces are unglazed.

A 63 (P 4062) Wall fragment from a lekane at 4.0 m.

From a steep-walled basin. While the clay was still soft, its inner surface was corrugated by means of a comb-like instrument. The entire surface was combed up and down; only bands were done horizontally. Coarse, buff clay, unglazed. Similar treatment of wall: **C 68**, **E 122** (Fig. 100).

H., 0.073 m. W., 0.120 m. Broken all around.

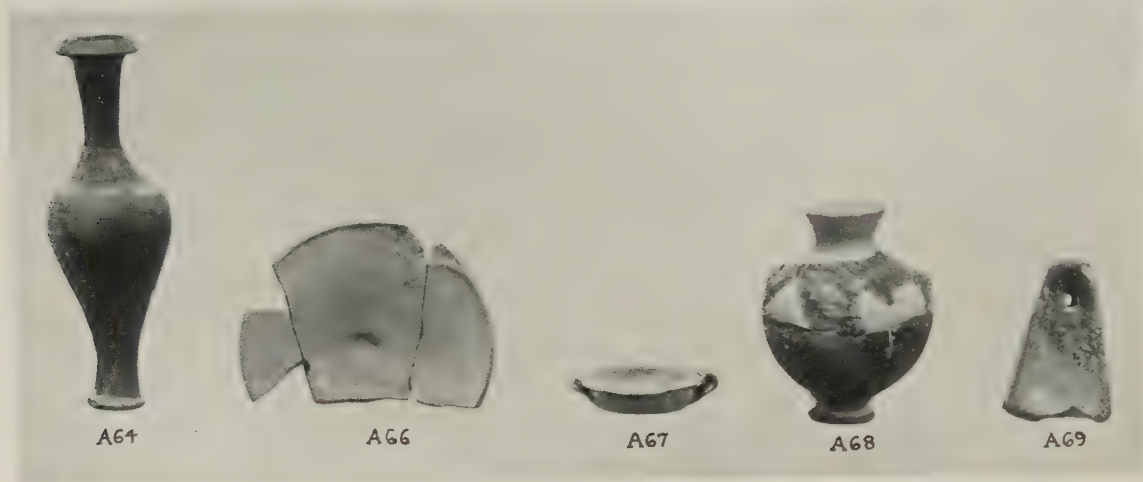


Fig. 9. Scale 1:3

MISCELLANEOUS: **A 64-69**

A 64-65 (P 1826, 1827) Fusiform unguentaria at 4.0 m. Fig. 9

Thin wall; well-turned lip and foot. The clay has fired from a dirty gray to a dull red in color. No trace of paint. Similar unguentaria: **B 6** and **7**, **44**; **C 76** and **77**; **D 77** and **78**; **E 137** and **138**.

Of **A 64**: H., 0.15 m. D., 0.048 m. (broken through neck, but complete); of **A 65**: H., 0.075 m. D., 0.028 m.

A 66 (P 2880) Saucer at 4.45 m. Fig. 9

It is little more than a flat disc, its edges raised slightly. On its underside are deep marks left in the removal from the wheel. Fine, buff clay, unglazed.

D., 0.103 m. Broken and lacking much of one side.

A 67 (P 1814) Miniature saucer at 4.0 m. Fig. 9

Flat bottom; steep walls; sharply outturned rim; two vertical strap handles. Roughly made. Fine, buff clay, unglazed.

H., 0.013 m. D., 0.051 m. Entire.

A 68 (P 2871) Amphoriskos of "Blister Ware" at 4.0–4.45 m. Fig. 9

A small-fusiform jar with sharply defined foot and two lugs on the shoulder. The clay is slate-gray inside, fired to a dull orange on the surface of both interior and exterior. Around the body are two bands of black paint; on the shoulder, one broad and several narrow bands.

H., 0.071 m. D., 0.067 m. The mouth is restored in plaster.

A 69 (MC 104) Loom-weight at 4.0–4.45 m. Fig. 9

A truncated pyramid in shape, pierced near the top. Fine, buff clay, covered, on the upper part only, with reddish glaze. A similar weight: **B 13**.

H., 0.067 m. W. of bottom, 0.042 m. Somewhat chipped.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS FROM THE UPPER FILLING: **A 70–79****A 70** (P 2858) Plate at 3.0 m.¹ Figs. 2 and 116

Heavy fabric; low foot-ring; thickened rim. On its floor, a single circle of rouletting. Glaze of good quality, fired red on floor. The plate is similar in fabric and profile to those in use at Olynthos in the first half of the fourth century. Cf. *Olynthus*, V, Nos. 609–625, pls. 157–159.

Calculated D., 0.190 m. H., 0.029 m. About one-third preserved.

A 71–72 (P 2857, 4051) Bowls with outcurved lips at 3.0 m. Figs. 3, 115 and 117

Similar in shape to **A 9–13**, but coarser. Inferior glaze, mottled black and purple, flaked. On the floor of **A 72** is a rouletted circle enclosing free-standing palmettes, of which two remain (Fig. 115). Fragments of several more such bowls were found at this depth.

Of **A 71**: H., 0.045 m. D., 0.125 m.; of **A 72**: P.W. 0.097 m. **A 71** is broken but practically complete; of **A 72** there remains only part of the base.

A 73 (P 4052) Fragments from the mouth of a West Slope kantharos at 3.0 m. Fig. 10

A garland of pointed pendants rendered in thinned clay was suspended between the handles. On the wall above, a horizontal line in white paint. Cf. **B 21**: a similar but earlier kantharos. Several more small fragments of West Slope Ware, two of them showing incision, were found in the same upper filling. For the pointed pendants on kantharoi cf. *Arch. Anz.* 1891, p. 19, No. 3; *Pergamon*, I, Beiblatt 39, 2 and 3; *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, fig. 34, 11 and 15. Such bands of pointed pendants are found on the necks of black-glaze hydriai or Attic origin found at Alexandria. The shape and fabric of these hydriai place them among the earliest Greek vases from the new foundation; certainly they must belong to the late fourth

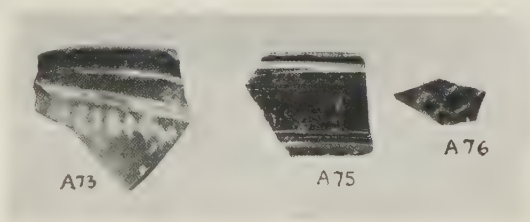


Fig. 10. West Slope and Megarian Bowl Sherds from Group A. Scale ca. 2:5

¹ Although the recorded depth of this piece is 3.0 m., it may well belong with the lower filling.

century (*Sciatbi*, No. 41, pl. XXXVI, 44; *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, p. 16, fig. 22 c). The same motive is to be found in the necklace-like garlands rendered in gold on the necks of silver vessels (*Ann. d. Ist.* XII, 1840, pl. B 16; C 4 and 7. Cf. Watzinger, *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, pp. 92 ff.).

H., 0.051 m. W., 0.055 m.

A 74 (P 1811) Megarian bowl with floral decoration at 3.0 m. Figs. 11a and b

The bowl is deep and well rounded below. In the medallion, an 8-petalled rosette enclosed by two grooves from the bottom of the outer of which the glaze has been scratched away. On



Fig. 11 a. A 74

the outer circle stands a line of scale-like leaves. From the same circle spring nine long petals, which may be based on those of the *nymphaea lotus*,¹ dividing the side-wall into as many panels.

¹ On the place of the lotus in Egyptian and Greek art see L. Borchardt, *Die ägyptische Pflanzensäule*, Berlin, 1897, pp. 3 ff., 12 ff.; T. Wiegand and H. Schrader, *Priene*, Berlin, 1904 (R. Zahn), p. 413; F. Courby, *Les Vases Grecs à Reliefs*, Paris, 1922 (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 125), p. 434; M. Möbius, *Jahrb.* XLVIII, 1933, pp. 25 f., fig. 15.

In each of the panels rises a fruit-laden spray of grape-vine, no two of which are identical. The upper zone consists of a band of quadruple spirals separated by rosettes, a band of double spirals and another of miniature sprays. The lip flares slightly and beneath it on the outside the glaze was scratched away, in a thin line exposing the miltos that had been applied over the surface of the clay. The glaze is a good glossy black, but it has flaked somewhat on one side. In the elegance of its design and the precision of rendering this bowl is unexcelled in our collection. For similar design cf. **C 16, 17, 38**. Watzinger (*Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 61, No. 8) illustrates a fragment of a closely similar bowl found in Athens. On the general type (*Bols à décor végétal et*

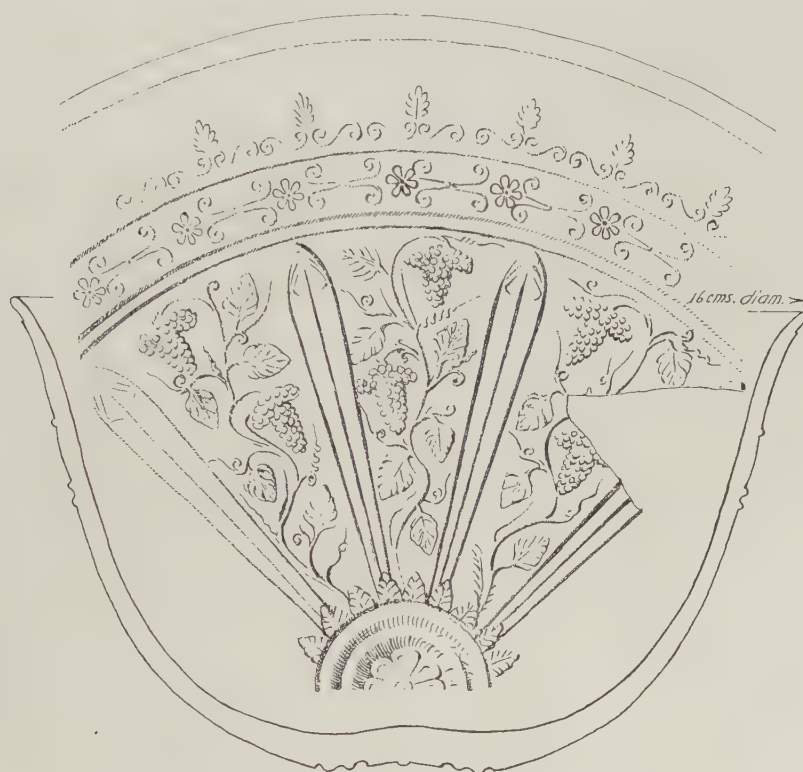


Fig. 11 b. **A 74**. Scale 2:3

floral, cf. Zahn, *Jahrb.* XXIII, 1908, p. 49, No. 3; Courby, pp. 334 ff. A striking parallel to this and the two similar bowls (**C 16** and **17**) is to be found in a glass bowl in the collection of Baron Rothschild, acquired in Palestine (P. Waillemier, *Le Trésor de Tarente*, Paris, 1930, pp. 29-31, pls. XI, XII). Its profile is identical with that of **A 74**. Its medallion is centered with an 8-petalled rosette from around which spring alternating acanthus leaves and pointed, heavily ribbed lotus petals. Between each leaf and petal springs a plant with long, wavy stem and many flowers. The upper zone consists of a band of meander between two lines of lozenges. All the ornament is rendered in gold leaf on a background of deep blue. Its publisher (*l. c.* p. 30) suggests a date, with good reason, in the first half of the third century.

H., 0.089 m. D., 0.155 m. Mended from many fragments, and lacking a large part of the side-wall.

A 75-76 (P 4053, 4054) Fragments from Megarian bowls at 3.0 m. Fig. 10

A 75 comes from the lip. Of the upper zone there remains a row of tiny sprays. **A 76** preserves the scale-like leaves from around a base medallion. Of both the glaze is dull but firm and both may be from the same bowl.

A 77-79 (P 4059-4061) Rim fragments of lekanai at 3.0 m. Fig. 122

The clay is coarse; of **A 77** buff in color, of **A 78** and **79** greenish-yellow. **A 77** is covered with flaky brown glaze on the inside and on the top of the rim. The other two are unglazed. Cf. **A 60-62**.

GROUP B

THE CISTERN

Where the northern slopes of the Areopagus begin to level out, there is a network of underground water reservoirs intended to supply the private houses of classical times which must have stood there to the south of the public market-square. A number of cisterns and chains of cisterns were cleared in the spring of 1932, and were found to have been filled up at various times between the end of the fourth century B.C. and the first century A.D.

As a specimen, we choose one which consisted of two slender, flask-shaped chambers connected with one another and with a cylindrical draw-shaft by means of tunnels (Fig. 12). Storage capacity was increased by blind tunnels, one running off from the draw-shaft, another from the southern chamber. The entire interior was covered with a single coat of waterproof plaster. The system went out of use section by section, no doubt because of the repeated caving-in of the soft bedrock in which it was cut. Thus the blind tunnel leading off from the draw-shaft was first shortened 0.50 m. by a wall of field stones set in clay and carefully plastered on the face toward the shaft. Later, the entire tunnel was blocked off by a similar wall set in the side of the shaft. About the same time, the southern chamber was dispensed with and the mouth of the passage leading to the north chamber was carefully walled, the one plastered face of the wall looking toward the northern chamber. Some rubbish would seem to have been thrown into the abandoned southern chamber, but later, perhaps because it was proposed to use this chamber for dry storage, the rubbish was shovelled into the blind tunnel and the mouth of that tunnel closed with a carelessly built wall of loose field stones. Some years later, the chamber was finally abandoned and filled in with earth. In the meantime, the passageway connecting the two chambers was sacrificed and its remaining mouth closed by a wall looking into the northern chamber. We cannot say what caused the final abandonment of the reservoir: some alteration in the overlying house, the provision of another source of water supply? In any case the northern chamber and the draw-shaft were eventually filled with earth, at the same time, apparently, as the southern chamber was finally abandoned.

As we should expect, the objects from the blind passage of the southern chamber (B 1-7) appear to be slightly earlier than those from the chamber itself (B 8-14). Between those from the blind passage leading from the draw-shaft (B 46-48) and those from the shaft itself (B 35-45) there must be but little temporal difference. Although the northern chamber would seem to have been filled at the same time as the southern and the draw-shaft, yet for greater precision its objects (B 15-34) have been listed separately.

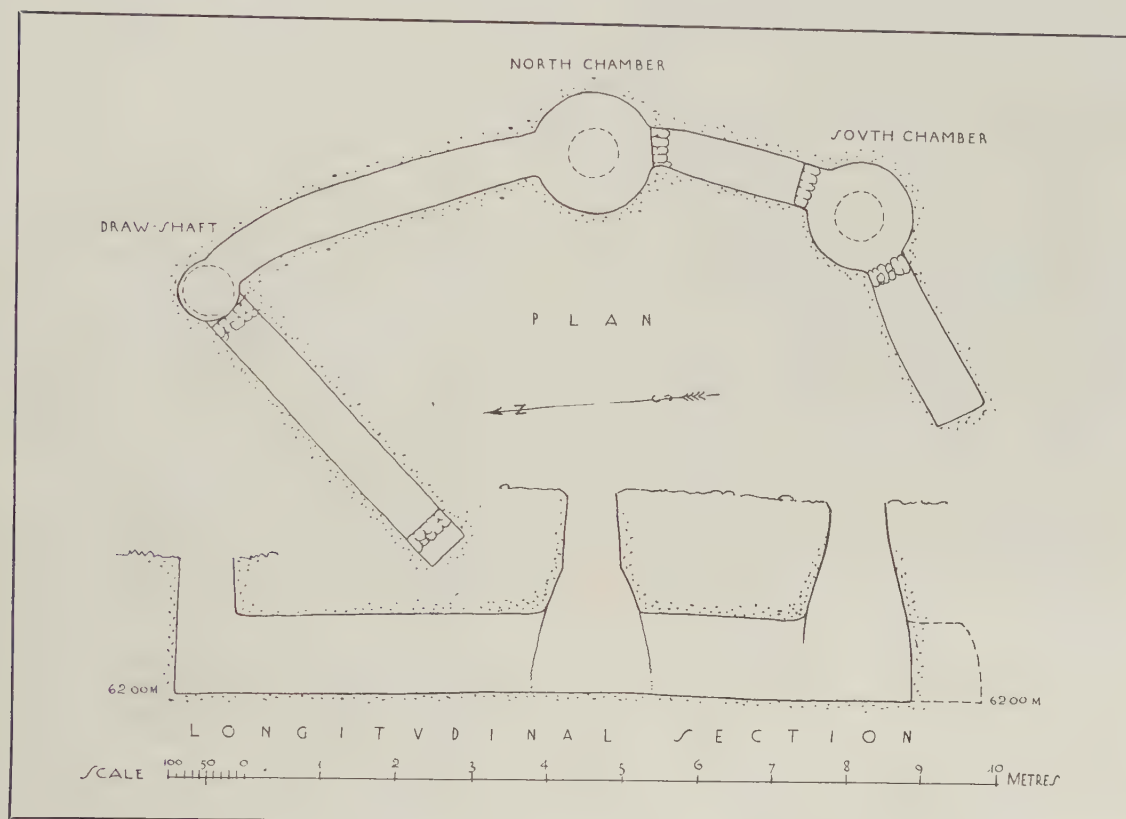


Fig. 12. Cistern B

In addition to the objects to be discussed below, it may be noted that the blind passage of the southern chamber yielded also a finely modelled, terracotta male head (T 313), a terracotta female head (T 314), a mould for the head of a dog (T 317) and several fragments from terracotta figurines (T 315, 318). Three bronze coins found in the tunnel all disintegrated in the cleaning.

From the southern chamber itself there came more evidence of a nearby coroplast's shop: fragments of some eleven terracotta figurines (T 290, 292, 294, 296, 297, 299, 300, 303, 304, 308, 309) and of five moulds for terracotta figurines (T 293, 295, 305, 338, 339), one for the torso of a cuirassed warrior being quite complete. From here too came

five large wine amphorae (P 1112-1114, SS 370, 371) of which one bore a Rhodian stamp and the others are of uncertain origin. Mingled with the upper filling of the chamber were not a few fragments of Geometric, Protocorinthian and Proto-attic vases which were undoubtedly thrown up when the votive deposit overlying the house of Geometric times a few meters to the south was for a second time disturbed (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 542 ff.). A glass bead was also found in clearing the chamber (G 14). Of seven bronze coins from the filling, four disintegrated in the cleaning process, one is illegible, and the remaining two, though very badly worn, appear to show a head of Athena, r., on the obverse, a double-bodied owl on the reverse, and to be of a type assigned to the early third century B.C. (Cf. Svoronos, *Trésor*, pl. 22, Nos. 35 ff.)¹

From the northern of the two large chambers we may note, in addition to the objects listed below, two small bone rings (BI 35, 36), a fragment from a marble statuette of a girl (S 215) and a couple of black-glaze sherds with graffiti (P 580, 633). Nor are the coins from this chamber more helpful: of ten bronze pieces, two disintegrated while being cleaned, the rest proved to be illegible.

The draw-shaft yielded, besides its pottery, a fragment of a female figurine in terracotta (T 170), a plain bronze ring (B 46) and four bronze coins. One of these is quite illegible. A second is probably an Athenian piece of Greek times. A third is of a type assigned by Svoronos (*Trésor*, pl. 22, No. 76) to the period 297-255 B.C., though perhaps somewhat earlier, and the fourth bears the name of Eleusis and its symbols: Triptolemos in a carriage, a pig standing on a *bakchos* (Svoronos, *Trésor*, pl. 103, No. 27).

For the dating of the material from the blind tunnel of the south chamber (B 1-7) the two r. f. pelikai, B 1 and 2, are most significant. Comparison with similar pieces from Olynthos, Chatby and South Russia suggests for them a date around 325 B.C. The circumstances of finding make it probable that all the vases from this filling once stood in the same "china closet" and reached the cistern at the same time. Even if we grant that the pelikai may have had a useful life of a few years, we may still suppose that the filling occurred in the closing years of the fourth century. If one may judge from the quality of its fabric and glaze, the pottery from the north and south chambers and the draw-shaft should not be much later in date than the group just discussed. Yet the coins from the southern chamber and the draw-shaft prove that they were open at least into the early third century. For their final closing up we may suggest a date in the first half of that century, perhaps about half way along. The objects from the blind passage of the draw-shaft (B 46-48) may be placed between the dates suggested for the two groups above.

¹ Jean N. Svoronos, *Trésors de la numismatique grecque ancienne; Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, Munich, 1923-1926.

CATALOGUE OF GROUP B

B 1 (P 1104) Red-figure pelike. From the south chamber, blind tunnel. Figs. 13 a and b

Moulded base-ring; handles triangular in cross-section.

A: the head of a veiled woman, r. Behind her, to the r., is a horse's head, r., to the l., a griffin's protome r.

B: two cloaked figures, facing; one holding a mirror. The scene on either side is bounded, above and below, by a band of egg-and-dot. A similar band encircles the down-turned lip.



Fig. 13 a. **B 1.** Obverse



Fig. 13 b. **B 1.** Reverse

Drawing and painting rude and sketchy. Remains of white paint on the horse's bridle, the veil, the woman's neck. Traces of dilute glaze over-painting. Glaze thin, mottled and flaking. Inside glazed to shoulder. Abandoning the old view that scenes such as that on the obverse of this vase were intended as abbreviated representations of combats between griffins and barbarians, Schefold has recently shown reason to believe that the female head is really that of a goddess, probably Aphrodite (Karl Schefold, *Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1934, pp. 147 ff.

Baur supposed that an Amazon is represented walking beside her horse: *Stoddard Collection*, comment on Nos. 136 and 137). For further discussion of this and the following vase cf. below pp. 427 ff.

H., 0.28 m. D., 0.168 m. Much of the lip and side-wall are missing and have been restored.

B 2 (P 1105) Red-figure pelike. From the south chamber, blind tunnel. Figs. 14 a and b, 114

Similar to the preceding in shape, fabric and decoration.

H., 0.28 m. D., 0.168 m. Much is missing from side-wall and base; restored in plaster.



Fig. 14 a. **B 2.** Obverse



Fig. 14 b. **B 2.** Reverse

B 3 (P 1106) West Slope amphora. From the south chamber, blind tunnel. Figs. 15 and 16

Low, flaring base-ring; squat body; high neck slightly concave; twisted handle with a circle of thinned clay around each point of attachment. Glossy, black glaze fired to red over much of one side. On either side of the neck between the handles a garland of ivy is suspended. Around the shoulder runs a garland. Toward the handles it is of grape-vine, with leaves, flowers and fruit. In its middle there is a band of wave pattern above two dotted lines surmounted by three dolphins with point rosettes between. The whole design was executed in thinned clay, save that on one

side the waves were filled with white paint (which has left nothing but a stain); on the other side they seem only to have been outlined. The glaze was scratched away from lines around the top and bottom of the neck and around the middle of the base-ring.

H., 0.21 m. D., 0.178 m. One handle and parts of the wall are restored in plaster.



Fig. 15

B 4 (P 1107) West Slope kantharos. From the south chamber, blind tunnel. Fig. 15

Moulded base-ring; shallow bowl; upper wall slightly inclined; strap handles each with a plastic ivy leaf on its top. On either side, suspended between the handles, a garland of ivy with stems, leaves and berries rendered in thinned clay. Metallic black glaze scratched away from lines around the base-ring and at the junction of bowl and upper wall. Cf. **B 22**. It is rare to find an ivy wreath rendered with such precision and without the use of white paint. There is a fragment from the West Slope of a bowl with a somewhat similar garland, its stem, however, done in white (*Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 71, No. 8 a): the lower part of the bowl was shaped in a mould for Megarian bowls.

H., 0.118 m. D., 0.11 m. One handle and much of the side-wall is missing.

B 5 (P 1109) Plate. From the south chamber, blind tunnel. Figs. 15 and 116

Plain base-ring; broad flat lip. Red glaze somewhat flaked. A similar profile from the Samian Heraeum: *Ath. Mitt.* LIV, 1929, p. 45, fig. 337.

H., 0.037 m. D., 0.16 m. Slightly restored in plaster.



Fig. 16. **B 3**. West Slope Amphora. From a Restoration in Water-color. Scale 1 : 3.5

B 6 (P 1108) Fusiform unguentarium. From the south chamber, blind tunnel. Fig. 15

Moderately plump. Red clay fired gray on the surface. Traces of white bands: one on the neck, one on the shoulder and one around the body. Similar unguentaria: **A 64, 65; B 7; C 76 and 77; D 77 and 78; E 137 and 138.**

H., 0.15 m. D., 0.045 m. Much of one side is missing.

B 7 (P 4095) Fusiform unguentarium. From the south chamber, blind tunnel. Fig. 15

Very plump; thin-walled and carefully made. Hard, red clay fired gray on the surface. There is one band of white paint on the shoulder.

H., 0.059 m., D., 0.032 m. Mouth and much of side-wall restored in plaster.



Fig. 17

B 8 (P 4096) West Slope kantharos. From the south chamber. Fig. 17

The upper wall gently concave; the handle a broad strap from whose top a thumb-rest has been broken away. The handles are bordered on either side by hanging ribbons and a head of grain rendered in yellow and white. Between the heads of grain there is a band of wave pattern outlined in thinned clay, filled with white paint. In the field, yellow dolphins alternate with white dot rosettes. For the scheme of decoration cf. the shoulder of the amphorae **B 3** and **35**; the kantharos **D 29**; *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 71, 8 b; a fragment from the upper wall of a bowl of which the lower part was moulded; *C. V. A. Pays-Bas, Musée Scheurleer*, fasc. II, III L & N, pl. 4, 6; a kantharos with spurred handles and with dolphins above a band of white strokes.

H., 0.070 m. D. of mouth, 0.095 m. There remain part of the upper wall and one handle.

B 9 (P 1110) Fragment of a kernos. From the south chamber. Fig. 17

A small bowl with flaring lip; around its middle, a broad flange on which one horizontal handle is preserved. Behind the handle the flange is doubly pierced. Fine, buff clay retaining traces of white paint inside and outside. Similar kernoi: **A 40; B 10, 28, 29.**

Maximum W., 0.061. Only a fragment from the side-wall remains.

- B 10** (P 4097) Fragment of a kernos. From the south chamber. Fig. 17

A shallow bowl with broad horizontal flange above which the vertical rim is broken away. At the break there remains a trace of a small hole pierced through the flange. Fine, buff clay covered with blue paint.

Calculated D., 0.18 m. A fragment from the lip remains.

- B 11** (L 650) Lamp, Type VII b. From the south chamber. Fig. 17

The outside reserved; the inside covered with red glaze. Similar lamps: **A 42–44**; **B 30**.

Only a fragment from the front part remains.

- B 12** (P 1115) Water pitcher. From the south chamber. Fig. 17

Flat bottom; slender body; round mouth; high strap handle. Buff clay containing white particles and grit. Undoubtedly from the same workshop as **A 52**, although the clay has fired to a different shade.

H., 0.23 m. D., 0.14 m. Fragments are missing from lip and wall.

- B 13** (MC 108) Loom-weight. From the south chamber. Fig. 17

Truncated pyramid. Fine, buff clay showing no trace of glaze. A similar weight: **A 69**.

H., 0.066 m. W., 0.048 m.

- B 14** (MC 109) Loom-weight. From the south chamber. Fig. 17

Conical with contracted bottom; the bottom punctured in four places perhaps to facilitate firing. Buff clay retaining traces of brown glaze. Similar weights: **B 34, 45, 47**; **D 80**.

H., 0.089 m. D., 0.063 m.

- B 15** (P 4063) Bowl with incurved lip. From the north chamber. Figs. 18 and 115

High base-ring; shallow bowl with slightly incurved lip. On the floor there are four palmettes stamped within a circle of rouletting. Glaze mottled black and brown; scratched away from lines at junction of side-wall and base-ring and beneath base-ring. A similar bowl: **A 18**. Similar stamping on *Sciatbi*, No. 183, pl. LVI, 121. For the stamping cf. also *Ath. Mitt.* LIV, 1929, p. 45, 3: a bowl with outcurved side-wall from the Samian Heraeum.

H., 0.033 m. D., 0.115 m. Chips are missing from the lip.

- B 16** (P 571) Lid of a small pyxis. From the north chamber. Fig. 18

Straight-walled, flat on top. Covered on the outside only with dull, black glaze.

H., 0.014 m. D., 0.042 m. Entire.

- B 17–18** (P 740, 738) Kraters. From the north chamber. Fig. 18

Carefully modelled foot; tall stem; deep bowl; gently concave upper wall; high-swung loop handles. Firm black glaze scratched away from a line around the foot. On the underside of the foot, a broad line was left reserved exposing the red miltos which covers the clay. A similar krater: **B 46**. Precisely this type occurs neither at Olynthos nor at Chatby. It is certainly

later in development than anything of the former site and possibly a little too late even for Chatby. For the same shape, with reeded lower wall, see Carl Watzinger, *Griechische Vasen in Tübingen*, Tübingen, 1924, G 2, pl. 50.

Of **B 17**: H., 0.12 m. D., 0.078 m. One handle and much of the lip restored in plaster.
Of **B 18**: H., 0.128 m. D., 0.095 m. Both handles broken away.

B 19 (P 581) West Slope kantharos. From the north chamber. Fig. 18

Vertical strap handles; high concave upper wall. On either side between the handles, an ivy garland rendered in thinned clay. Glossy black glaze fired to red in places and much flaked. An identical specimen from Chatby: *Sciatbi*, No. 169, pl. LIV, 108; cf. also Nos. 170 and 171, pl. LIV, 105 and 106. For the shape cf. *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, fig. 144, 5.

H., 0.11 m. D., 0.08 m. The foot, the handles and much of the lip are missing.



Fig. 18. Black-glaze and West Slope Ware from Group B

B 20 (P 739) West Slope krater. From the north chamber. Fig. 18

Sharply profiled lip. Loop handles. The lower side-wall was reeded. Between the handles hang garlands of grape-vine: the stems, the leaves and the fruit rendered in thinned clay, the flowers in dots of white paint. Glossy black glaze. There is a close parallel in Frankfurt on which the inscription ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ appears on the neck above the wreath (H. Schaal, *Griechische Vasen aus Frankfurter Sammlungen*, Frankfurt, 1923, pl. 59 e. Cf. below, **B 37**). A krater of the same shape but with a garland of ivy from the Samian Heraeum: *Ath. Mitt.* LIV, 1929, p. 46, fig. 341. For the shape cf. also Baur, *Stoddard Collection*, No. 353, fig. 97. Save for the shortness of its stem, this piece is close to the metal prototypes of the krater on the Megarian bowl **C 36**.

D. of mouth, 0.112 m. Base and handles and much of the side-wall are broken away.

B 21 (P 907) West Slope kantharos. From the north chamber. Fig. 18

Moulded base-ring. High, straight side-walls. Broad strap handles with plastic ivy leaves for thumb grips. Between the handles hang garlands: on one side of pendant buds, on the other of ribbons and conventional flowers rendered in thinned clay. Metallic black glaze scratched away from three grooves around the base-ring and from one on its bottom. Cf. **A 73** and references there given.

H., 0.13 m. D., 0.124 m. One handle and much of the side-wall restored in plaster.

B 22 (P 4064) Fragment of a West Slope kantharos. From the north chamber. Fig. 19

Thin wall, gently concave. Around the neck, a garland of ivy, its leaves and stems rendered in thinned clay, its berries in white paint. Metallic black glaze. Cf. **B 4**.

H., 0.044 m. From the lip.

B 23 (P 4065) Fragment of a West Slope kantharos. From the north chamber. Fig. 19

The upper wall was straight. Between the handles hung grape garlands: leaves, stems and fruit rendered in thinned clay. In the field above, an inscription in the same medium: ΔΙΟΝΥΣ[ΟΥ]. Metallic black glaze. For the decoration, cf. neck of **B 35** and *Delphes*, V, p. 173, No. 391, fig. 720. The names of deities appear not infrequently on these drinking cups (γραμματικά ἐκπώματα, illustrating the banquetting practice attested by Athenaeus, of naming the successive mixings of wine after various gods (XV, p. 692 c): καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πλείστων τῶν μὲν ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος αἰτούντων ποτήριον, τῶν δὲ Διὸς Σωτήρος, ἄλλων δὲ Ὑγίειας, καὶ ἑτέρων ἑτέροισι ἐπιλεγόντων, τοὺς τούτων τῶν χρόνων μεμνημένους τῶν ποιητῶν ἔδοξε παρατίθεσθαι. Cf. Picard, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, XXX, Rome, 1910, pp. 99 ff.; *Rev. Arch.* 22, 1913, pp. 174 ff.; Wolters, *Ath. Mitt.* XXXVIII, 1913, p. 198. To the five instances of ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ noted by Wolters, *l. c.*, add the present, a kantharos from Alexandria (*Sciatbi*, No. 180, pl. LV, 115) and the krater, Watzinger, *Griechische Vasen in Tübingen*, G 2, pl. 50.

H., 0.053 m. From the mouth.

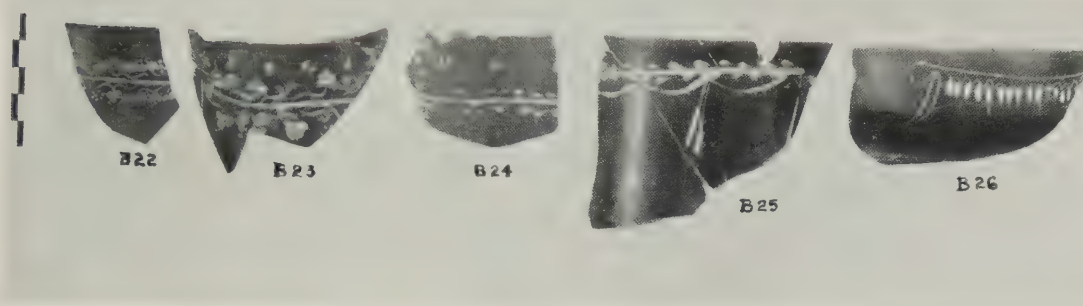


Fig. 19. West Slope Sherds from Cistern B

B 24 (P 634) Fragment of a West Slope kantharos. From the north chamber. Fig. 19

Vertical upper wall, plain rim. Around the wall, a garland of leaves rendered in yellow with dotted flowers in white. In the field above, a fragmentary inscription in thinned clay Ε[ΡΜΟΥ]. Metallic black glaze. This type of garland (probably a debased olive branch) is one of the more common motives of the West Slope repertoire (*Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 72, No. 10: pitcher; p. 78, No. 25: kantharos; *Delphes*, V, p. 173, No. 394, fig. 723: saucer; *Sciatbi*, No. 170, pl. LIV, 105: kantharos; pl. LVI, 118: bowl). This is the first appearance known to me of Hermes among the divinities who appear on the γραμματικά ἐκπώματα (cf. note on **B 23**).

P.H., 0.043 m. W., 0.057 m. From the upper wall.

B 25 (P 4066) Fragment of a West Slope kantharos. From the north chamber. Fig. 19

The upper wall is gently concave. The handles are joined by a garland of olive from which ribbons are draped. The whole is rendered in thin clay. Firm black glaze.

P.H., 0.073 m. From the mouth.

B 26 (P 4067) Fragment of a West Slope bowl. From the north chamber. Fig. 19

Steep wall; plain lip. On the side-wall, a garland of which the ribbon is rendered by incision, the pendants by thinned clay. Firm black glaze. There are bowls of somewhat similar shape from Pergamon (*Pergamon*, I, p. 273, figs. b and c).

Estimated D., 0.11 m. Only a piece of the side-wall remains, retaining a trace of a handle.

B 27 (P 815) Kernos. From the north chamber. Fig. 20

A large shallow bowl standing on a high standard; its rim is thickened and flat on top. At regular intervals around the rim were set nine shallow, wheel-made bowls. The loop handles are bent in over the rim. Fine buff clay; glossy black glaze somewhat flaked. The glaze has been scratched away from broad lines, one at the junction of bowl and standard, two around the foot-ring.

Total H., 0.163 m., H. of large bowl, 0.13 m. D. of large bowl, 0.255 m. D. of small bowls, 0.067–0.069 m. Of the nine small bowls, four are missing.



Fig. 20. **B 27.** Kernos from Group B. Scale *ca.* 1:4

B 28 (P 585) Kernos. From the north chamber. Fig. 21

A small bowl with flaring lip set on a high plain stand. Around the middle of the bowl runs a broad flange to which a horizontal handle is attached on either side. Alongside each handle the flange is pierced in two places. Fine buff clay retaining traces of white paint inside and outside. Similar kernoi: **A 40**; **B 9, 10**.

H., 0.07 m. D., 0.074 m. Entire save for chips from the lip.

B 29 (P 4068) Fragment from the lid of a kernos. From the north chamber. Fig. 21

Fitted with a broad flange to rest on the rim of a bowl. The upper part is of open work. Fine buff clay retaining traces of white paint. Kernoi similar to that to which this lid belonged: **A 40**; **B 9, 10, 28**.

Calculated D., 0.12 m. Only a fragment from the lower edge remains.

B 30 (L 549) Lamp, Type VIIb. From the north chamber. Fig. 21

Around the filling-hole, one deep and one shallow groove. No handle or knob. Covered on the inside only with firm red glaze. Similar lamps: **A 42–44**, **B 11**.

L., 0.088 m. W., 0.065 m. H., 0.044 m. Entire.

B 31 (P 737) Askos. From the north chamber. Fig. 21

Low base-ring; broadly flaring mouth. Fine, buff clay covered on the inside, on the mouth and on the top of the handle with black glaze. The outside is covered with a polished slip. There

is an identical askos from Chatby (*Sciatbi*, pl. LIX, 135) and others from Olynthos (*Olynthus*, V, 1933, Nos. 1066–1070, pl. 192. These are assigned to the fourth century. They bear a striking resemblance to Nos. P 42 and 43, p. 31, pl. 28, which are regarded as pre-Persian).

H. with handle, 0.10 m. Parts of the side-wall restored in plaster.

B 32 (P 741) Round-bottomed pitcher. From the north chamber. Fig. 21

Round bottom; contracted neck with slightly flaring lip; strap handle. Thin brown glaze covering handle attachments only. Cf. **C 8**. A closely similar specimen from Chatby: *Sciatbi*, I, p. 89, No. 271, fig. 48. A local vase of the same shape found at Olynthos is assigned to the pre-Persian period (*Olynthus*, V, pp. 33 f., P 48, pl. 31; cf. also Nos. 839–841, pl. 173). The shape appears commonly in metal, for instance, in the National Museum, Nos. 100, 149 and 7595.

H., 0.068 m. D., 0.087 m. Chips missing from lip.



Fig. 21

B 33 (P 904) Water pitcher with double handle. From the north chamber. Fig. 21

Flat bottom with low foot slightly offset. Squat body; cylindrical neck with out-rolled lip. Two narrow strap handles set at an angle of about 60° to one another. Gritty red clay fired to yellow on the surface in places. Five brown bands around the body, four on the inside of the lip. I have noticed a very similar pitcher in the National Museum at Palermo, from Milocca. Cf. also Robinson, Hareum and Iliffe, *Greek Vases at Toronto*, Toronto, 1930, No. 578, pl. XCHH ("probably South Italian fabric").

H., 0.195 m. D., 0.195 m. Small fragments missing from the wall.

B 34 (MC 105) Loom-weight. From the north chamber. Fig. 21

Conical, drawn in toward the bottom. Slightly gritty, buff clay, unglazed. Its bottom was punctured, perhaps to facilitate firing. Similar weights: **B 14, 45, 47; D 80**.

H., 0.074 m. D., 0.054 m.

B 35 (P 505) Upper part of a West Slope amphora. From the draw-shaft. Fig. 22

Broad shoulder; high concave neck with plain lip. The handles were twisted. Between the handles on either side, a garland of grape-vine with leaves and fruit in thinned clay. Around the outer edge of the shoulder, a band of wave pattern of which the filling is in white paint, the upper line and the double, jewelled base-line in thinned clay. On the top of the shoulder, a row

of dolphins in thinned clay separated by dot rosettes in white paint (cf. the kantharos **B 8**). Glossy black glaze fired red on the inside, and below the shoulder on the outside. The glaze was scratched away from lines below the lip, at the root of the neck, and below the shoulder.

H., 0.115 m. D. of mouth, 0.12 m. Only part of the shoulder and mouth remain.

B 36 (P 4069) Fragment of a West Slope kantharos. From the draw-shaft. Fig. 22

Sharply profiled lip; low concave neck; moulded handle flat on top. Between the handles on either side, a garland of ivy leaves; around the handle attachment, an olive wreath, all rendered in thinned clay. Dull black glaze. For a kantharos of similar shape, but with a garland of sharp-pointed leaves around its neck, cf. *Sciatibi*, No: 165, pl. LIII, 103.

H., 0.048 m. Calculated D. of lip, 0.14 m.



Fig. 22

B 37 (P 903) Fragment of a West Slope kantharos. From the draw-shaft. Fig. 22

The upper wall was straight; the neck was encircled by a garland rendered in thinned clay. Above the garland an inscription, likewise in thinned clay: ΑΦΡΟ[ΔΙΤΗΣ. Firm, black glaze. On the practice of inscribing drinking cups see the note on **B 23**. For the name of Aphrodite in particular cf. Wolters, *Ath. Mitt.* XXXVIII, 1913, p. 198, n. 2. To his list add the Frankfurt vase cited under **B 20**.

H., 0.044 m. From the mouth.

B 38 (L 539) Lamp, Type VIIa. From the draw-shaft. Fig. 22

Pierced side-knob; no handle. Dull black glaze. Another lamp of the same type: **A 41**. For the perforated knob cf. Broneer, pp. 6 and 45.

L., 0.075 m. W., 0.055 m. H., 0.035 m. The tip of the nozzle is missing.

B 39 (P 911) Water pitcher. From the draw-shaft. Fig. 23

Flat bottom slightly offset from the side-wall; plump body; high cylindrical neck with rolled lip. A broad strap handle. Around the neck, a raised ridge at the level of the handle attachment. Greenish-yellow clay fired buff on the inner surface and containing grit and white particles. Similar pitchers: **A 53 55**.

H., 0.282 m. D., 0.215 m. Much of the side-wall restored in plaster.

B 40 (P 4070) Lip fragment from lekane. From the draw-shaft. Figs. 23 and 122

Narrow rim gently convex on top. Heavy horizontal handle pressed close to rim. Gritty, greenish-yellow clay, unglazed. This is a *Fehlbrand*, resulting from some accident in the kiln; its wall was crumpled while still soft by another pot falling against it. It suffered further by overfiring, which turned its clay black in places.

H., 0.153 m. One handle remains.



Fig. 23. Fragments of Plain Ware and of Storage Jars from Group B

B 41 (P 4071) Lip fragment from lekane. From the draw-shaft. Fig. 122

Rim flat on top and bounded inside and out by a shallow groove. Coarse, red clay, containing large white particles, unglazed.

D., 0.44 m.

- B 42** (P 4072) Fragment from the mouth of a large pithos. From the draw-shaft. Figs. 23 and 24

The rim is flat and broad on top and finished on the outside with a cavetto between two ovolos. Yellow clay containing large particles of brown grit. The lower ovolo is decorated with a herring-bone pattern between two straight lines; the cavetto with a band of wave pattern surmounted by two straight lines, all in brown glaze.

P.H., 0.104 m.

- B 43** (P 4073) Fragment from the mouth of a large pithos. From the draw-shaft. Figs. 23 and 24

The lip is finished with an ovolo, below which is a cavetto. Gritty yellow clay, unglazed, save for the cavetto which is painted red. This and the preceding fragment must come from large storage jars like that which yielded Group D. Cf. Fig. 54.

P.H., 0.127 m.



Fig. 24. **B 42** and **43**. Lip Profiles of Storage Jars. Scale 1:3

- B 44** (P 636) Fusiform unguentarium. From the draw-shaft. Fig. 22

Plump body; well modelled foot and mouth. Hard red clay fired gray on the surface. Two white bands encircle the body, one the neck. Similar unguentaria: **A 64** and **65**; **B 6** and **7**; **C 76** and **77**; **D 77** and **78**; **E 137** and **138**.

H., 0.0795 m. D., 0.041 m. Fragments missing from side-wall.

- B 45** (SS 327) Loom-weight. From the draw-shaft. Figs. 22 and 25

Conical, drawn in at the bottom. On one side there are two seal impressions, the first containing the name: ΓΑΥΚ; the second the trademark: a loom-weight. Fine, buff clay, unglazed. Similar weights: **B 34**, **47**; **D 80**.

H., 0.07 m. Chips missing from the tip and the bottom.



Fig. 25. Stamps on Loom-weight **B 45**. Scale 1:1

- B 46** (P 572) Black-glaze krater. From the draw-shaft, blind tunnel. Fig. 26

Heavy foot; shallow lower bowl; high and gently flaring upper wall. Tall, loop handles. Metallic black glaze somewhat flaked. The glaze has been scratched away from lines around and under the foot thus exposing the miltos-covered surface of the clay. Its more compact shape suggests for this piece a date slightly earlier than that of the similar kantharoi **B 17** and **18**. There is a close parallel from a chamber tomb at Langaza in Macedonia (*Jahrb.* XXVI, 1911, p. 198, fig. 7; built not later than the beginning of the fourth century, p. 214).

H., 0.131 m. D., 0.103 m. The extremities of the handles are broken away.

B 47 (MC 106) Loom-weight. From the draw-shaft, blind tunnel. Fig. 26

In shape, conical, drawn in toward the bottom. Fine, greenish-yellow clay, unglazed. Its bottom was punctured in two places, perhaps to facilitate firing. Similar weights: **B 34, 45; D 80.**
H., 0.081 m. D., 0.051 m.

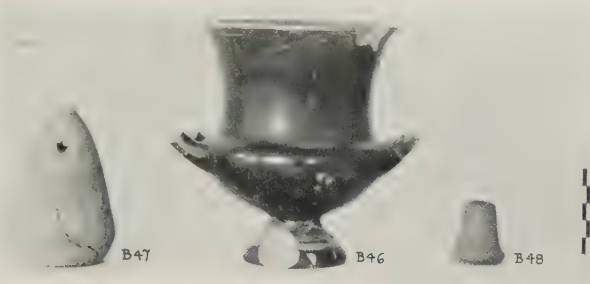


Fig. 26

B 48 (MC 2) Spindle-whorl. From the draw-shaft, blind tunnel. Fig. 26

Clay buff to gray in color, unglazed.

H., 0.034 m. D., 0.031 m.

GROUP C

THE CISTERN

Among the many reservoirs that honeycomb the rocky mass of Kolonos Agoraios, one is of particular interest for our period: a double cistern lying between the northeast corner of the "Theseion" and the Annex to the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios.¹ Its chambers are of unequal size but of like design: flask-shaped with slender necks, and floors that slope gently in to circular depressions in the middle intended to facilitate cleaning (Fig. 27). A winding tunnel connects the chambers. The walls of tunnel and chambers alike are covered with a single coat of waterproof stucco. Of the eastern chamber the mouth was cut away in later times and over the western there still lies a deep accumulation of earth.

Both chambers went out of use as water containers simultaneously and served for a short time as refuse dumps, the earth and rubbish rising in a cone about 1 m. high on the floor immediately beneath the mouth through which it was thrown. This occurred in Hellenistic times. Above the Hellenistic filling in the eastern chamber, a mass of gray clay was dumped in later times, protecting the earlier filling from disturbance. The mouth of the western chamber must have been closed for many centuries: above the cone of Hellenistic rubbish the filling was solid Byzantine.

¹ Cf. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 129. The building is there described as the Stoa Basileios.

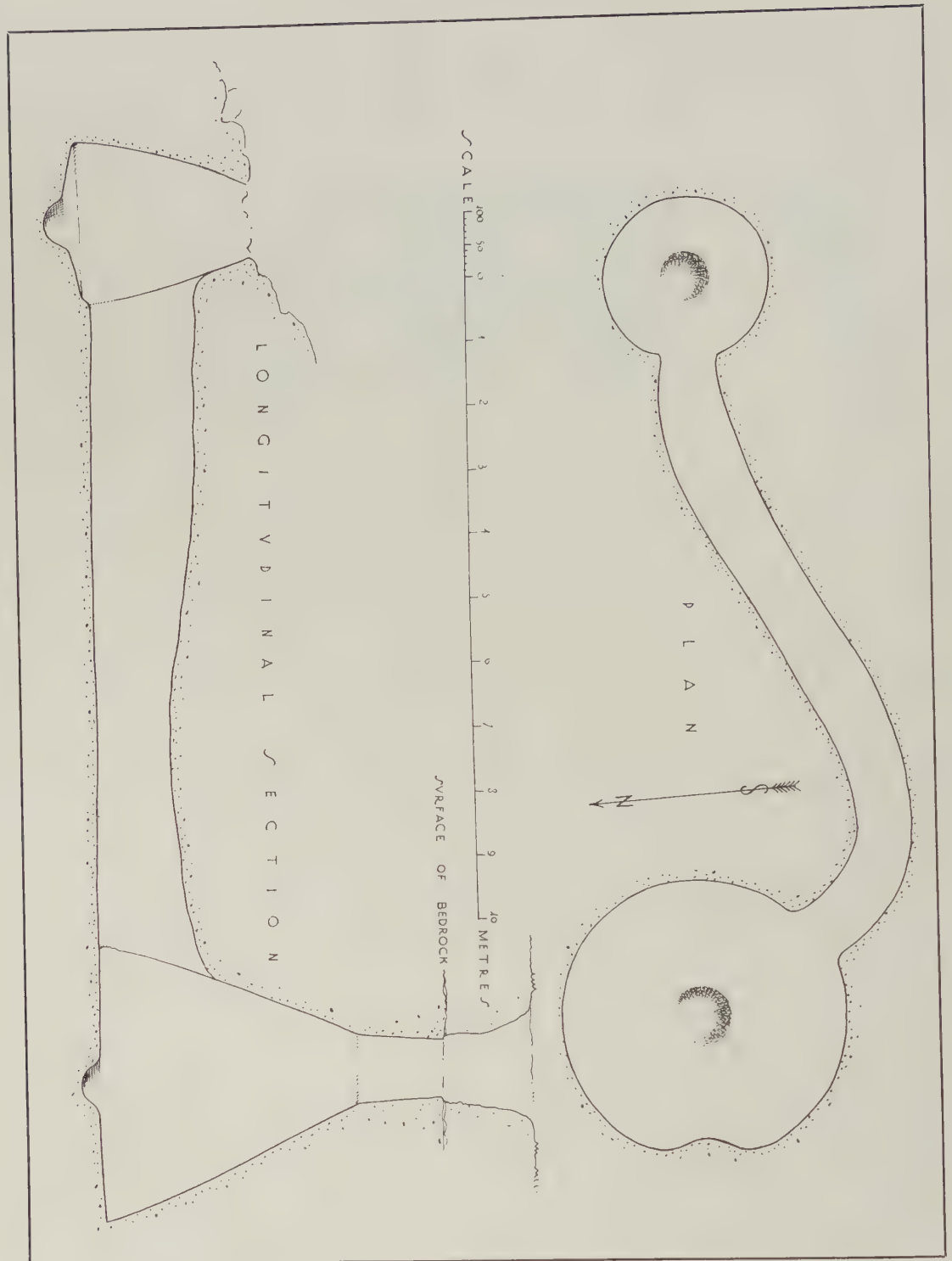


Fig. 27. Cistern C

From the undisturbed Hellenistic filling overlying the floors of the chambers we removed a limited number of lamps and vases, mostly in a very fragmentary condition. These will be described without mention of the chamber in which each object was found, for no chronological difference could be detected in the respective fillings. In addition to the objects to be described below, the filling yielded a couple of fragmentary terracotta figurines (T 133, 134), a stamped amphora handle of uncertain origin (SS 282), a bit of a terracotta water pipe (A 230) and an iron knife blade (LI 19).

Of the ten bronze coins gathered from the filling of the two chambers, four were illegible. The remaining pieces are all Athenian,—four assigned to the period 297–255 B.C. (Svoronos, *Trésor*, pl. 22, Nos. 67 and 76); and two to 255–229 B.C. (*ibid.* pl. 24, Nos. 11 ff.).

The coins prove that the filling occurred not earlier than the second half of the third century. The lamps furnish another useful clue to the date of the deposit. The dominant type was clearly that represented by **C 54–57**. These lamps are identical with two found in a rich Aetolian tomb dated on good grounds by its excavator to the beginning of the second century (cf. note on **C 54**). We can do no better than assign our Group C to the same period. The lamp **C 60** is probably the latest piece from the group and yet its good glaze and the fact that it is still wheel-made will permit it also to be of that time.

CATALOGUE OF GROUP C

BLACK-GLAZE WARE: **C 1–10**

C 1 (P 3999) Plate. Figs. 28, 115 and 116

On the floor, within a triple circle of shallow rouletting, were four stamped palmettes. The glaze is thin and very metallic. There are fragments also of two much debased "fish-plates," with shallow depressions in their floors.

H., 0.025 m. D., 0.175 m. About one-third of the plate is preserved.

C 2 (P 2391) Saucer with furrowed rim. Fig. 28

Covered only on the floor with very thin brown glaze in which the brush strokes are clearly visible. Similar saucers: **A 3 5, 38; E 27–32**. There are fragments of several more such saucers.

H., 0.03 m. D., 0.13 m. Much of the rim is missing.

C 3 (P 4000) Bowl with outcurved lip. Fig. 28

Covered inside and out with dull black glaze. Several more fragments come from like bowls. Similar bowls: **A 9–13, 71, 72; D 2–6; E 33–44**.

H., 0.045 m. D., 0.125 m.

C 4 (P 2390) Bowl with outcurved lip.

Heavy base-ring; gently flaring lip. Dull black glaze inside and out, much flaked.

H., 0.056 m. Estimated D., 0.155 m. About one-half the vase remains.

C 5 (P 4001) Base of a large open bowl. Fig. 115

High base-ring; slightly concave floor from which the upper wall begins to rise steeply. On the floor, within a rouletted circle, are five stamped palmettes of which four remain. The glaze has fired to a rich chocolate brown both inside and outside. It was scratched away from the bottom of a shallow groove just above the base-ring.

W., 0.177 m. Only the lower part remains.

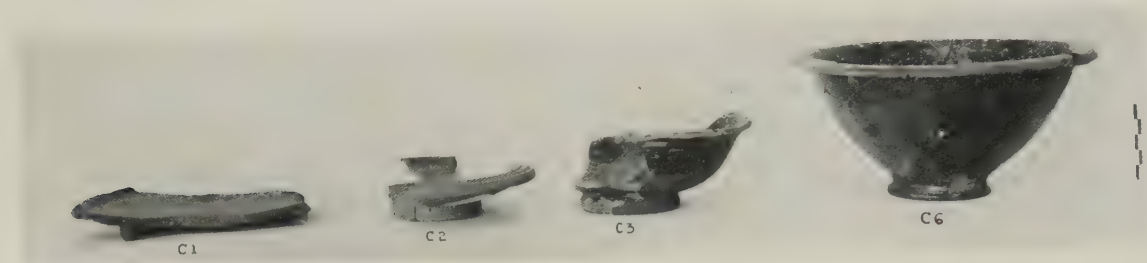


Fig. 28. Black-glaze Ware from Group C

C 6 (P 2389) Deep bowl with out-turned rim. Fig. 28

High base-ring; sharply out-turned rim. In the rim on one side are two suspension holes. Thin, black glaze covers the interior and exterior save inside the base-ring. It has fired to a dull red both inside and outside over part of the side-wall and to a more pronounced red over a circle on the floor, where there are traces of another vase having been stacked for firing.

H., 0.095 m. D., 0.20 m. Small fragments are missing from the sides.

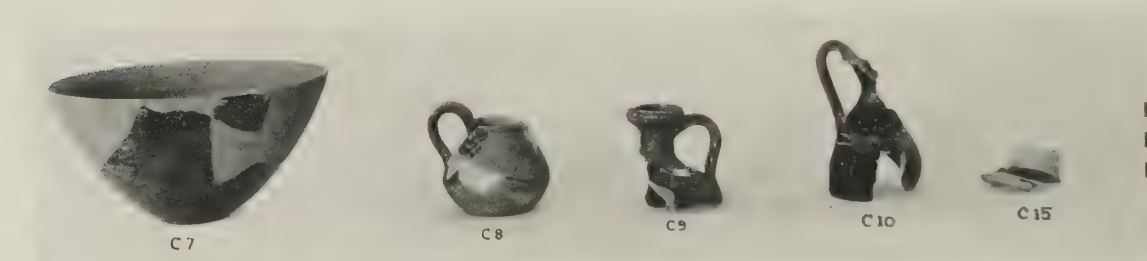


Fig. 29. Fragments of Black-glaze Ware and a Lagynos from Group E

C 7 (P 4002) Hemispherical bowl. Figs. 29 and 118

False base-ring set off from the side-wall by a shallow groove. On the inside, about 0.01 m. below the lip, the glaze has been scratched from the bottom of a shallow groove. Thin black glaze inside and out. On the floor inside is a circle left by another vase stacked there for firing. Cf. **D 14** and **15**.

H., 0.086 m. D., ca. 0.17 m. Restored in plaster.

C 8 (P 2392) Small pitcher. Fig. 29

Covered inside and out with reddish-black glaze much flaked. This is a later version of **B 32**. With the years, the bottom has been flattened, the body has become relatively deeper, the lip has

been set off more sharply from the side-wall and the handle has been carried higher above the lip. There are closely similar pitchers from Priene (*Priene*, p. 422, Nos. 65 and 66, fig. 538). Among the sherds of plain, black-glaze ware there are fragments of several more little one-handled pitchers and bowls of similar fabric.

H., 0.057 m. D., 0.065 m. Missing parts of mouth and side-wall are restored in plaster.

C 9 (P 4003) Small pitcher. Fig. 29

The flaring mouth is drawn to a blunt beak. Dull but firm black glaze.

H., 0.062 m. Broken away below the shoulder.

C 10 (P 4004) Small pitcher. Fig. 29

Piriform body; trefoil mouth. The handle rises above the lip. Flaky black glaze. Cf. *Priene*, p. 422, Nos. 59–61, fig. 544. At least two pitchers of closely similar shape were found in a chamber tomb on Aegina to be dated in all probability between 144 and 133 B.C. (*Arch. Anz.* 1931, cols. 275 ff., fig. 35. Cf. note on **A 53**).

P.H., 0.091 m. The base and much of the mouth are missing.



Fig. 30. **C 11**. Scale 1:2

WEST SLOPE WARE: **C 11–14**

C 11 (P 4005) Upper part of an amphora. Fig. 30

The shoulder is set off from the side-wall and neck by grooves from the bottom of which the glaze was scratched, exposing the miltos-covered surface of the clay. Three groups of diminishing rectangles and two panels of checker-board pattern covered the shoulder on either side. On the neck are dot rosettes and dolphins(?) alternating above a band of wave pattern. Beneath the waves are two straight lines with a dotted line between. Around the upper handle attachment is a line of thinned clay. White paint was used for alternate squares on the checker-boards and there are dots of it around the handle. Fine thin fabric covered inside and out with firm black

glaze. Similar in shape to **D 26** but more careful work. There is a fragment from the shoulder of another amphora with similar decoration. At the root of its handle is a plastic mask. Of a third amphora there remains only the root of a handle with mask.

P.H., 0.076 m. Only a fragment of the shoulder and of the neck is preserved with part of one twisted handle.

C 12 (P 4006) Fragment of a saucer. Fig. 31



Fig. 31. **C 12**. Scale 1:2

It rested on a false base-ring formed by the downward continuation of the side-walls. Around the outside are shallow corrugations run on the wheel. On the floor is a rosette in white paint, its petals prolonged by wavy white lines. The petals are separated by radii drawn in thinned clay. Firm black glaze. On the floor is a circle left by another vase stacked there for firing. There is a fragment from another saucer of similar profile decorated inside with wreaths done in thinned glaze and white paint. Footless saucers of this sort were frequently decorated with relief medallions, moulded separately and applied to their floors (Courby, Chapter XVI "Vases à Médaillons"). Otherwise the centre of the floor was occupied usually by a star or schematic rosette. Cf. **D 28**. See also *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 70, No. 7 c: 8-point star rosette in thinned clay; *Pergamon*, I, Beiblatt 38₂: rosette of 8 points alternately white and yellow; *ibid.*, 38₃: rosette of 8 petals alternately white and pointed, yellow and trefoil; *Arch. Anz.* 1910, p. 211, figs. 9 and 10: rosette of 12 pointed petals, alternately white and yellow. Similar designs appear commonly also on the undersides of plates, inside the foot-rings. Cf. **E 62** and **63**.

P.W., 0.081 m. Only the middle of the floor remains.

C 13 (P 4007) Upper part of a small oinochoe. Fig. 32

From the broad shoulder rises a slender neck, terminating in a trefoil mouth. Around the shoulder, from the neck outwards: a line of thinned clay, a band of white between two lines of thinned clay, a zigzag line incised, a row of pointed pendants in thinned clay, a line of thinned clay. The neck is bounded above and below by grooves from which the glaze has been scratched and it is decorated by vertical stripes done alternately in white paint and thinned glaze. The black glaze has flaked somewhat.

P.H., 0.089 m. The handle, much of the mouth and all the body below the shoulder are missing.



Fig. 32. **C 13**.
Scale 1:2

C 14 (P 4008) Neck of a pitcher. Fig. 33

Gently concave in profile. Around its middle runs a garland of ivy leaves carefully rendered in thinned clay. Just under the lip is a wavy line incised. Thin, black glaze much flaked. For a more complete pitcher from the West Slope cf. *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 68, No. 3, pl. iv: tall cylindrical neck, twisted handle, vine garland around the neck, alternating groups of diminishing rectangles and checker-board pattern on the shoulder.

P.H., 0.063 m. The neck is preserved to its original height over one-half of its circumference.

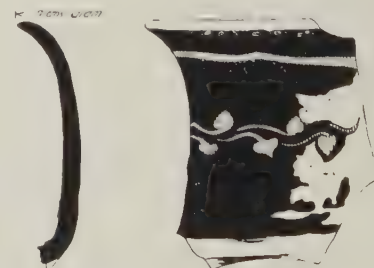


Fig. 33. **C 14**. Scale 1:2

C 15 (P 4009) Fragment from a lagynos. Fig. 29

The root of the neck was encircled by a brown band. There is preserved only a tip of the shoulder decoration: the bow of a ribbon. Dull gray clay covered with a rich creamy glaze; the decoration in black paint thinning to brown. Other lagynoi: **D 30** and **31**; **E 70-73**.

P.H., 0.038 m. Only a bit remains from the junction of the neck and shoulder.

MEGARIAN BOWLS AND RELATED WARE: **C 16-53****C 16** (P 4099) Bowl with floral decoration. Fig. 34

From the medallion springs a succession of lanceolate petals, tendrils and tall spikes. The petals are probably a stylized version of the *nymphaea lotus* (for which cf. **A 74**), and the spikes may well be the fruit stems of the date palm (Möbius, *Jahrb.* XLVIII, 1933, p. 16, fig. 9). In the upper zone a band of simplified guilloche between beaded lines is surmounted by a row of double spirals. Good black glaze inside and out. Compare this piece with **A 74**, **C 17** and **38**.

P.H., 0.105 m. Only a fragment from one side remains.



Fig. 34. **C 16**. Scale 2 : 3

C 17 (P 4100) Bowl with floral decoration. Fig. 35

The side-wall is filled with tall, sharp-pointed petals of the *nymphaea coerulea* alternating with tendrils. On one of the tendrils sits a bird. A simplified guilloche and a line of running spirals form the upper zone. Good black glaze inside and out. Similar in decoration and quality of fabric to **A 74**, **C 16** and **38**.

P.H., 0.063 m. A fragment from the upper part remains.

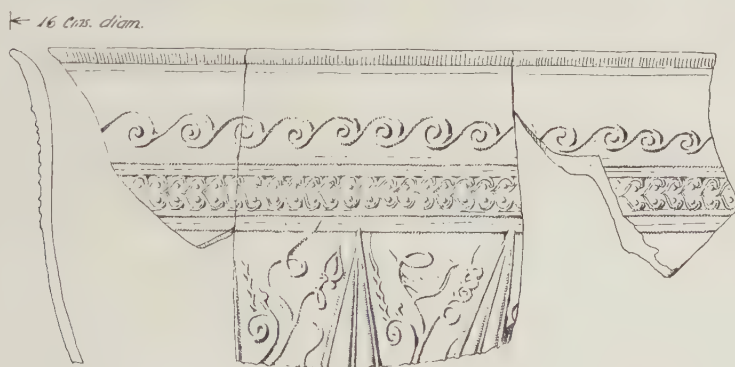


Fig. 35. **C 17**. Scale 2 : 3

C 18 (P 402) Bowl with representations of divinities. Figs. 36 a and b

In the medallion, a gorgoneion; around it, two rows of scale-like leaves. From the outer row spring four large acanthus leaves dividing the side-wall into as many segments. In one of these stands Apollo, facing front, his right hand resting on the tripod which stands by his side, his cloak hanging from his shoulders. In the field, on either side, is an obscure object: a clump of leaves (?), a Pan's mask (?). Artemis stands in the other quadrant, resting her right elbow on a column,

Fig. 36 a. **C 18**

grasping with her left hand the horns of a stag. Similar obscure objects in the field. The upper zone consists of a band of simplified guilloche surmounted by a line of 6-petalled rosettes. The glaze has fired red toward the bottom both inside and out, and has flaked somewhat. The same Apollo re-appears on **E 81**. The figures of the deities are of sculptural type and yet I find no close parallel for them in sculptured monuments.

H., 0.078 m. D., 0.138 m. About one-half of the bowl is preserved.

C 19 (P 406) Bowl with scenes from palaestra or slaughter of Niobids (?). Fig. 37

In the medallion, a gorgoneion; around it, triangular groups of ribbed leaves. The side-wall is occupied by a frieze of single figures, from left to right: a youth fleeing to right; a draped

figure with a staff(?) in its hand; a figure about to discharge an arrow; a draped figure with right arm raised; a running youth; a figure resting its right hand on a staff. In the upper zone, a simplified guilloche, surmounted by a single line of double spirals with a ribbed leaf rising between each two. Firm black glaze. For the type of calyx, cf. Courby, fig. 73, o.

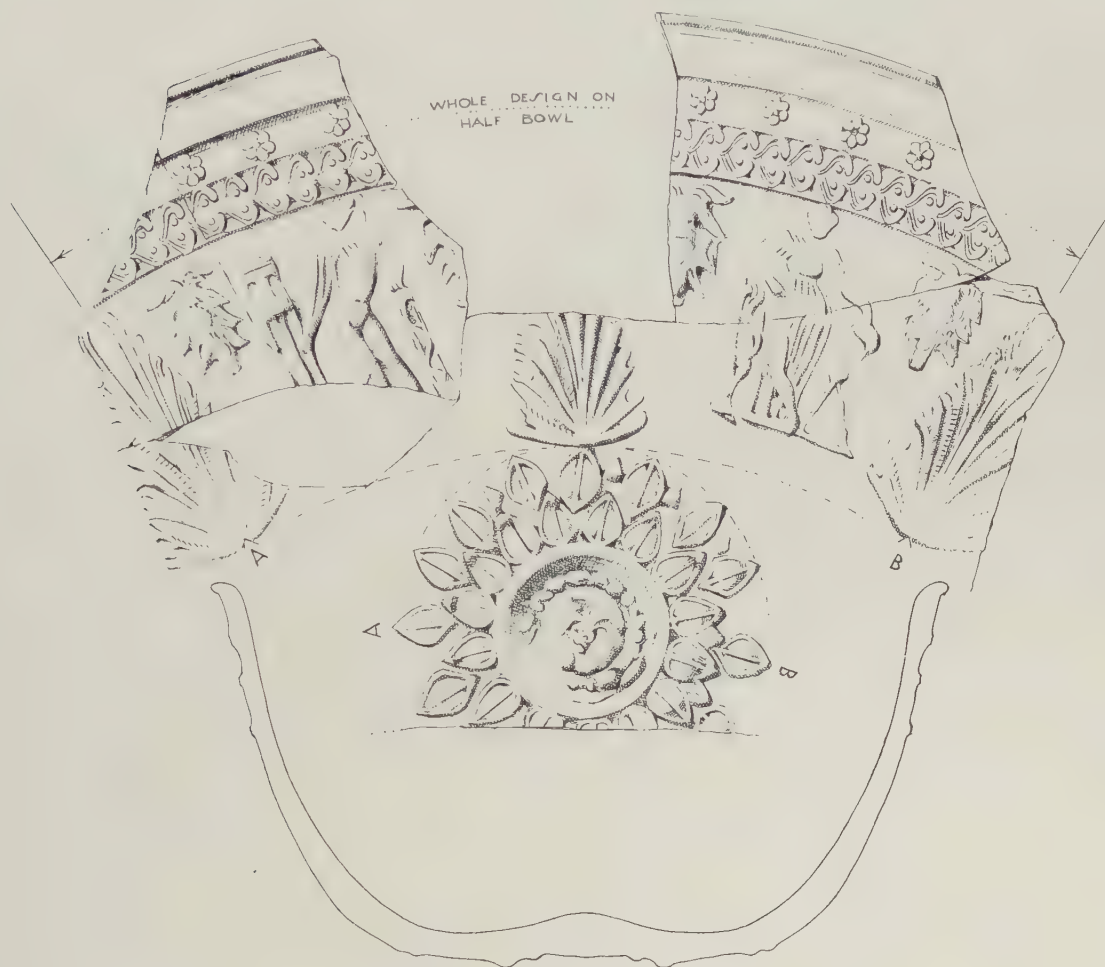


Fig. 36 b. C 18. Scale 2:3

C 20 (P 4101) Bowl with scenes of combat. Fig. 38

From the medallion sprang tall fronds. On the side-wall, a frieze, of which there remain combats between two hoplites armed with spears and between a hoplite and a knight. The fragmentary figures toward the right suggest that these groups continued in alternation around the bowl. The warrior engaged with the knight is from the same stamp as one of the pair of hoplites. The upper zone comprises a band of ovules surmounted by one of dolphins. Firm metallic glaze. The mould was somewhat worn. For the dolphin in the upper zone, cf. Courby, fig. 68, 18; for scenes of combat on the side-wall, *ibid.*, fig. 71, o-q.

H., 0.098 m. D., 0.167 m. The bottom and much of the side-wall are missing.

C 21 (P 2432) Bowl with idyllic scenes. Fig. 39

In the medallion, a gorgoneion surrounded by groups of veined leaves. The side-wall was divided into an upper and lower field by pendent garlands. Three tall kraters, resting on the medallion, divided the lower field into as many segments. Of these the one preserved is occupied

Fig. 37. **C 19**. Scale 2 : 3

by satyrs, seated in a playful mood one on either side. A bird flies above them. In the upper field are flying birds and erotes. In the upper zone palmettes spring from a band of ovules. Good black glaze fired red over the medallion and on the floor inside where another vase rested in the kiln. The relief is crisp. For the seated satyrs cf. Courby, fig. 69, 5 a; for the krater, *ibid.*, fig. 69, 10 a; for the garland supported by a nike, *ibid.*, fig. 72, 36 (eros and nike without the bird).

H., 0.035 m. D., 0.15 m. There remain the base and a little of the upper part.

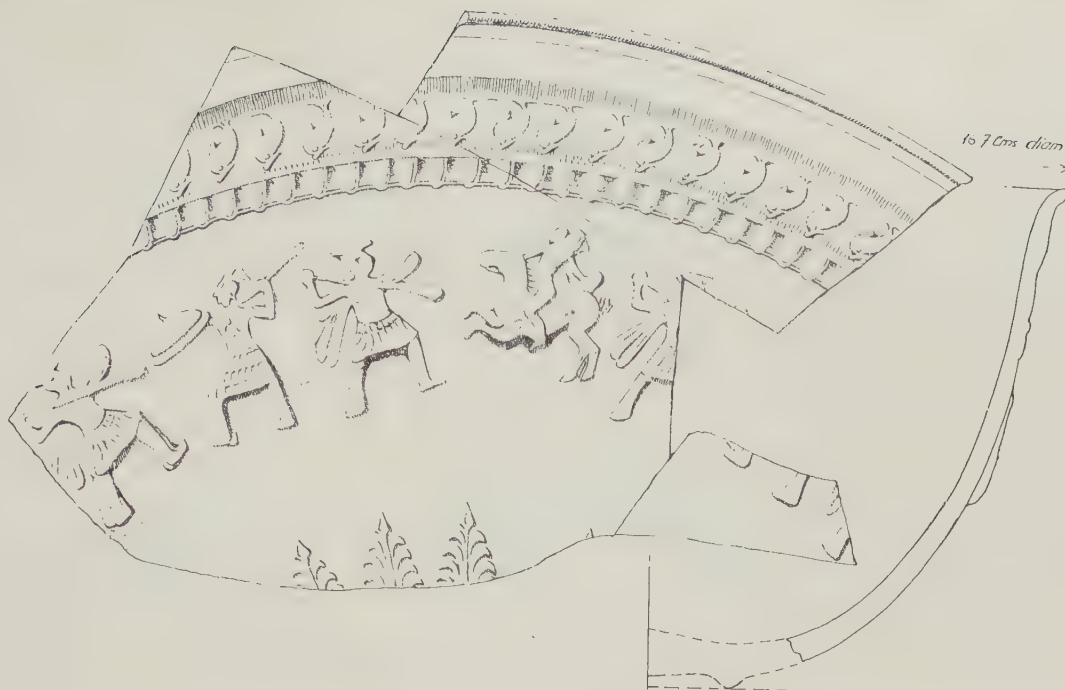


Fig. 38. C 20. Scale 2 : 3

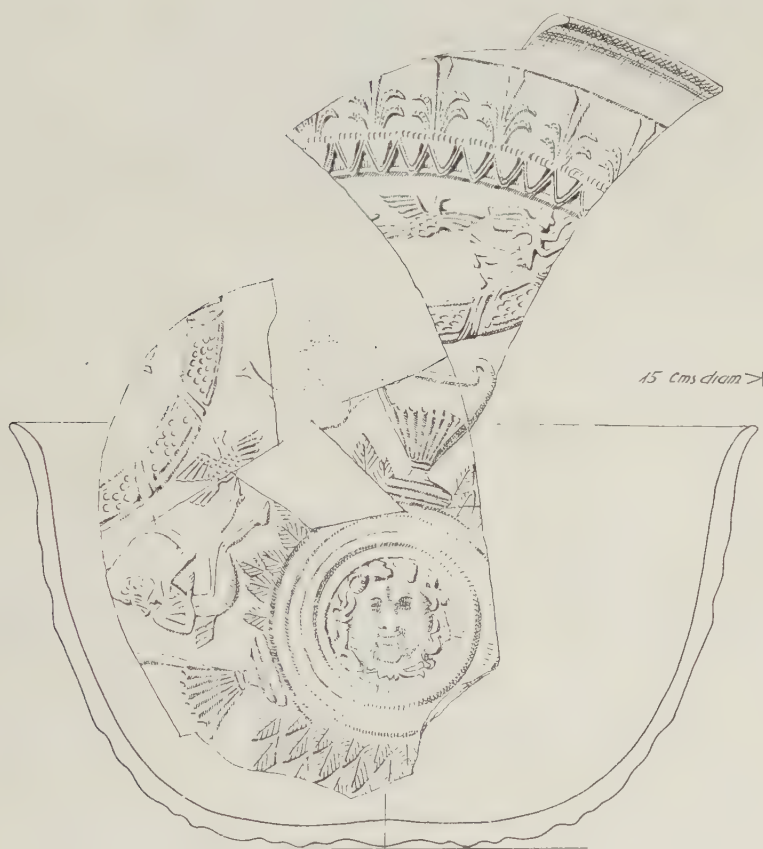
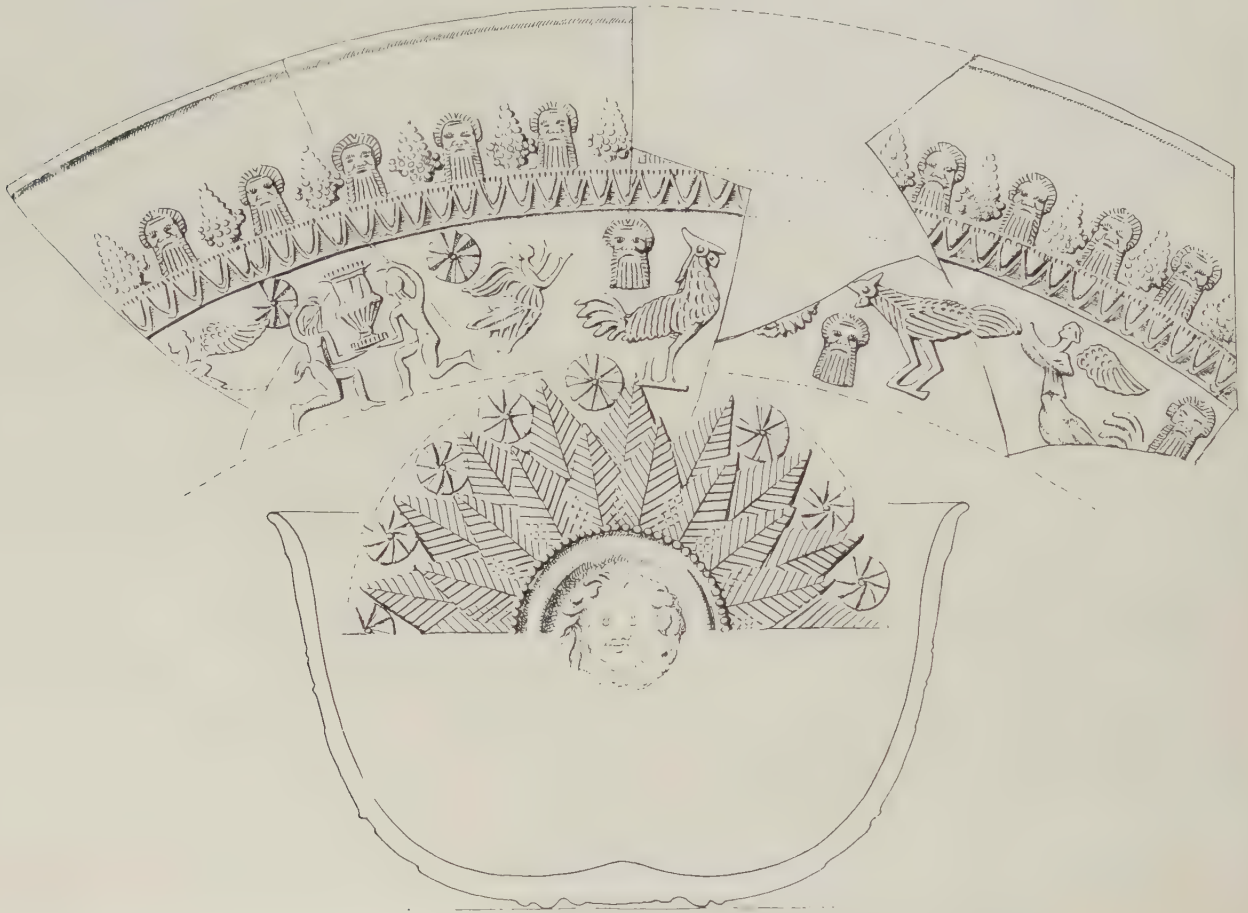


Fig. 39. C 21. Scale 2 : 3

C 22 (P 404) Bowl with idyllic scenes. Fig. 40

In the medallion, a gorgoneion surrounded by a line of beading. From this spring two rows of ribbed leaves. Between the tips of the outer are 9-petalled rosettes. Of the frieze on the side-wall there remain a pair of satyrs running and carrying between them a krater; a pair of cocks, facing, with a wreath(?) between, and, toward the right, the tail of another cock. In the

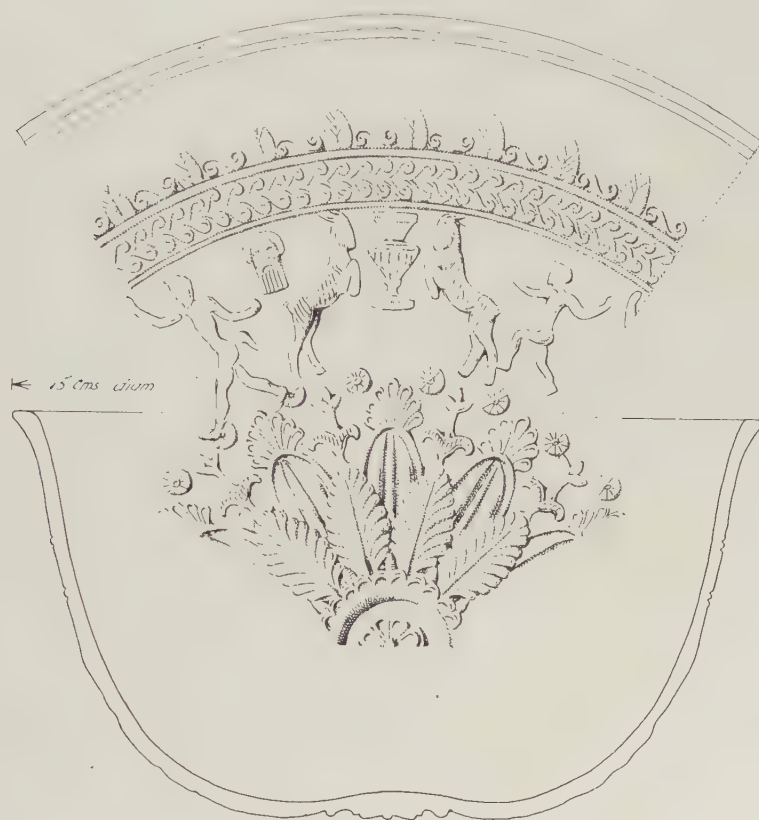
Fig. 40. **C 22.** Scale 2:3

field are flying nikai, long-bearded masks and 9-petalled rosettes. In the exceptionally rich upper zone, long-bearded masks alternate with inverted clusters of grapes above a band of ovules. The glaze is metallic but firm; the modelling fairly clear. A series of masks, though of quite different shape, forms the upper zone on a fragment from the West Slope (*Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 60, No. 20). For the satyrs supporting the kraters, cf. Courby, fig. 69, 5 b, and references. For the masks (identical on side-wall and upper zone) cf. Nos. **C 23**, **26**, **37**, **46**; **D 49** and Courby, fig. 72, 42 b with references.

H., 0.078 m. D., 0.14 m. Much is missing from the side-wall.

C 23 (P 405) Bowl with idyllic scenes. Fig. 41

In the medallion, a 9-petalled rosette. From its periphery spring fronds terminating in conventionalized flowers and alternating with lotus petals backed by palmettes. Between the tips of the palmettes are tiny rosettes. On the side-wall are four pairs of goats rampant about kraters. Between them satyrs skip and dance. In the field are long-bearded masks. The upper zone consists of a band of simplified guilloche surmounted by a row of tiny, ribbed leaves and double spirals alternating. Firm black glaze with a metallic sheen, especially on the inside. For the

Fig. 41. **C 23**. Scale 2 : 3

goats-and-krater group cf. **C 26, 36, 45, 46; D 35**; Benndorf, *Gr. u. Sic. Vasenbilder*, pl. LXI 1, 2; Dumont-Chaplain, *Céramique de la Grèce propre*, pl. XL; *Jahrb. XXIII*, 1908, p. 47, 2 a and 2 b. For a similar, though not identical, calyx, cf. *Jahrb. XXIII*, 1908, p. 47, 2 a and 2 b. For the palmettes especially cf. Zahn, *Priene*, fig. 529, No. 30 and comment on p. 414.

H., 0.08 m. D., 0.15 m. Much of the side-wall is missing.

C 24 (P 4102) Bowl with idyllic scenes. Fig. 42

In the medallion, a rosette(?) was surrounded by a row of ribbed leaves. From a double line surrounding these spring tall leaves which may be based on the small, underwater leaves of *nymphaea lotus* (*Jahrb. XLVIII*, 1933, p. 21, fig. 15). The frieze consisted of pairs of satyrs, in some

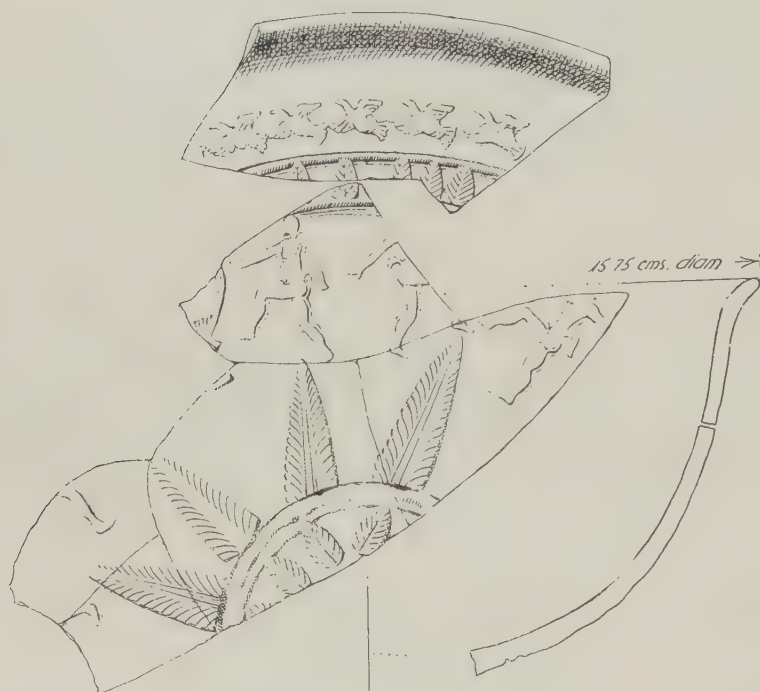


Fig. 42. C 24. Scale 2 : 3



Fig. 43. C 25. Scale 2 : 3

cases approaching a large krater from either side; in others probably supporting a smaller vessel between them. In the upper zone a row of ribbed leaves between ridges is surmounted by a band of flying birds. The lip has an exceptionally broad flare. Dull black glaze fired greenish-red in places. The moulding is indistinct.

D., 0.157 m. About one-third of the bowl remains.

C 25 (P 4103) Bowl with idyllic scenes. Fig. 43

The tips are preserved of lotus petals springing from the medallion. Pairs of satyrs dancing about kraters (?) compose the frieze. From the feet of the kraters (?) spring tall volutes. The upper zone appears to consist of roses rising from a band of beading. There is no scratched line beneath the lip. Dull black glaze; indistinct modelling.

Estimated D., 0.11 m. Only part of the rim and side-wall remains.

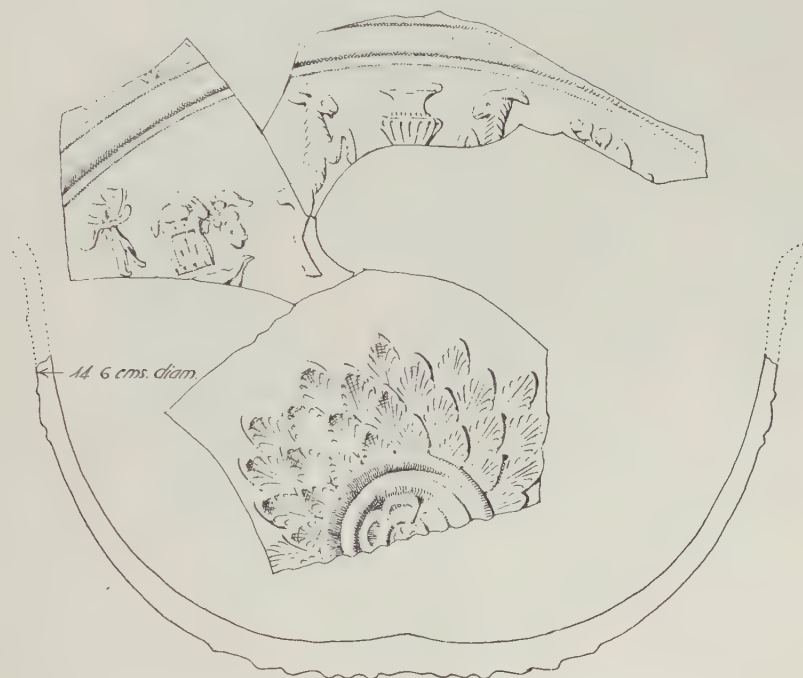


Fig. 44. **C 26**. Scale 2 : 3

C 26 (P 4104) Bowl with idyllic scenes. Fig. 44

The medallion is centered with a 6-petalled rosette. About it are four overlapping rows of ribbed leaves. Goats rampant about kraters form the frieze. In the field are flying erotes and birds, long-bearded masks and clusters of grapes. The upper zone comprises a raised band with a line of leaves(?) above. Firm, metallic glaze. For the combination of motives, cf. Gardner, *Fitzwilliam Museum, Catalogue of Vases*, No. 220 a; Robinson, *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Greek, Etruscan and Roman Vases*, No. 531.

P.H., 0.063 m. The rim and most of the side-wall are missing.

C 27 (P 403) Bowl with idyllic scenes. Figs. 45 a and b

In the medallion, a rosette, very faint; from it spring two rows of tall fronds. A band of erotes riding on dolphins encircles the side-wall. Beneath each dolphin, a wreath. In the upper zone is a band of jewelled lozenges surmounted by a line of ribbed leaves. Metallic black glaze completely flaked from the rim on one side. For the erotes riding on dolphins, cf. *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 63, C 4.

H., 0.095 m. D., 0.16 m. Fragments are missing from the side-wall.

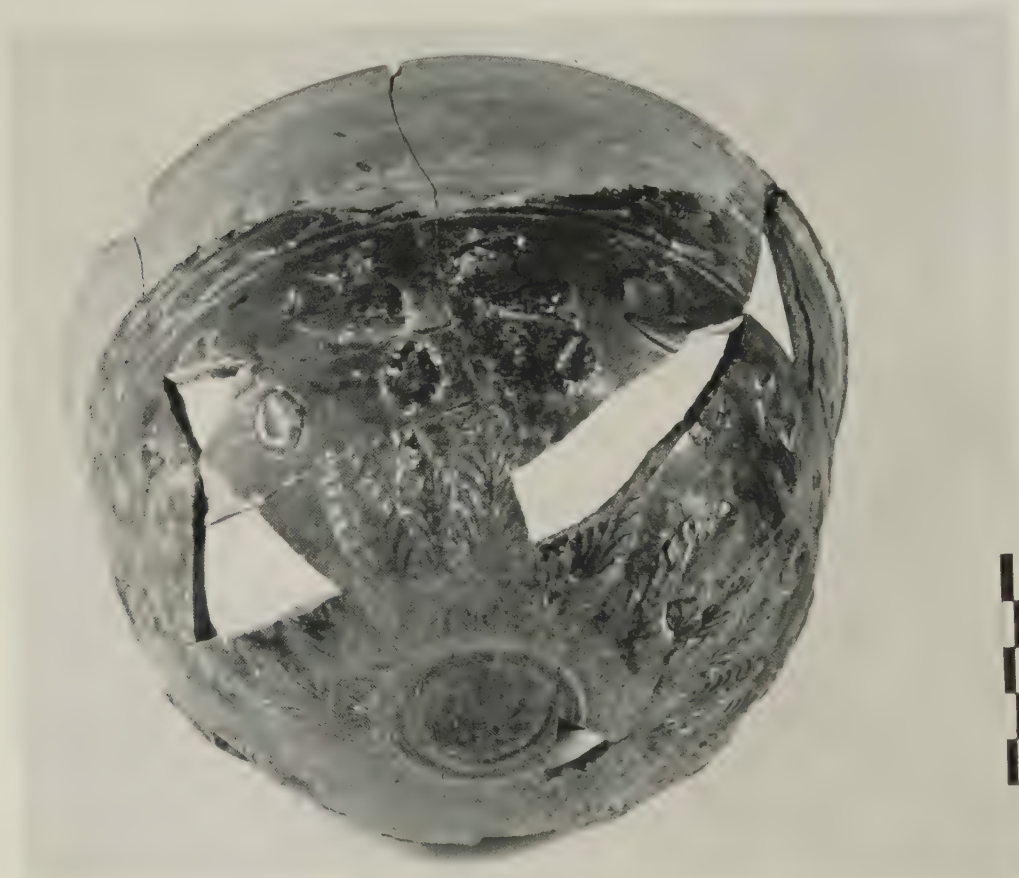


Fig. 45 a. **C 27**

C 28 (P 407) Bowl with floral decoration. Fig. 46

The medallion is a rosette, very indistinct. The side-wall is completely covered by bands of ribbed leaves. There is no upper zone. Firm black glaze fired red on the floor inside. For the decoration on the side-wall cf. **C 34** and *Delphes*, V, p. 176, No. 423. The practice of covering the entire side-wall with such simple vegetable ornament was commoner in Delos than in Athens. Cf. Courby, pp. 386 ff.; pl. XII, 4, 8, 13; XIII, 24. See also *Argive Heraeum*, II, p. 183 (not illustrated); *Jahrb.* XXII, 1908, p. 72, No. 36 (from South Russia).

H., 0.085 m.; calculated D., 0.14 m. Only a segment from one side remains.

C 29 (P 4105) Bowl with nodules on its wall. Fig. 47

In the medallion, an 8-petalled rosette, faint. About it are successive bands of nodules increasing in size toward the top. Metallic black glaze fired reddish on the floor where there are traces of another vase having been stacked in the kiln. For the nodules on the side wall cf. also **C 53**. The same scheme of decoration was used for the lower, moulded part of a West Slope kantharos from Athens (*Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 69, 4, pl. iv). It was known also in Delos (Courby, pl. XIII, 34; fig. 80, 6) and in Priene (Zahn, *Priene*, fig. 531, 43 and 44), and in South Russia (*Jahrb.* XXIII, 1908, p. 67, No. 27); and in Thrace (*Arch. Anz.* 1918, p. 27, fig. 31 c).

P.H., 0.051 m. The bottom and part of the side-wall remain.



Fig. 45 b. **C 27**. Scale 2 : 3

C 30–36 (P 4010–4016) Fragments from rims of bowls. Fig. 48

C 30–36 illustrate the infinite variety of patterns found in the upper zones. Egg-and-dart appears with or without bounding lines of beading, combined with rosettes and leaves, dolphins, double spirals and bracteate leaves. Leaves of various sorts are variously combined with double spirals. These fragments are all of good fabric. From **C 30** and **31**, however, the glaze has almost completely flaked. For the dolphins of **C 31** cf. Courby, fig. 68, 18; for the wall decoration of **C 34** cf. **C 28**; for the aree flowers of **C 35**, Courby, fig. 68, 14; *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 60, 14,

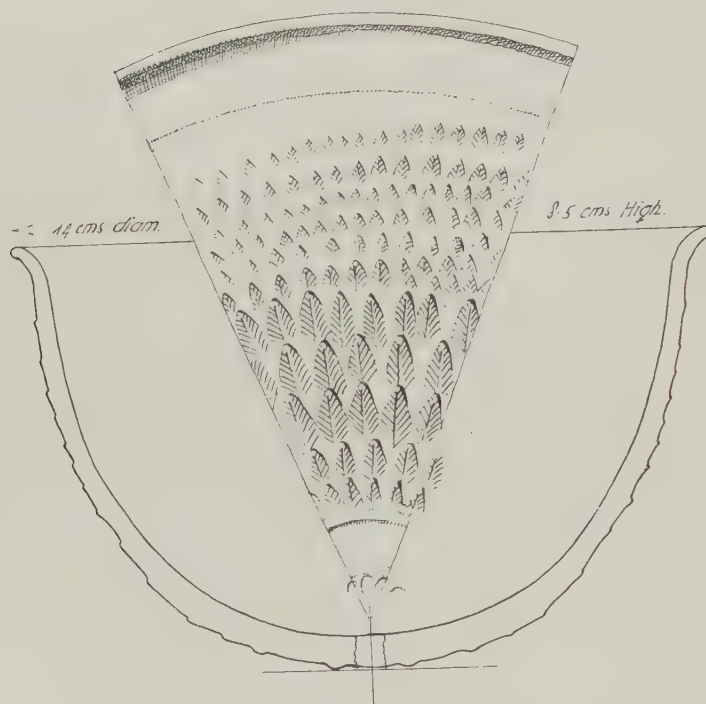


Fig. 46. C 28. Scale 2:3

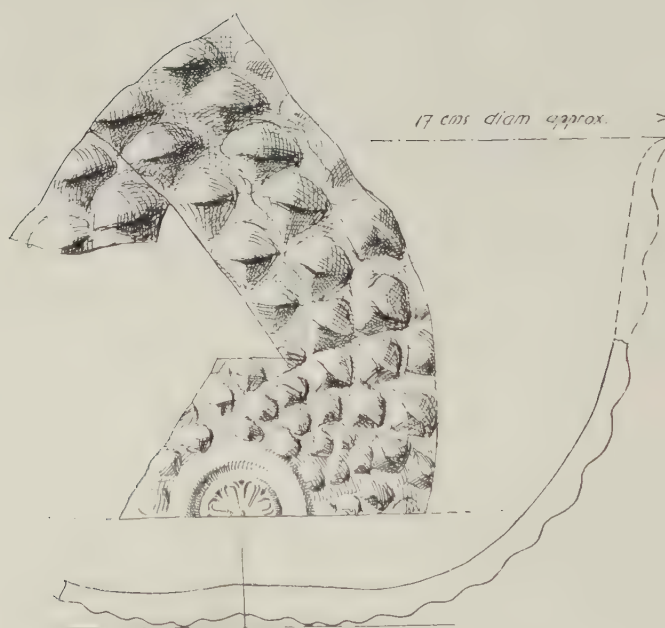


Fig. 47. C 29. Scale 2:3

and **D 45**. The krater on the fragment **C 36** (cf. **D 49**, Fig. 74) follows closely its metal prototypes. One such was included in the silver hoard of Tarentum (*Notizie degli Scavi*, 1896, pp. 379 ff., figs. 5 and 5 a; *Arch. Anz.* 1897, p. 62; and now magnificently published by P. Willeumier, *Le Trésor de Tarente*, Paris, 1930, pp. 41-47, pls. v and vi. Willeumier dates the krater, along with the rest of the treasure, in the early third century). Another of silver was found in 1834 in the Crimea (S. Reinach, *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, pl. XXXVIII, 2). The identical shape recurs in a krater of faience found at Tanagra, itself an obvious imitation of metal work (Furtwängler,

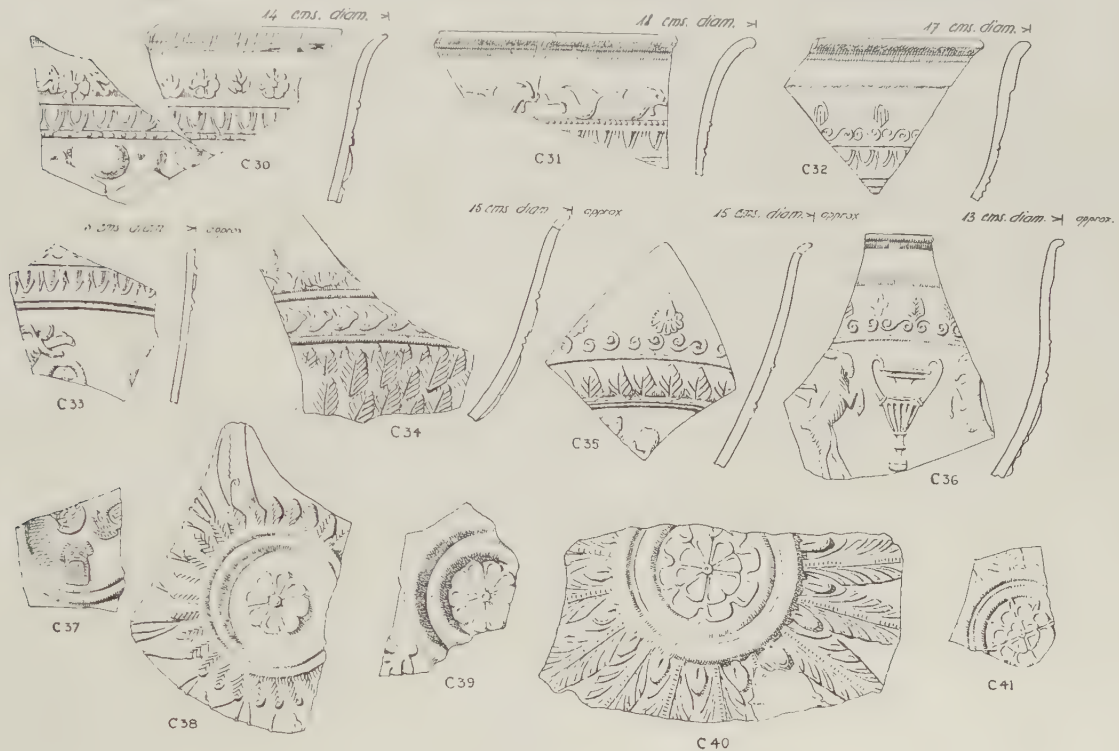


Fig. 48. **C 30-41**. Fragments of Megarian Bowls. Scale 1:2

Sammlung Sabouloff, I, pl. LXX, 3. Cf. Watzinger's comment in *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, pp. 100 f.). It is this type of drinking cup which appears, wreathed in ivy, on the reverse of a series of coins of the little island of Peparethos, dating after ca. 350 B.C. (Head, *Historia Numorum*², pp. 312 f. There is a good specimen illustrated in Forrer, *Weber Collection*, London, 1924, vol. II, No. 2960, pl. 114). Peparethos was famous for its wine (Pliny, *N. H.* XIV, 7, 76), though the wine was not universally liked (Hermippos, Koch, frag. 82, l. 12). Coins of Tarentum illustrate the same krater (Willeumier, *op. cit.* p. 44, pl. XIII, 1). The terracotta cup **B 20** was designed from similar metal prototypes.

C 37-41 (P 4017-4021) Bases. Fig. 48

In **C 37** three of the long-bearded masks, found so commonly on the side-wall (cf. **C 22**) have been placed in the medallion, crowns toward the centre. The modelling is crisp and the glaze is good. The remaining four pieces illustrate various types of rosettes found as medallion centres.

In **C 38** the medallion is only partly filled by a small 8-petalled flower; around it runs a single band of veined leaves from which rose tall petals with vine tendrils and leaves between them (cf. **A 74**, **C 16** and **17**). The glaze is good but has fired red. **C 39** shows a 10-petalled rosette. The medallion of **C 40** is centered with a double rosette and surrounded by a rich band of fronds with buds springing up between them. The glaze has fired to a deep red over the medallion and the middle of the floor where another vase was stacked in the kiln. **C 41** also shows a finely worked rosette which has two rows of petals and a third of sepals. For the motives used in the medallions cf. Courby, pp. 352 f., fig. 74.



Fig. 49. **C 42–53**. Fragments of Megarian Bowls. Scale 1:2

C 42–52 (P 4022–4032) Fragments from the walls of bowls. Fig. 49

The glaze of all is black and firm, save that of **C 43** which on the outside has fired red and has flaked. On **C 42** the river nymph Anymonne stands erect, pitcher in hand. The fracture of the

sherd makes it impossible to say whether here, as often, her helper, Poseidon, stood by her side. For the group cf. Courby, fig. 70, 18. It appears also on a fragment of a Megarian bowl from the Acropolis (Graef-Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, II 3, No. 1259, pl. 90. It is found too on one side of each of a group of small terracotta altars (W. Deonna, *Rev. Arch.* 1907, 10, pp. 249 ff.). For its appearance at Sparta see Hobling, *B. S. A.* XXVI, 1923-1924, 1924-1925, p. 308, fig. 10t. On the story of the nymph cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Ant.*, s. v. *Amymone*. **C 43** carries another group familiar on Megarian bowls: a nude girl reclining on the knees of a seated youth (Courby, fig. 70, 26 c). In the field to the right there are traces of a goat rampant and of an eros flying above a cluster of grapes (Courby, fig. 70, 26 c and references). On **C 44** an eros rides r. on a leopard (?), his cloak streaming behind him, while his fellow dashes ahead on foot bearing a tall torch. In the field to the r. is a reclining figure holding a jug in its outstretched right hand. (For Eros accompanied by a leopard cf. Courby, fig. 69, 8 and references.) **C 45-47** show the ubiquitous rampant goats in other variations and combinations. A winged eros perched precariously on the back of a galloping goat enlivens the side-wall of **C 48**. On **C 49** a lion and a nude male figure are hurriedly parting toward left and right respectively. (For the lion cf. Courby, fig. 71, 29 b.) A cloaked figure playing a double flute appears on **C 50**. **C 51** and **52** are additional examples of vegetable decoration; the first showing fruit-laden grape-vines rising between acanthus leaves, the second, tall lotus petals (?) combined with acanthus leaves on which birds may perch.

There are many smaller fragments of bowls from this cistern but all the types are illustrated in the selection given. The long-petalled (*à godrons*) variety, which we shall meet in the later groups, is completely lacking.

C 53 (P 4033) Fragment of a krater with moulded side-wall. Fig. 49

The lower part, shaped in a mould, is covered on the outside with nodules. The rim was shaped on the wheel. The junction of side-wall and rim is marked by a groove from which the glaze was scratched away. Traces remain of broad lines of thinned clay which decorated the outside of the lip. For a West Slope kantharos showing the same combination of moulded lower and wheel-run upper part, with similar nodule decoration cf. *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 69, 4, pl. iv. See also **C 29** with further references.

Only a bit of the upper wall remains with the start of the flaring rim.

LAMPS: **C 54-60**

C 54 (L 460) Lamp, *ca.* Type XII. Fig. 50

Flat bottom; top depressed around filling-hole; blunt nozzle; vertical strap handle; unpierced knob on left side. Wheel-made. Covered inside and out with flaky black glaze. Later lamps of the same type: **E 90-96**. Two lamps very similar to this but without handles were found in 1903 in the early second-century tomb at Gabalou in Aetolia (*Eph. Arch.* 1906, cols. 68-88; National Museum, No. 13,181). See also *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 200 ff., fig. 3₁ and 2.

L., 0.093 m. W., 0.064 m. H., 0.031 m. Handle and part of side-wall are broken away.

C 55 (L 462) Lamp, *ca.* Type XII. Fig. 50

Similar to the preceding in shape and fabric.

P.L., 0.082 m. W., 0.062 m. H., 0.031 m. The handle and the tip of the nozzle are missing.

C 56 (L 461) Lamp, *ca.* Type XII. Fig. 50

This specimen had no handle and the knob on its side is pierced. Wheel-made.

L., 0.094 m. W., 0.069 m. H., 0.032 m. Fragments are missing from the side-wall.

C 57 (L 1115) Lamp, *ca.* Type XII. Fig. 50

Similar in shape to the preceding. Mould-made. Its glaze is much flaked. There are fragments of at least three other lamps of this type.

P.L., 0.10 m. W., 0.07 m. H., 0.036 m. The tip of the nozzle and parts of the wall are missing.



Fig. 50. Lamps from Group C

C 58 (L 459) Lamp with central tube. Fig. 50

Flat bottom; gently convex side-wall; large central tube rising at least as high as the side-wall but broken away above. A small, unpierced knob on the left side. The glaze is red and flaky. Similar lamp: **E 87**. The shape was popular at Priene (*Priene*, pp. 449 f., Nos. 165–170, figs. 555 and 556. Cf. also p. 457 with references. Zahn assigns the type to the third century). It is found also on Delos (Deonna, *B.C.H.* XXXII, 1908, p. 141, fig. 3. The Delian specimens, according to Deonna, are not older than the third and run down into the second century B.C.). For another example from the Agora see *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 198, Fig. 14.

H., 0.025 m. Calculated D., 0.046 m. The nozzle and much of the side-wall are missing.

C 59 (L 1114) Lamp, Type XVIII. Fig. 50

A watch-shaped body; a depressed shoulder and a groove around the filling-hole; an unpierced knob on the side. Wreath of grape-vine on the shoulder. Mould-made. Lightly micaceous clay covered inside and outside with flaky, red glaze.

Maximum dimension: 0.058 m. Only a part of one side remains.

C 60 (L 407) Lamp, Type XIX. Fig. 50

An angular profile. The top was surrounded by a flange, now broken away, and pierced by one central and several small outer holes. Wheel-made. Ash-gray clay covered inside and out with firm black glaze.

L., 0.084 m. Only a fragment from the front remains.



Fig. 51. Cooking Pots from Group C

PLAIN WARE: **C 61–75****C 61–67** (P 4034–4040) Lip fragments of lekanai. Fig. 122

C 62 will give an idea of the complete side profile of these basins. On **C 62** and **66** there remain handles: heavy, horizontal, pressed close to the rim. On the top of **C 64** there is a wavy line incised between two straight grooves. On **C 67** only the two straight grooves appear. Coarse, gritty clay, fired to yellow, buff, red or greenish-yellow. **C 64–66** are covered on their insides only with thin, brownish glaze. A wreath of leaves in black glaze encircles the outside of **C 67**.

C 68 (P 4041) Wall fragment from lekane

The inside combed both horizontally and vertically. Coarse yellow clay, unglazed. For similar combing cf. **A 63**, **E 122** (Fig. 100).

P. H., 0.044 m. P. W., 0.085 m.

C 69 (P 4042) Cooking pot. Fig. 51

The bottom was undoubtedly round. Low concave neck with simple lip. Single strap handle. Gritty red clay darkened by fire. A similar cooking pot: **A 57**. A coarse cooking pot of similar shape from Olynthos: *Olynthus*, V, No. 838, pl. 173.

P. H., 0.146 m. D., 0.20 m. The bottom is broken away.

C 70 (P 2393) Cooking pot. Figs. 51 and 108

Plump body; rounded bottom rising slightly in the middle. The lip flares sharply to receive a lid. Two vertical loop handles set close to the rim. Around the side-wall, two shallow wheel-run grooves at the level of the shoulder attachment. Gritty red clay, blackened by fire.

H., 0.13 m. D., 0.18 m. Missing fragments restored in plaster.

C 71, 72 (P 4043, 4044) Handles of cooking pots. Fig. 51

The lips of both pots were shaped to receive lids. Of **C 71** the handle is single and twisted, of **C 72** double. In both cases the handle is surmounted by rotelles. Gritty, red clay.

There remain only small fragments of the handles and lips.

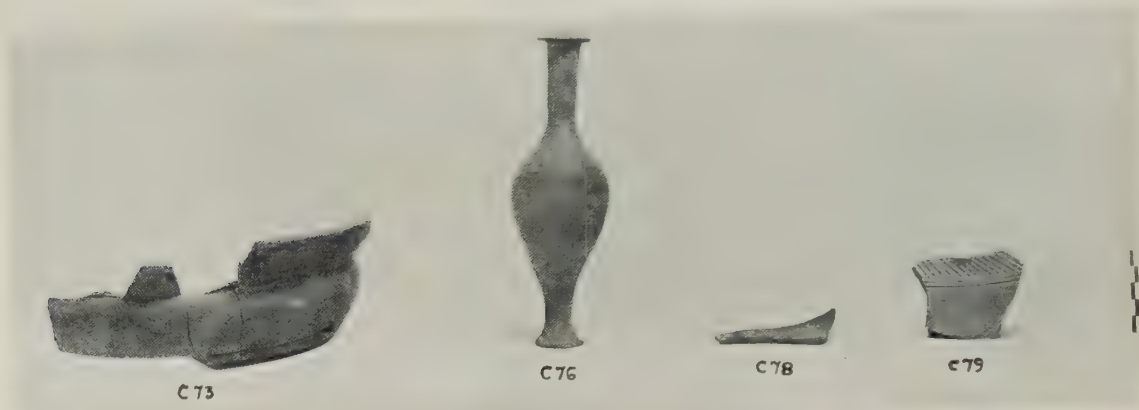


Fig. 52

C 73-75 (P 4045-4047) Fragments of casseroles. Figs. 52 and 121

C 73, the best preserved piece, shows a flat bottom, a well curved side-wall and a steep rim with a very slight ledge to receive the lid. On **C 74** there remains part of one handle set close to the outside of the rim. Gritty, red clay blackened by fire on the outside. Similar casseroles: **D 72**, **E 141-144**. For an early example, with long side handle, cf. *Aegina*, pl. 127, 18.

MISCELLANEOUS: **C 76-79****C 76, 77** (P 366, 367) Fusiform unguentaria. Fig. 52

The bases carelessly shaped. Ash-gray clay. No trace of paint. Similar unguentaria: **A 64** and **65**; **B 6** and **7**, **44**; **D 77** and **78**; **E 137** and **138**.

Of **C 76**: H., 0.186 m. D., 0.059 m.

Of **C 77**: H., 0.085 m. D., 0.028 m. Both are entire.

10 cms. diam.

C 78 (P 4048) Base of a small pitcher of "Blister Ware." Figs. 52 and 53

Flat bottom; gently curving side-wall. Fine, hard clay, ash-gray in color but fired to dull red on the inner surface.

P.W., 0.075 m. Only part of the floor and side-wall remain.

Fig. 53. Profile of **C 78**. Scale 1:1

C 79 (P 4049) Fragment of a pitcher with punctured decoration. Fig. 52

The shoulder is bounded by two wheel-run grooves. Within the grooves are oblique lines of punctured dots produced by pressing into the soft clay the teeth of a short length of comb. There is another wheel-run groove lower down on the side-wall. Granular, red clay fired to greenish-yellow on the outside.

P.W., 0.067 m. A fragment from the shoulder remains.

GROUP D

THE PITHOS

At the very base of the Areopagus, near its northwest corner, there came to light in the spring of 1932 scanty remains of the foundation of a house or shop, which, in its earliest period, goes back to Hellenistic times. Within the limits of the structure and close by one of its side-walls the mouth of a storage pit was uncovered. The actual container consists of a large, terracotta jar or "pithos," finished above with a broad rim, on top of which rested a curbing built up of field stones set in clay (Fig. 54). This curbing is preserved to a height of 0.25 m., though the floor level of the room, with which the mouth of the pithos was probably flush, suggests an original height of *ca.* 0.50 m. A thin coat of gray stucco covers the inside of the curbing and extends down over the interior of the jar. The comparatively small size of the pit and the careful finish of its interior suggest that it served for the storage of wine or oil. Subsequently it ceased to be used for this purpose and was quickly filled up with the multifarious refuse of the household. Still later, in the course of a reconstruction of the house, a concrete foundation wall (this masonry is hatched in the section, Fig. 54) was carried across its mouth and this effectually sealed its contents.

The vases and lamps catalogued below were almost without exception broken but in most cases the guilty persons had taken the trouble to gather up the fragments. In addition to the lamps and vases, the pit yielded heads from two terracotta figurines (T 226, 227); the tip of a little terracotta palmette (T 228); a conical lead suspension weight (IL 41); a square, flat, lead weight (IL 42); one length from a bone flute (BI 27) and an amphora handle (SS 336) whose place of origin is not certain. There were, too,

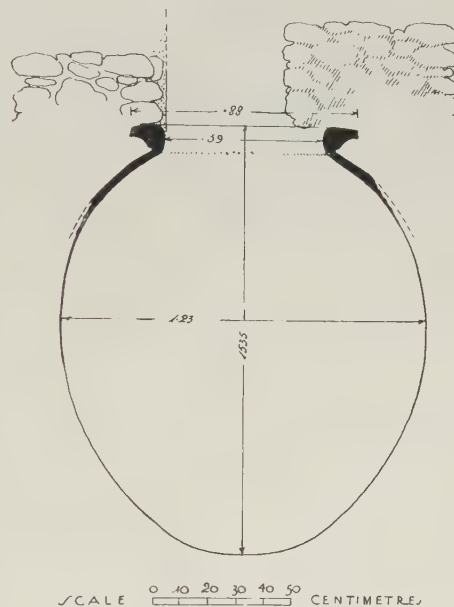


Fig. 54. Cross-section through Pithos D

many fragments of painted stucco from the walls of a house, iron nails, bits of lead, ash and charcoal, many bones of birds and animals,—in short, a kitchen dump.

Amidst the rubbish were found eight coins, four of which proved illegible. Of the remainder, two are Athenian pieces assigned to the period 297–255 B.C. (Svoronos, *Trésor*, pl. 22, Nos. 38 and 73–74); one is a coin of the Athenian cleruchs in Delos (*ibid.*, pl. 107, Nos. 55–67); one is an Eretrian piece of the period ca. 378–338 B.C. (*B.M. Cat. Central Greece*, p. 96, Nos. 19 and 20; pl. XVII, 11, and Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, p. 199, No. 187).

The pithos must have been open at least until 166 B.C., the date of the establishment of the Athenian cleruchy in Delos. Actually, it was probably closed shortly after that date. The dominant type of lamp in use at the time of the filling was that represented by **D 56–59** and none of the other lamps from the pithos needs to be dated much, if at all, later than those. Yet similar lamps have been found at Corinth in strata antedating the destruction of the city by Mummius in 146 B.C., and I have noted a fragment of another such from the filling of the Stoa of Attalos, erected between 159 and 138 B.C. The very slender fusiform unguentaria **D 77** and **78** find close parallels in similar flasks found in a Corinthian chamber tomb (unpublished) that undoubtedly antedates the destruction of the city, though by little. There can be but a limited range of time amongst the objects from the pithos and we may date the mass of them with assurance to the middle of the second century.

CATALOGUE OF GROUP D

BLACK-GLAZE WARE: **D 1–24**

D 1 (P 626) Plate with offset rim. Figs. 55 and 116

High base-ring; broad rim sharply offset from floor. Metallic black glaze fired red inside the foot and over a circle on the floor as a result of stacking in the kiln. There is a ring of rouletting on the floor. Similar plates: **E 22–26**. Much remains of another such plate.

H., 0.058 m. D., 0.276 m. Fragments are missing from rim and floor.

D 2–6 (P 613, 615–618) Bowls with outcurved lips. Figs. 55, 115 and 117

High base-ring; flaring lip; metallic black glaze. On the floors of **D 5** and **6** there are four stamped palmettes within a rouletted ring. There are parts of many other such bowls among the sherds from the pithos. Similar bowls: **A 9–13**, **71**, **72**; **C 3**; **E 33–44**.

H., 0.043–0.052 m. D., 0.11–0.124 m. All are broken but nearly complete.

D 7 (P 614) Hemispherical bowl. Fig. 55

Thin wall. Metallic, black glaze somewhat flaked. On the floor are four stamped palmettes within a rouletted circle. Similar bowls: **E 46–48**.

H., 0.052 m. D., 0.104 m. Fragments missing from lip.

D 8 (P 611) Bowl with incurved lip. Figs. 55 and 115

Sharply incurved lip; thin wall. Firm metallic black glaze. On the floor are six stamped palmettes surrounded by a triple line of rouletting. Closely similar is *Pergamon*, I, p. 269, No. 16. Similar deep bowls were found in a Hellenistic tomb at Sardes along with a bronze coin datable to ca. 189 B.C. (Shear, *A.J.A.* XXVI, 1922, pp. 401 ff., fig. 9), and in Hellenistic tombs at Sparta (*B.S.A.* XIII, 1906-1907, p. 162, fig. 8 a).

H., 0.069 m. D., 0.134 m. A small fragment missing from lip.

D 9 (P 612) Bowl with incurved lip. Figs. 55 and 117

Shallow bowl with sharply incurved lip; thin wall; metallic glaze mottled brown and black. Cf. *Priene*, p. 423, No. 75, fig. 539.

H., 0.059 m. D., 0.145 m. Fragments missing from rim.



Fig. 55. Black-glaze Plate and Bowls from Group D

D 10-12 (P 608-610) Deep bowls. Figs. 56 and 118

High base-ring. Flat floor. Almost vertical side-wall flaring at the lip. On the floor of **D 10** are two concentric wheel-run circles; on **D 11** and **12** there are rouletted rings. Glaze, metallic and fired to red in part. A similar bowl: **E 45**. For the shape cf. *Pergamon*, I, p. 270, No. 28.

Of **D 10**: H., 0.074 m. D., 0.134 m.

Of **D 11**: H., 0.065 m. D., 0.115 m.

Of **D 12**: H., 0.044 m. D., 0.088 m.

All broken but nearly complete.

D 13 (P 619) Bowl with lion's head spout. Fig. 56

Plain base-ring; flat floor; concave side-wall; rim moulded to receive lid; vertical ring handle attached to one side and at an angle of 90° from it a lion's head spout. Metallic black glaze. A similar bowl: **E 57**.

H., 0.051 m. D., 0.089 m. Parts of the handle and side-wall restored in plaster.

D 14 (P 605) Hemispherical bowl. Figs. 56 and 57

In shape, a perfect hemisphere save for a small flat circle on the bottom. Wall thin with deep wheel marks on the outside. Firm, red glaze fired black around the rim inside and out. The glaze has been scratched from a line on the outside just below the rim. Incised through the dry glaze on the outside, the letters: ZEYC. The *epsilon* and *upsilon* are by a different hand from the terminal letters but by the same hand as the EY of the following number. The EY may, accordingly, be regarded as the initial letters of the owner's name, fancifully altered to the name of the god by

someone in an idle moment. Similar in shape to **C 7**. The shape is common enough in terracotta from the earliest times but after a lapse in the earlier classical period it would seem to have returned to favor in Hellenistic times, probably in imitation of the contemporary hemispherical metal bowls. For silver prototypes see those from the Aetolian tomb of the early second century: *Eph. Arch.* 1906, col. 85, figs. 5-7 = National Museum, Nos. 13,141, 13,147, 13,670.

H., 0.074 m. D., 0.151 m. A small fragment missing from rim.

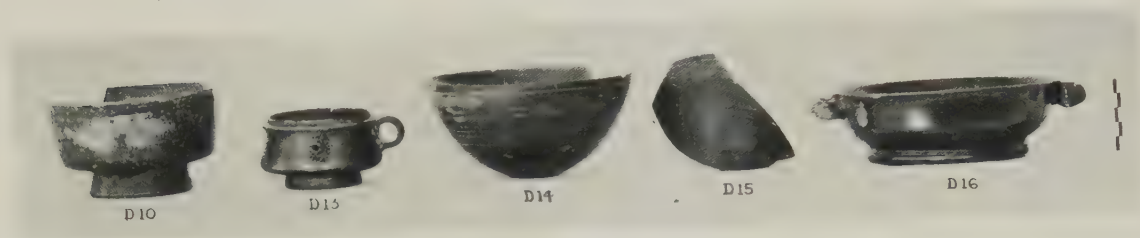


Fig. 56. Black-glaze Ware from Group D

D 15 (P 606) Fragment of a hemispherical bowl. Figs. 56 and 57

A fragment from the rim of a bowl similar to the preceding in shape and fabric. In the dry clay of its side-wall are scratched the letters ΕΥ. For the significance of the letters see the note on the preceding.

P.H., 0.087 m.



Fig. 57. Graffiti on **D 14** and **15**. Scale 1:1

D 16 (P 604) Two-handled bowl. Fig. 56

Low base-ring; shallow bowl with gently outcurved lip; horizontal handles pinched back on themselves. Firm, metallic glaze fired red on the lower part both inside and outside. On the floor, a broad circle of rouletting. The same type of handle occurs at Priene in terra sigillata (*Priene*, p. 433, No. 134, fig. 550). The shape is the Hellenistic version of the familiar fifth and fourth century cup-kotyle with well rounded side-wall and plain, horizontal loop handles. For good illustrations of the intermediate development cf. *Sciatbi*, No. 183, pl. LVI, 121; *Olynthus*, V, Nos. 542-554, pls. 151 and 152.

H., 0.052 m. D., 0.157 m. One handle and small fragments of the floor restored in plaster.

D 17, 18 (P 602, 603) Two-handled bowls. Figs. 58 and 118

Low base-ring; shallow bowl with straight upper wall gently inturned. Horizontal handles twisted back on themselves. The inside and the upper part of the outside are covered with thin glaze mottled gray and brown. Similar bowls: **E 52** and **53**.

Of **D 17**: H., 0.081 m. D., 0.18 m.

Of **D 18**: H., 0.086 m. Calculated D., 0.18 m.

Both broken and lacking each a handle.

D 19 (P 620) Spheroid jug. Fig. 58

Flat bottom; globular body, contracted neck and sharply flaring lip. Flaky glaze mottled black and brown; the glaze has been scratched away from a line around the neck. A similar jug: **E 56**.

H., 0.09 m. D., 0.113 m. The handle and fragments from the wall restored in plaster.

D 20, 21 (P 621, 622) Small pitchers. Fig. 58

Flat bottom; angular side-wall; flaring lip upturned at the edge; double handle bound together by a strap of clay. Metallic glaze mottled brown and black. A similar pitcher: **E 55**. Cf. *Priene*, p. 422, Nr. 58, fig. 538: identical with our specimens save for two wheel-run rills around the upper wall. Body profile and handle point clearly to a metal prototype such as was found in a Thessalian tomb of the second century: *Ath. Mitt.* XXXVII, 1912, p. 107, fig. 10. Cf. also Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, New York, 1915, No. 512.

Of **D 20**: H., 0.106 m. D., 0.087 m.

Of **D 21**: H., 0.095 m. D., 0.071 m.

Small fragments broken from both.

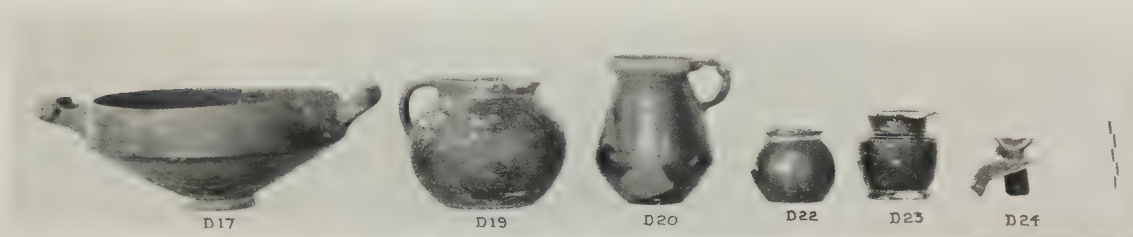


Fig. 58. Black-glaze Ware from Group D

D 22 (P 624) Small pitcher. Fig. 58

Flat bottom; plump body; low lip sharply out-turned. The handle was double and closely reminiscent of its metal prototype in the manner of its attachment to the lip. Metallic black glaze scratched away from a line around the neck.

H., 0.051 m. D., 0.06 m. The handle is missing.

D 23 (P 623) Small pitcher. Fig. 58

Low base-ring; plump body; vertical neck; flat rim. There are two wheel-run grooves around the shoulder, one on the rim. Metallic black glaze. Here, too, the profile and the grooving show the influence of metal ware.

H., 0.063 m. D., 0.06 m. The handle and fragments of the wall are missing.

D 24 (P 4074) Small pitcher. Fig. 58

Globular body; contracted neck; bell-shaped mouth; ash-gray clay covered with flaky black glaze; on top of the shoulder, a wheel-run groove.

H., 0.045 m. Estimated D., 0.06 m. Only the mouth and the upper part of the body remain.

WEST SLOPE WARE: D 25-29

D 25 (P 599) Amphora. Fig. 59

Low, flaring base-ring; squat body; high neck with slightly flaring lip; twisted handles, each with a plastic mask at its root. Metallic black glaze. Between the handles, on either side of the neck, a conventional wreath comprising, from top to bottom: a line of white dots, a broad white line bounded by brown, a zigzag line incised, a band of pendants rendered in thinned clay. On



Fig. 59. D 25. West Slope Amphora

the shoulder, on either side, groups of diminishing rectangles alternate with panels of checker-board pattern. The rectangles and the checker-board are outlined in thinned clay. White paint is used for alternate squares in the checker-board, and for the dots between the diagonals of the innermost rectangles. The handle attachments both above and below are encircled each with a line of thinned clay. The glaze has been scratched from the bottoms of shallow grooves, two around the neck below the lip, one at the root of the neck, one at the junction of shoulder and side-wall, one around the base-ring. An amphora from the West Slope is identical in shape and the decoration of its shoulder. On its neck, however, there are ivy garlands with a band of alternating horizontal and vertical dashes just below the lip. The handles are of the strap variety and are surmounted by rotelles (*Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 68, No. 1, pl. III = Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 753).

H., 0.236 m. D., 0.198 m. One handle and fragments from the lip are restored in plaster. *A.J.A.* XXXVI, 1932, pp. 387 f., fig. 5 B; *Ill. Lond. News*, June 25, 1932, pp. 1060, 1063, fig. 14.

D 26 (P 600) Amphora. Fig. 60

High, flaring base-ring; squat body; low neck with flaring lip and sharply profiled rim; twisted handles, each with a plastic mask at its root and with a wart on either side of its attachment to the neck. Metallic, black glaze fired brown in places. Hung from the handles on either side, an ivy garland, its leaves and stems rendered in thinned clay, its supporting string and berries in white paint. Each of the warts is covered with a star of eight points alternately white and brown. The shoulders are covered each with two groups of diminishing rectangles separated by a panel of checker-board. Rectangles and checker-board are rendered in thinned clay, the alternate squares of the checker-board in white paint. The glaze was scratched away from lines around the rim, the root of the neck, the shoulder and the base-ring. An amphora, probably of Attic origin, found in

Fig. 60. **D 26.** West Slope Amphora

Olbia differs from this only in the substitution of cross-hatching for diminishing rectangles on the shoulders (*Compte-Rendu*, 1896, p. 208, fig. 594 = E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge, 1913, fig. 255).

H., 0.174 m. D., 0.18 m. Small fragments are missing from lip and side-wall.

D 27 (P 625) Small amphora. Fig. 61

Flaring base-ring; plump body; flaring lip; twisted handles with a wart on the neck to either side of the upper attachment and with a much debased mask at the root. On either shoulder, a spray of ivy, its leaves in thinned clay, its stem in white paint bounded above and below by a line of white dots. On the neck, on either side, a band of pendants in thinned clay hanging from a white line with a line of white dots below. Highly metallic, black glaze inside and out. The

ivy garland on the shoulders is at about the same stage of development as the grape-vine on the plate **E 62**.

H., 0.088 m. D., 0.076 m. One handle restored.



Fig. 61. **D 27**. Scale 1:1

D 28 (P 607) Hemispherical bowl. Figs. 62 and 118

The bottom slightly flattened. On the outside are four wheel-run grooves, on the inside, one. On the floor, a cross in thinned clay; around it a band of horizontal brown strokes alternating with pairs of vertical white strokes. Dull black glaze. For the centre design cf. **C 12** and references there given. The border design is a popular one in the West Slope repertoire. Cf. our saucer **E 66** and plate **E 62**; an amphora from the West Slope (*Ath Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 68, No. 1, pl. III) where a similar band encircles the neck just below the rim.

H., 0.046 m. D., 0.10 m. A fragment missing from lip.

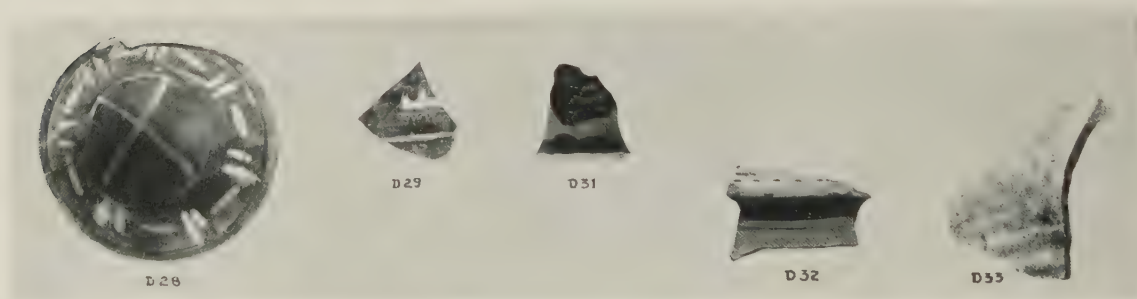


Fig. 62. West Slope and White Painted Ware from Group D. Scale ca. 1:3

D 29 (P 4075) Fragment from the wall of a kantharos. Fig. 62

Above an incised groove which divided upper and lower wall, there is a band of wave pattern in white paint outlined with incision and with an incised zigzag line below. Metallic black glaze. For the decoration cf. the kantharos **B 8**.

H., 0.044 m. W., 0.045 m.



Fig. 63. **D 30**. Lagynos

LAGYNOI AND RELATED WARE: **D 30-33****D 30** (P 601) Lagynos. Fig. 63

Globular body; cylindrical neck with lip very slightly thickened; strap handle doubly grooved. Fine buff clay covered with thick white paint. Around the outer edge of the shoulder, a broad band of brown paint bordered above and below by two lines. On top of the shoulder, a band of rays with thin end toward the neck. Broad bands of brown paint around the root of the neck and the lip. The surface has been much rubbed. Other lagynoi: **C 15**; **D 31**; **E 70-73**. For an almost identical specimen from Melos, now in Heidelberg, cf. *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, p. 31, fig. 38 = G. Leroux, *Lagynos*, Paris, 1913, No. 90. Cf. also Leroux, No. 95: from S. Russia (same shape and decoration). On the round shape see Leroux, pp. 85 f.

P.H., 0.214 m. D., 0.142 m. The base is broken away.

D 31 (P 4076) Fragment of a lagynos. Fig. 62

Buff clay covered with a thin white wash. Around the root of the neck, a band of brown paint. P.H., 0.042 m. A fragment from the lower part of the neck.

D 32 (P 4077) Fragment of a bowl with lid. Figs. 62 and 64

The bowl had an almost vertical lip with a ledge inside to receive the lid. Both bowl and lid are of fine buff clay covered with a firm white paint on the outside. There is a band of brown paint around the outer edge of the rim of both members and a line of brown dots just inside the rim of the lid. A lid from a similar pyxis has been found on Delos (Leroux, No. 109).

Calculated D. of mouth, 0.14 m. Only small fragments are preserved from the rim of bowl and lid. Identity of fabric and diameter make their association very probable.

D 33 (P 4078) Fragment from the lip of a large amphora(?). Fig. 62

Broadly flaring lip with profiled rim. Deep-red clay covered inside and out with a thick white paint.

Estimated D. of lip, 0.27 m.



Fig. 64.
Profile of **D 32**.
Scale 1:1

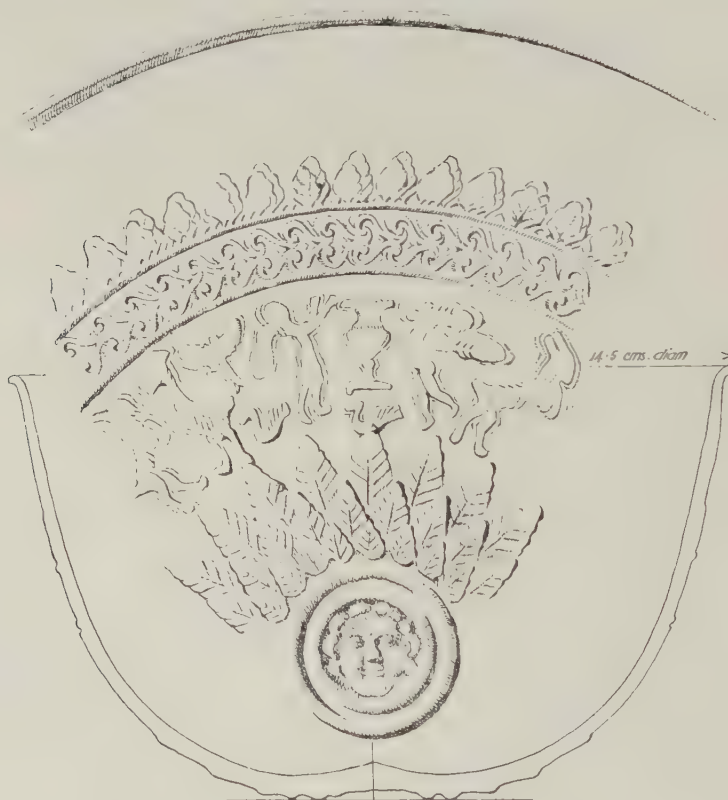
MEGARIAN BOWLS: **D 34-52****D 34** (P 589) Bowl with idyllic scenes. Fig. 65

Fig. 65. **D 34**. Scale 2:3

In the medallion, a gorgoneion; around it, 3 rows of deep-veined leaves. Around the body, pairs of erotes approaching kraters alternate with pairs of rampant goats. In the field are flying nikai and water birds(?). In the upper zone, a band of simplified guilloche with a line of upright leaves superimposed. Metallic black glaze somewhat flaked. The bowl shifted slightly in the mould, blurring its relief. For the erotes-krater group cf. *Delphes*, V, p. 175, fig. 739.

H., 0.087 m. D., 0.145 m. Fragments missing from lip.



Fig. 66 a. D 35

D 35 (P 590) Bowl with idyllic scenes. Figs. 66 a and b

In the medallion, a double rosette; around the medallion, four rows of veined leaves. On the side-wall are four pairs of goats rampant about kraters. In the field between each two pairs are two erotes flying toward one another, two masks and a bird on a wreath(?). The upper zone consists of a band of egg-and-dart and another of double spirals from which rise sprays each with a dolphin at either side. Very glossy black glaze. For the upper members of the upper zone cf. *Atl. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 59, A 11. The combination of rampant goats with erotes flying above masks recurs in Dumont et Chaplain, *Céramique de la Grèce propre*, pl. XXI.

H., 0.075 m. D., 0.134 m. Small fragments are missing from the side-wall.



Fig. 66 b. D 35. Scale 2 : 3

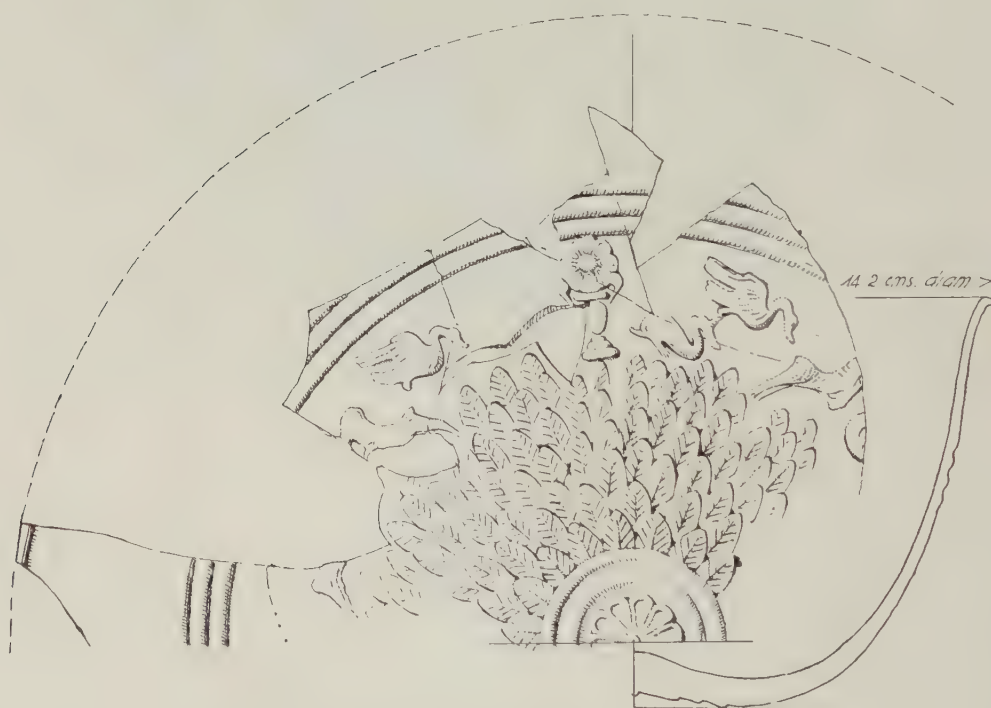


Fig. 67. D 36. Scale 2 : 3

D 36 (P 591) Bowl with idyllic scenes. Fig. 67

Medallion centered with a 10-petalled rosette and surrounded with many rows of small leaves. Around the wall, rampant goats with rosettes(?) between their feet alternate with kraters surmounted by rosettes. In the field are flying geese and dolphins. The upper zone consists of three raised lines. Metallic black glaze.

H., 0.081 m. D., 0.142 m. Much missing from side-wall; profile complete.

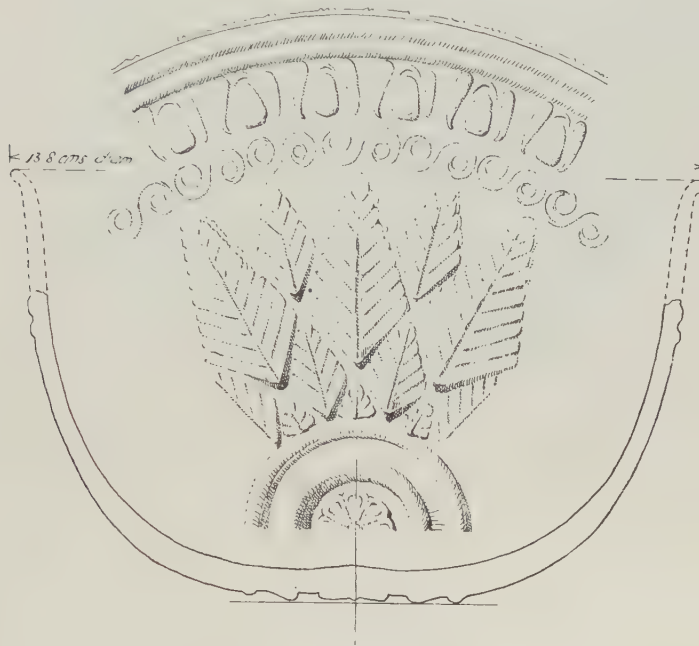


Fig. 68. **D 37**. Scale 2 : 3

D 37 (P 4079) Bowl with floral decoration. Fig. 68

The medallion is centered with a small, 8-petalled rosette and surrounded by big and little fronds. The upper part of the field is occupied by a line of double spirals and another of inverted egg-and-dart. Metallic black glaze. For the rim pattern cf. *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 60, A 18.

H., 0.053 m. D., 0.138 m. Only the lower part remains.

D 38 (P 598) Megarian bowl. Figs. 69 a and b

The medallion is plain. The side-wall is covered with a network of jewelled lines bounded above by a band of oblique hatching. Metallic black glaze. For the net pattern on the side-wall cf. also **D 51**; Courby, pl. XII, 7 (Delian bowl); *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 88 (a bowl in a dealer's shop in Athens); Reinach, *Ant. du Bosph. Cim.*, pl. XLVIII, 11 (a bowl from the Crimea); *Jahrb.* XXIII, 1908, p. 67, Nos. 25 and 26 (bowls from South Russia). The popularity of the net pattern at this period was not confined to Megarian bowls. The same pattern is frequently found on other small bowls and vessels. Cf. **E 58**; *Delphes*, V, p. 174, No. 408; *Jahrb.* XXIII, 1908, p. 67, n. 19 and further



Fig. 69 a. D 38

one Quarter of Bowl

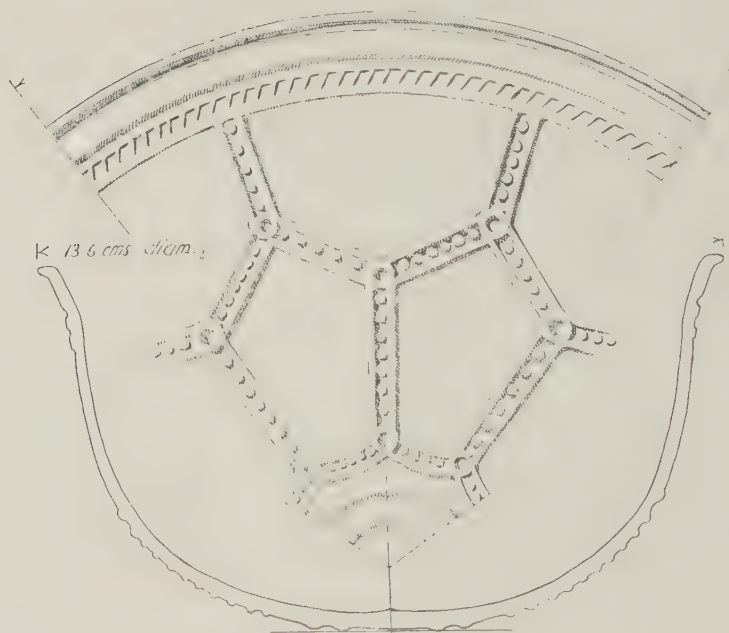


Fig. 69 b. D 38. Scale 2 : 3

references in both these places. Dr. Oscar Broneer informs me that he has recently found a Megarian bowl with similar decoration in a deposit of pottery in the great stoa to the south of the Agora in Corinth. The context would seem to be not much, if at all, later than the end of the third century.

H., 0.07 m. D., 0.136 m. Fragments are missing from the lip.

D 39 (P 595) Bowl with long petals. Fig. 70

In the medallion is an 8-petalled rosette. From around it spring elongated petals. Upper zone lacking. Metallic glaze, mottled black and brown. For bowls of this type (*à godrons*) cf. Courby, pp. 329 ff., and the general discussion, pp. 456 f.

H., 0.07 m. D., 0.121 m. Fragments missing from lip and side wall.

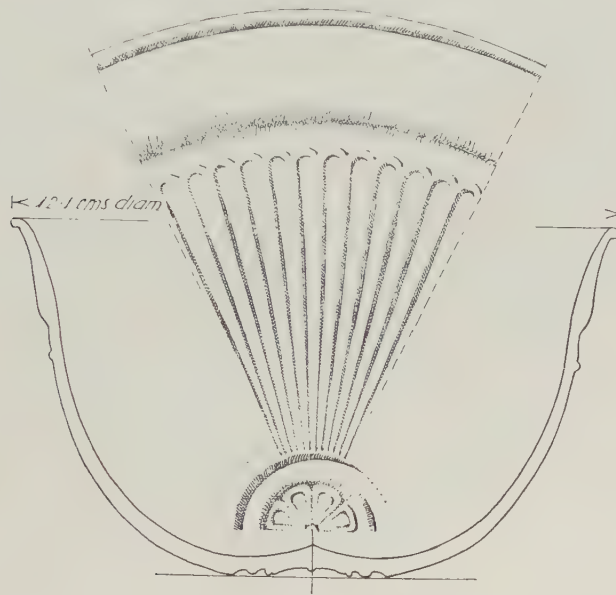


Fig. 70. **D 39**. Scale 2 : 3

D 40 (P 596) Bowl with long petals. Fig. 71

Similar to the preceding save for the addition between the petals of jewelled lines terminating above in tiny fronds. Cf. **E 74**. For a fragment of a similar bowl from the Acropolis see Graef-Langlotz, *Akropolis-Vasen*, II 3, No. 1254, pl. 90, and for another from Delos see Courby, p. 333, pl. IX b. The shape of the bowl found on Delos suggests that it is either of Athenian manufacture or made from an Athenian mould. See below, p. 459.

H., 0.073 m. D., 0.135 m. Fragmentary but complete in profile.

D 41 (P 597) Bowl with swirling petals. Fig. 72

In the medallion, a double rosette. From around it spring swirling petals separated by jewelled lines. Metallic, black glaze somewhat flaked. Cf. **E 85**. A fragment found in Delos shows the same decoration on its side-wall (Courby, pl. IX, c, p. 332).

P.H., 0.053 m. Only the lower part remains.

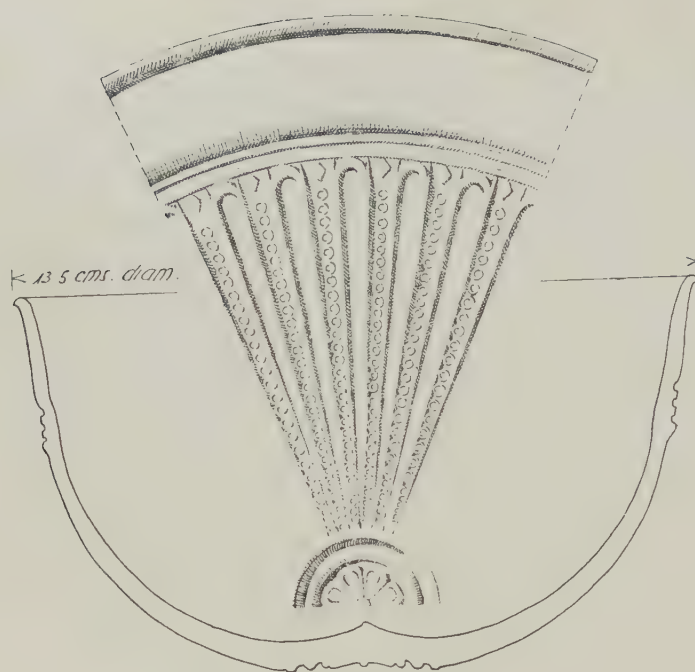


Fig. 71. D 40. Scale 2 : 3

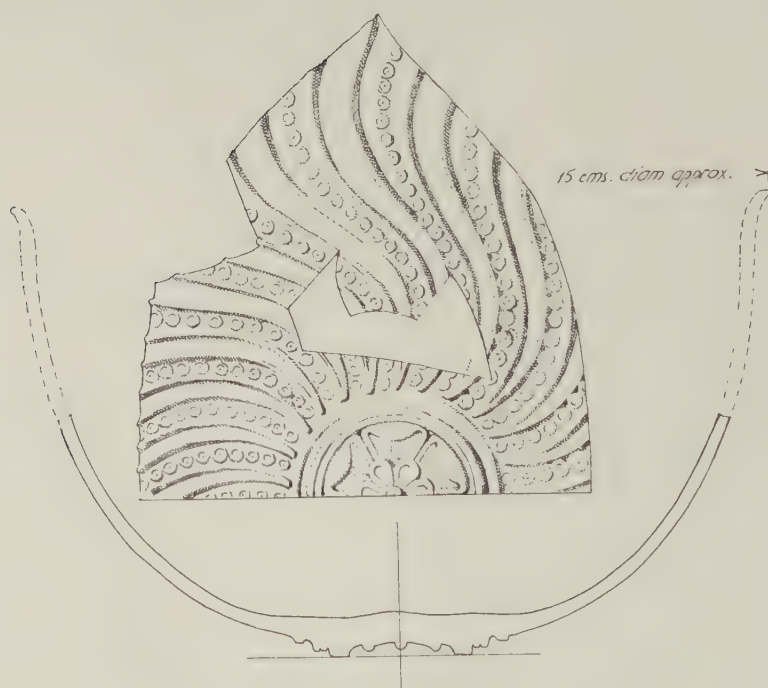


Fig. 72. D 41. Scale 2 : 3

D 42 (P 593) Bowl with long petals

Plain medallion from which spring elongated petals. Upper zone lacking; metallic black glaze. Cf. **D 43** and **E 77**.

H., 0.072 m. D., 0.142 m. Much missing from side-wall.



Fig. 73 a. **D 44**

D 43 (P 592) Bowl with long petals

Similar in shape and decoration to the preceding. Metallic black glaze.

H., 0.07 m. D., 0.137 m. Much is missing from the side-wall.

D 44 (P 594) Bowl with long petals. Figs. 73 a and b

In decoration it differs from the preceding only in the addition of a tiny leaf between the tips of each pair of petals. Metallic glaze mottled black and brown. In cross-section it approaches the rectangular.

H., 0.071 m. D., 0.126 m. Complete save for small fragments of the side-wall.

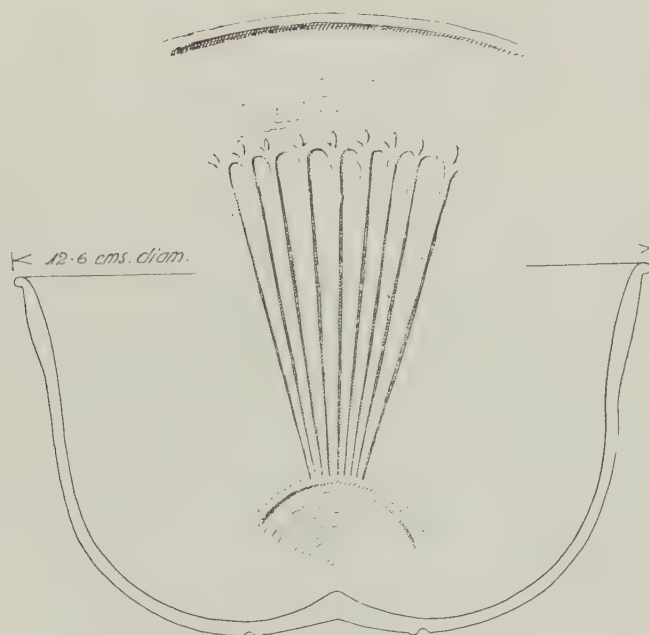


Fig. 73 b. D 44. Scale 2 : 3

D 45-52 (P 4080-4087) Fragments of bowls. Fig. 74

Figure 74 illustrates a number of the more significant of the smaller fragments found in the pithos. For the arec flowers of **D 45** cf. **C 35**. Note the rabbit's head on **D 50**. **D 51** was covered with a network different in pattern from that of **D 38**. **D 47** is interesting as one of the half dozen fragments of imported Megarian bowls found thus far in the Agora excavations. Contrary to the

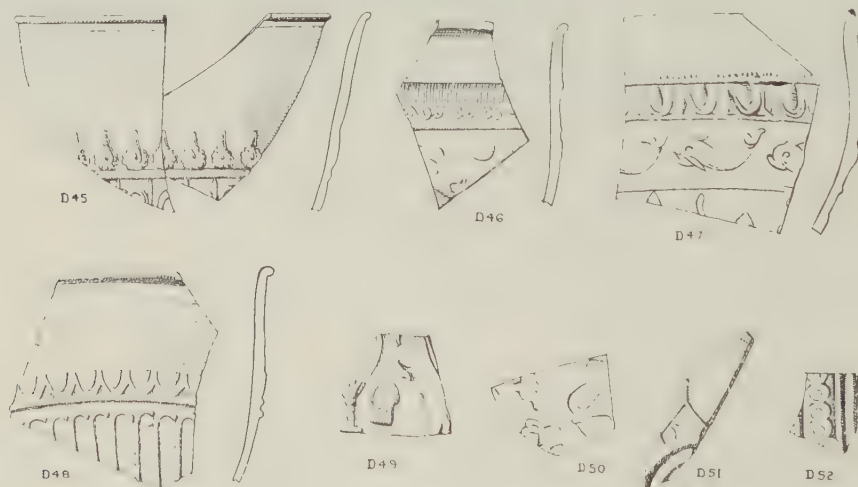


Fig. 74. D 45 52. Fragments of Megarian Bowls. Scale 1 : 2

Attic practice, its lip is incurved. On its outer wall there remain parts of three zones divided by raised lines; the uppermost is occupied by a band of egg-and-dart; the second by a line of dolphins; the third by leaves and tendrils of which only the tips remain. Fine, brown clay slightly micaceous. Glaze thin, chocolate-colored, metallic. I find no exact parallel for the bowl, but its profile and scheme of decoration suggest a Delian origin. For the krater on **D 49** cf. **C 36**. Of the other fragments of bowls from the pithos all save two are of the long-petalled variety, with or without jewellery.

LAMPS: **D 53–61****D 53** (L 556) Two-nozzled lamp with central tube. Fig. 75

Flat bottom; side-wall gently inclined to a flat and narrow rim. Nozzles short and blunt. Central stem is heavy and hollow in its lower part, broken away above. It still rises 0.05 m. above the rim. Flaky brown glaze fired black in the upper part. This and the following lamp were probably intended for suspension. The central stem would have terminated above in a loop, or it may have been pierced horizontally for the insertion of a cord. For similar lamps from Delos cf. Deonna, *B. C. H.* XXXII, 1908, pp. 141 f. The type was familiar from earlier times. See, for instance, *Olynthus*, II, pp. 135 f., Nos. 27–31, figs. 229 and 300. In bronze, too, such double suspension lamps were popular, though the bronze lamp was ordinarily suspended by means of chains. Of the many published specimens one may note, for example, those in the British Museum: *B. M. Catalogue of Lamps*, Nos. 35, 48–57, pls. I, III, V–VII.

L., 0.108 m. W., 0.059 m. H. without tube, 0.031 m.

D 54 (L 557) Two-nozzled lamp with central tube. Fig. 75

High base; side-wall half round in section; nozzles short with rudimentary flukes. An unpierced knob on either side. Ash-gray clay; dull, black glaze inside and out.

L., 0.107 m. W., ca. 0.062 m. H., 0.039 m. The top of the stem, the tip of the nozzle and much of the side-wall are broken away.

D 55 (L 559) Seven-nozzled lamp. Fig. 75

In shape the lamp approximates those of Broneer's Type XII. Nozzles short and bluntly pointed with rudimentary flukes; vertical strap handle. Metallic black glaze. Wheel-made. This is an early specimen of the so-called "Knidos type." Cf. Broneer, pp. 53 f. For other examples with many nozzles see *B. C. H.* XXXII, 1908, p. 145, fig. 7; *B. M. Catalogue of Lamps*, Nos. 384–389, figs. 61–63. There are fragments from at least three single-nozzled lamps of somewhat similar shape, resembling **C 54–57**.

P.W., 0.12 m. The handle, all but one nozzle and the lower part are broken away.

D 56–59 (L 551–554) Lamps, Type XVIII. Fig. 75

Low base; watch-shaped body; long, blunt nozzle; vertical strap handle. On the shoulder, ribs (save on **D 59** whose shoulder is plain). On the top of the nozzle, two shallow grooves. On the left side, a plastic cornucopia. Flaky black glaze. Mould-made. Similar lamps: **E 97–102**. The type is common in Athens (cf. Broneer, p. 65, figs. 2 and 10), and in Delos (*B. C. H.* XXXII, 1908, pp. 155 f., fig. 25). A very few fragments have been found in Corinth (Broneer, p. 65, Nos. 301–303, pl. VI) and I have noted a piece of one such lamp from the pits in the Stoa of Attalos.

All are somewhat broken.

D 60 (L 558) Lamp, Type XVIII. Fig. 75

Low base; watch-shaped body; plain shoulder surrounded by a high rim. Five small holes were pierced through the shoulder inside the rim to permit spilled oil to enter the infundibulum. Nozzle broad and flat on top. Vertical strap handle. Ash-gray clay covered with metallic, gray-black glaze. The lamp is very crudely shaped. Wheel-made.

L., 0.145 m. W., ca. 0.09 m. H., 0.042 m. Fragments are missing from the nozzle and rim.

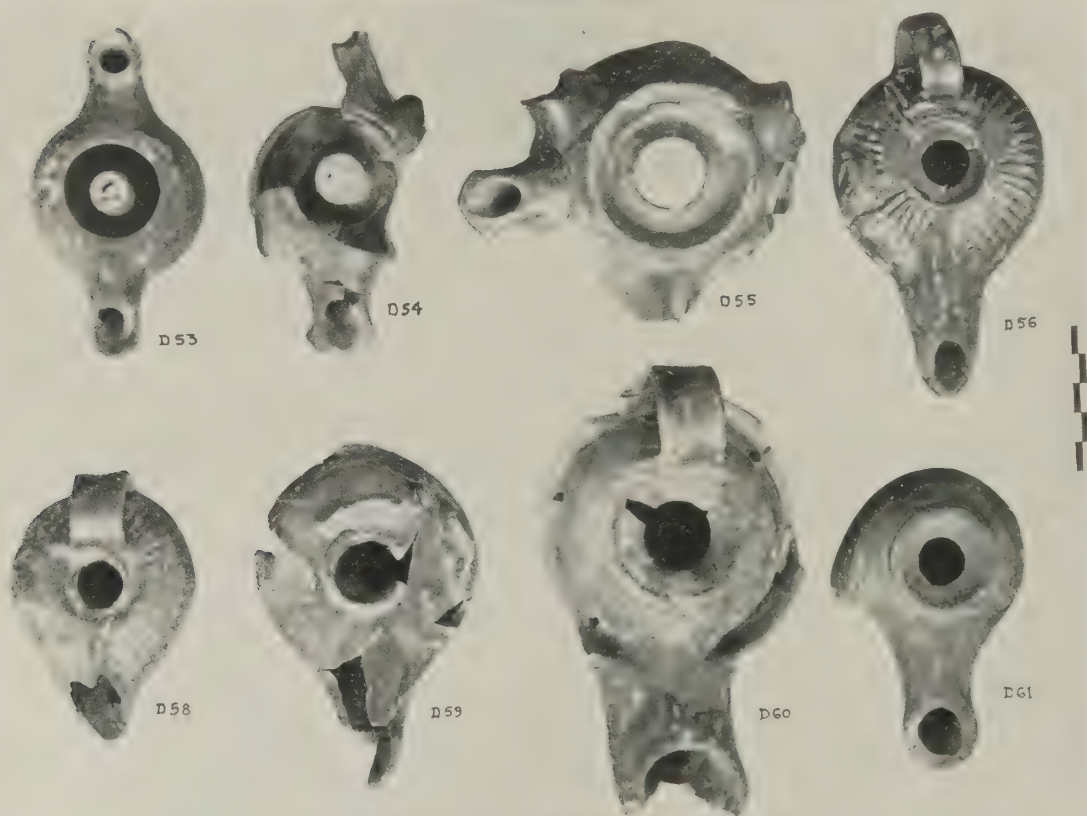


Fig. 75. Lamps from Group D

D 61 (L 555) Lamp, Type XIX. Fig. 75

Low base; angular profile; raised rim around the filling-hole; heavy unpierced knob on left side; long nozzle rounded at its end. Gray clay; lusterless, gray-black glaze. This is a plain specimen of the so-called "Ephesos type," named because of the number of such lamps found on that site. On the type cf. *B. M. Catalogue of Lamps*, pp. 46 ff.; Broneer, pp. 66 ff.

L., 0.10 m. W. without knob, 0.06 m. H., 0.03 m. Broken but complete.

PLAIN WARE: D 62-76

D 62 (P 629) Water pitcher. Fig. 76

Heavy base-ring; tall neck with flaring lip and raised ridge at the level of the handle attachment. Fine brown clay, slightly micaceous.

H., 0.243 m. D., 0.158 m. Handle and fragments from side-wall restored in plaster.

D 63 (P 4088) Plain jar. Fig. 76

Globular body; low neck with flaring lip; short strap handle. Gritty, buff clay, fired yellow on the outside. Similar in shape to **E 128** and **129**.

P.H., 0.068 m. The handle and a little of the mouth remain.

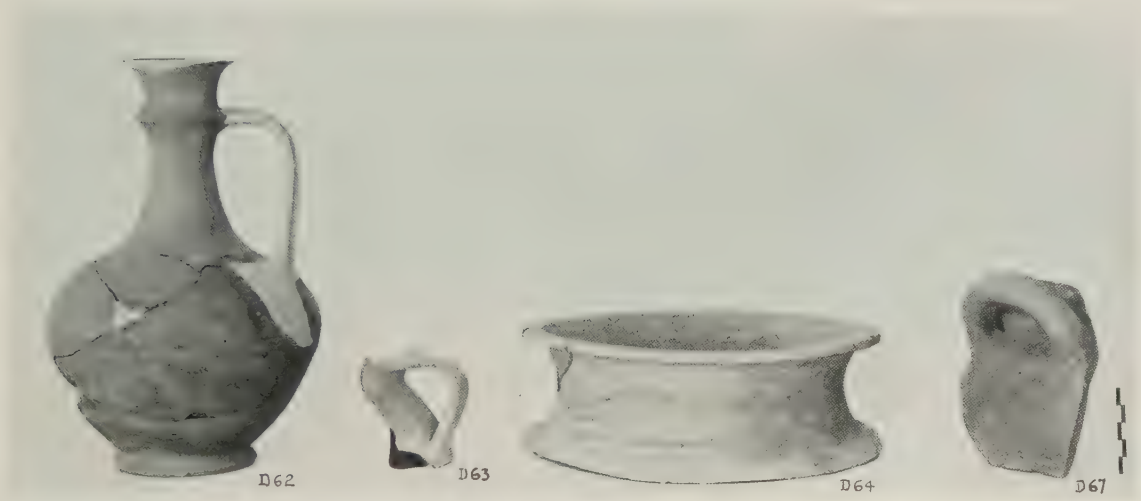


Fig. 76. Plain Ware from Group D

D 64 (P 630) Flat-bottomed bowl. Fig. 76

Flat bottom; concave side-wall. Coarse, red clay. Crudely made. The shape shows metallic influence. For an original in silver cf. a small pyxis from the early second-century tomb in Aetolia (*Eph. Arch.* 1906, cols. 77 ff., col. 82, fig. 10 = National Museum, No. 13,171). A small vase of the same shape was found in a Hellenistic tomb at Sardes along with a bronze coin datable to ca. 189 B.C. (Shear, *A.J.A.* XXVI, 1922, pp. 401 ff., fig. 9). But the shape goes back much earlier, for it is found at Chatby (*Sciatbi*, pl. LVI, 116).

H., 0.075 m. D., 0.225 m. Broken but complete.

D 65-67 (P 4089-4091) Rim fragments from lekanai. Figs. 76 and 122

All are of gritty, buff-colored clay and are covered on the inside with thin, brown glaze. Of **D 65** the outside is spattered with similar glaze.

D 68 (P 4092) Amphora with painted decoration. Fig. 77

Plump body; low, vertical neck with thickened lip; strap handles. Gritty, flaky clay, buff to yellow in color. Decorated on the outside with rude stripes of red paint.

D., *ca.* 0.242 m. Only the upper part with the 2 handles is preserved.

D 69 (P 4093) Fragments from a large, closed vase with painted decoration. Fig. 77

Gritty, red clay covered on the outside with white paint on which floral(?) designs were painted in red.

Estimated D. of foot, 0.17 m. H. of fragment from side-wall, 0.131 m. One fragment from base and one from side remain.

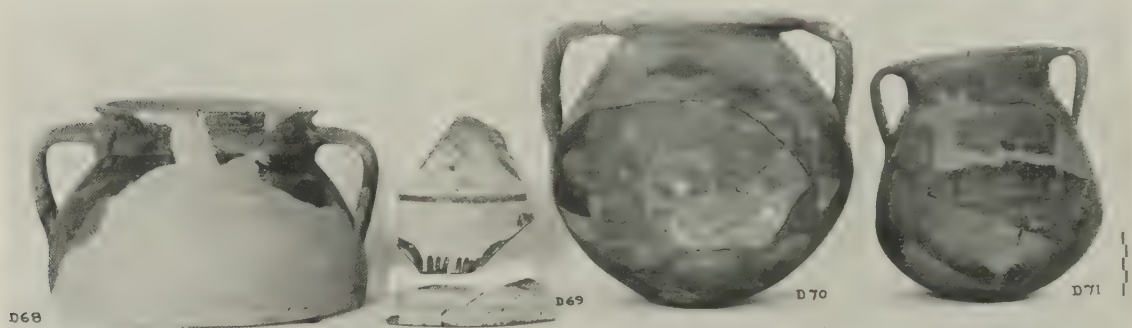


Fig. 77. Cooking Pots and Painted Coarse Ware from Group D

D 70 (P 677) Cooking pot. Fig. 77

Round bottom; broad rim with rising lip to retain the lid; twisted vertical handles. Coarse clay, blackened through and through by fire.

H., 0.222 m. D., 0.23 m. Slightly restored in plaster.

D 71 (P 678) Cooking pot. Fig. 77

Round bottom; vertical neck with slightly flaring lip; two vertical handles. Gritty, red clay, much blackened by fire.

H., 0.195 m. D., 0.174 m. Slightly restored in plaster.

D 72 (P 679) Casserole. Figs. 78 and 121

Bulging bottom; broad rim with rising lip to retain the lid. Traces of a horizontal loop handle. Gritty, red clay, unglazed, blackened by fire on the outside. Similar casseroles: **C 73–75**; **E 141–144**.

H., 0.062 m. D., *ca.* 0.192 m. About one-half remains.

D 73-75 (P 680-682) Casserole lids. Fig. 78

Plain convex lids with heavy knobs on top. Gritty red clay, unglazed, blackened by fire in places. Similar lids: **A 58**; **E 146-148**. Among the sherds from the pithos are fragments of several more such casseroles and lids.

Of **D 73**: D., 0.228 m.

Of **D 74**: D., 0.245 m.

Of **D 75**: D., *ca.* 0.25 m.

All are fragmentary.

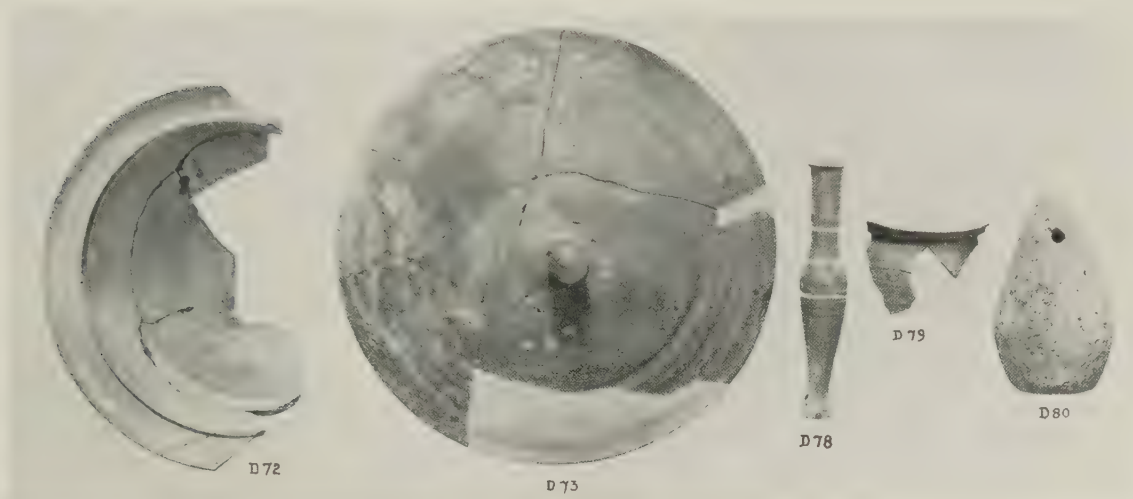


Fig. 78



Fig. 79. **D 76**. Top of Brazier. Scale 1:5

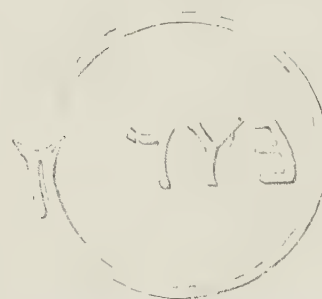


Fig. 80. Inscription on Bottom of Brazier, **D 76**. Scale 1:8

D 76 (P 683) Brazier. Figs. 79 and 80

The fire-bowl is hemispherical with a heavy rim from which rise three moulded lugs. On their inner sides are masks whose long beards project inward to hold the plate above the glowing coals. This bowl was supported at a convenient height by a hollow column closed at the bottom. In the part of the column preserved there remains the bottom of a vent by which the air entered to reach the coals through small holes pierced in the bottom of the bowl. Stamped on the bottom in raised characters: ΥΓΥΘ (Fig. 80). Coarse, red clay, unglazed. For a more complete specimen cf. **E 150**. Much of the base of another similar brazier came from the pithos. For the mask cf. *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, p. 153, 3 d, fig. 166.

Of fire-bowl, D., 0.301 m.; of base, D., 0.308 m. Most of the bowl and the base are preserved but very little of the connecting column.

MISCELLANEOUS: **D 77-80****D 77, 78** (P 627, 628) Fusiform unguentaria. Fig. 78

Slender in shape. Ash-gray clay. Two lines of white paint around the body and one around the neck. Crudely made. From the pithos come fragments of five or more other unguentaria of similar shape and fabric.

Of **D 77**, H., 0.14 m. D., 0.027 m. Broken but complete.

Of **D 78**, H., 0.135 m. D., 0.025 m. Entire.

D 79 (P 4094) Fragment from a small pitcher. Fig. 78

The lip flares and was fitted with a ledge to receive a lid. Coarse clay fired gray and red. Decorated on the outside with horizontal rows of dots applied *en barbotine*. Very thin fabric.

Estimated D. of mouth, 0.08 m.

D 80 (MC 107) Loom-weight. Fig. 78

Conical in shape, much contracted below; with slightly flattened side-walls. Red clay containing large particles of grit. Similar weights: **B 34, 45, 47**.

H., 0.103 m. W., 0.062 m. Entire.

GROUP E

THE CISTERN

The ancient thoroughfare that led out of the southwest corner of the market-square was bordered on either side by shops and private houses. One or more of these depended for water on a system of storage basins discovered in 1934 to the east of the main drain which underlies the roadway (Fig. 81). The principal reservoir consisted of a flask-shaped chamber cut in the soft bedrock with a narrow neck curbed above with field stones set in clay. From the chamber, a tunnel led in a westerly direction to a vertical draw-shaft and continued some distance beyond to terminate in a dead end. An overflow was provided by joining the draw-shaft to a neighbouring, tile-curbed well by means of a passage walled with drain tiles. The interior of cistern and tunnels is covered with waterproof stucco. At some time in its history the system was abbreviated

by a wall of field stones set in clay which was built across the passage between the main chamber and the draw-shaft. Since only the face toward the main chamber was plastered, it is clear that only that chamber continued in use.

Draw-shaft and well would both seem to have gone out of use and to have been filled up after this blockage was effected. Their fillings yielded few objects, but the

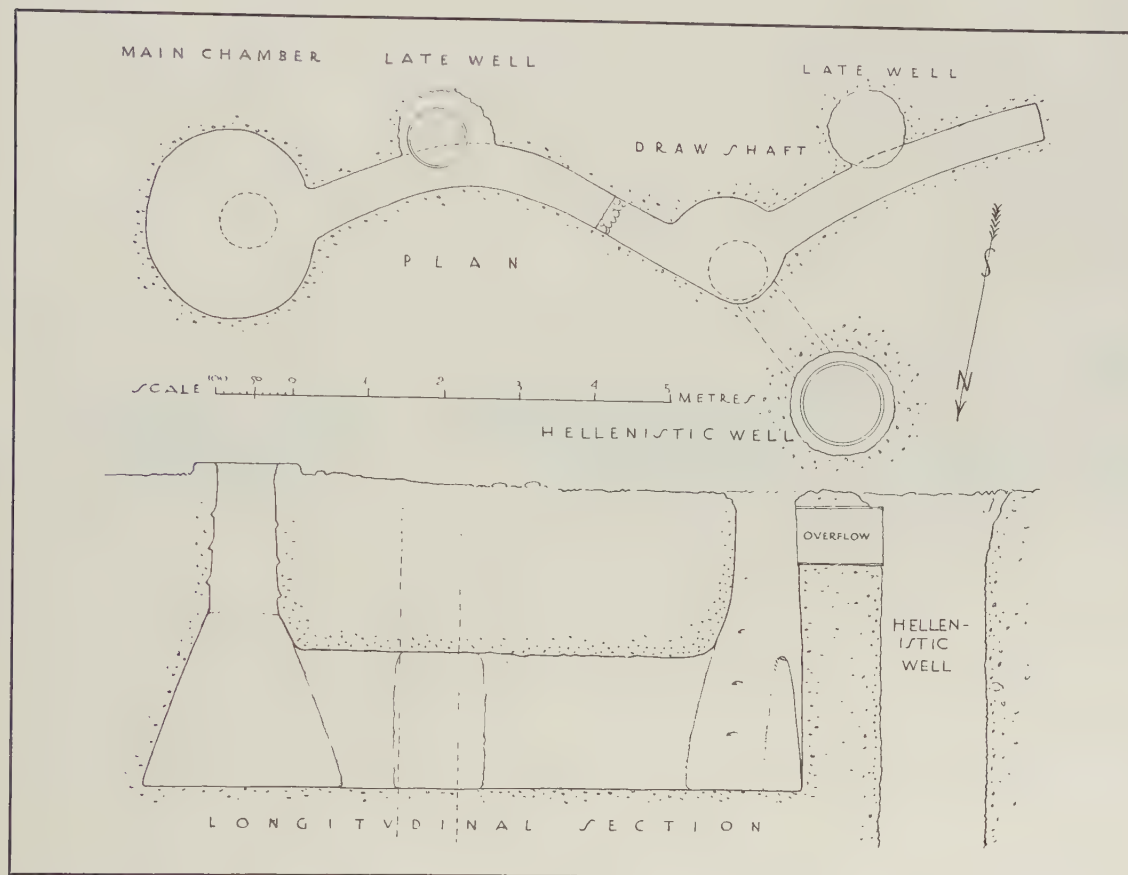


Fig. 81. Cistern E

two groups are closely contemporary: from the draw-shaft, a terracotta head (T 560); two stamped amphora handles, one probably Knidian (SS 2259), and one Rhodian (SS 2262); a conical loom-weight stamped *ΜΕΛΙΣ* (MC 78), and a fragment probably from a bone flute (BI 84); from the well, a fragment of a black-glaze bowl incised: *ΑΓΟ*[... (P 3224); a conical loom-weight stamped *ΓΛΥΚ* (MC 98); a water pitcher (P 3793); a basket-handled water jar (P 3794); a bronze pail (B 184); a terracotta lid for a large pithos (P 3799), and a fragment from a marble basin (ST 81).

The main chamber of the reservoir was found full of earth that showed no stratification and obviously had been thrown in all at one and the same time; a time considerably

later than the filling of the rest of the system, if one may judge from the objects found in the earth. Among these objects there is an amazing mass of pottery and lamps, to be described below. In addition to those objects which immediately concern us, the miscellany included twelve stamped amphora handles and an amphora neck with two handles preserved and bearing the same stamp (SS 2076, 2157-2160, 2166, 2173-2176, 2250, 2251 and 2170). These all, with one possible exception (SS 2175), were Knidian. Of terracotta figurines there were two fragments, one representing a draped woman (T 559), the other a lyre (T 588). A lead suspension weight had been thrown in (IL 122) and a whetstone (ST 70), a ring of bone (BI 81) and another of bronze (B 158), a bone astragal (BI 83).

Fifteen bronze coins were found in the filling of the main chamber, but they are so badly corroded that none can be classified with precision. Two at least appear to be Athenian bronze of a period not later than 229 B.C.

A useful clue to the date of the filling is afforded by a small fragment of an inscribed stele recovered from the cistern (I 1594). The document is dated by the archon Nikodemos in the year 122/1 B.C.¹ This date must obviously be taken as a *terminus post quem* for the accumulation. The general character of the contents, when compared with the objects from Group D of the mid-second century, precludes a much later date. One might then enquire why the public document represented by the inscribed fragment should have been destroyed so soon after its publication. The explanation is possibly to be found in the destructive visit of Sulla in 86 B.C.² It was not far from here that he stormed the city walls and evidence of his passing has already been noted in the Agora in the shape of monument bases denuded at that time and masses of broken sculpture. The cistern may well have been abandoned and filled as a result of changes necessitated in the overlying houses by the damage done to them by the soldiers. If we suppose the filling to have occurred then, or very shortly afterward, we may date the objects from the cistern to the turn of the second and the first century and to the early years of the first.

CATALOGUE OF GROUP E

BLACK-GLAZE WARE: E 1-58

E 1-15 (P 3183, 3182, 3312-3324) Plates. Figs. 82 and 116

High base-ring; thickened lip. Inferior black or black-red glaze. Most of the plates retain traces of other vases stacked on their floors in the kiln. The cistern yielded a score or more of similar but less complete plates. The same type of plate was found at Priene (*Priene*, p. 424, No. 81, fig. 541).

H., 0.051-0.065 m. D., 0.238-0.265 m. All broken but nearly complete.

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Sterling Dow for the reading and the restoration of the officials' names.

² Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², pp. 95 f.

E 16, 17 (P 3327, 3328) Plates with stamped decoration. Fig. 115

Similar in shape to the preceding but shallower. Metallic black glaze. On the floor, palmettes stamped within a rouletted circle.

Of **E 16**: H., 0.032 m. D., 0.24 m. Only a segment remains.

Of **E 17**: D. of base-ring, 0.078 m. Only the middle part remains.

E 18–21 (P 3326, 3330, 3325, 3329) Plates with profiled lips. Figs. 82 and 116

Shallow plates. Of **E 18** the lip is flat on top; of **E 19** and **20** slightly, and of **E 21** sharply, profiled. The glaze of all is thin and metallic. **E 20** and **E 21** supported other vases on their floors in the kiln.

Of **E 18**: H., 0.08 m. D., 0.344 m.

Of **E 19**: H., 0.044 m. D., 0.176 m.

Of **E 20**: H., 0.058 m.

Of **E 21**: H., 0.04 m. D., 0.184 m.

All are more or less fragmentary.

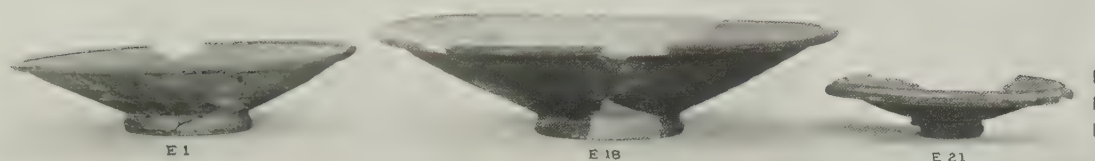


Fig. 82. Black-glaze Plates from Group E

E 22–26 (P 3332, 3331, 3333–3335) Plates with offset rims. Fig. 83. For the profile cf. **D 1**, Fig. 116

High base-rings; broad, offset rims with outer edge slightly upturned. **E 22–25** have rouletted circles on their floors and retain traces of other vases stacked above them in the kiln. The glaze on all is metallic and has usually fired red where covered by another vase in the baking.

H., 0.044–0.061 m. D., 0.25–0.39 m. All are fragmentary.

E 27–32 (P 3336–3341) Saucers with furrowed rims. Figs. 83 and 117

Heavy base-ring, slightly flaring. Downturned rim with two rills carelessly run. The floor only was covered with thin brownish glaze. **E 32** shows traces of stacking in the kiln. There are fragments of several more such saucers among the sherds from the cistern. Similar saucers: **A 3 5**, **38**; **C 2**.

H., 0.035–0.04 m. D., 0.13–0.156 m. All are broken but nearly complete.

E 33–44 (P 3342–3350, 3359, 3351, 3352) Bowls with outcurved lips. Figs. 83 and 117

Heavy base-ring; angular side-wall. Of **E 43** and **44** the side-walls are exceptionally straight. The glaze on all is thin, metallic and usually much flaked. **E 34** shows traces of stacking. **E 41** is rather finer in fabric than the others and on its floor is a circle of rouletting enclosing tiny stamped leaves. On the floor of **E 44** a ligature, >E, was scratched through the dry glaze: probably the initial letters of the owner's name. There are fragments of many more such bowls from the

cistern. Similar bowls: **A 9-13, 71, 72; C 3; D 2-6**. From a Hellenistic tomb at Sparta comes a close parallel for **E 43**: *B. S. A.* XIII, 1906-1907, p. 162, fig. 7j.

Average H., 0.05 m. D., 0.12 m. **E 42** is exceptionally large, measuring 0.07 m. high, 0.18 m. in diameter. All are broken but fairly complete.

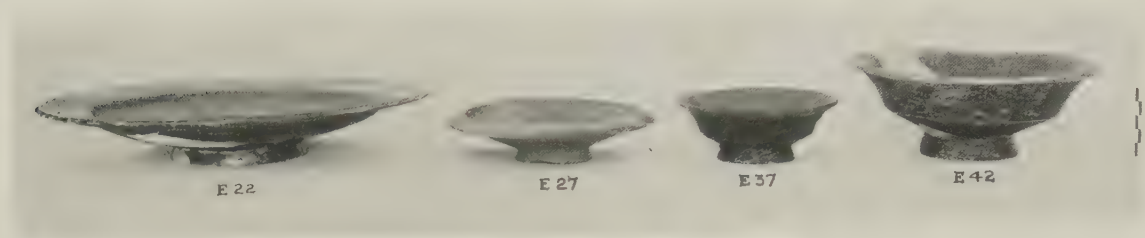


Fig. 83. Black-glaze Ware from Group E

E 45 (P 3353) Base of small bowl

High, thin base-ring; almost flat floor; vertical side-wall. Buff, slightly micaceous clay, covered with flaky, red glaze. On the bottom, within the base-ring, incised in the dry clay, a large *mu*. Similar bowls: **D 10-12**.

D. of base, ca. 0.052 m. Only a fragment of the bottom remains.

E 46-48 (P 3355, 3356, 3422) Hemispherical bowls with base-rings. Figs. 84 and 117

All have circles of rouletting on their floors. **E 46** and **47** are covered with metallic black glaze. **E 48** may well be an imported piece: its clay is buff in color, fine but granular and it is covered inside and out with firm, red glaze. A similar bowl: **D 7**. For the shape cf. *Priene*, p. 423, No. 74, fig. 539.

H., 0.049-0.056 m. D., 0.10-0.108 m. All fragmentary.



Fig. 84. Black-glaze Bowls from Group E

E 49 (P 3354) Deep bowl. Fig. 84

Low base-ring; hemispherical bowl with lip slightly thickened toward the outside. Gritty clay, fired for the most part to ash-gray, in places to red. Covered on the inside with a thin, black wash, some of which was also splashed on the outside.

H., 0.07 m. D., 0.20 m. Much of the side-wall restored in plaster.

E 50 (P 3360) Deep bowl. Fig. 85

Heavy, flaring base-ring. Side-wall rises in a gentle unbroken curve. Narrow, outcurved rim pierced for suspension. Covered on the inside and the upper part of the outside with metallic black glaze which has fired red on the floor where another vase was stacked.

H., 0.165 m. D., 0.31 m. Part of side-wall restored in plaster.

E 51 (P 3361) Large pyxis. Fig. 85

Massive base-ring; shallow lower bowl, divided by a broad, projecting ledge from the upper wall. Buff clay, slightly micaceous, covered inside and out with red glaze which has largely flaked away. It is not impossible that the fragment of a lid, **E 65**, belongs with this piece. The shape is common in this period, though our piece is unusually large. An unglazed specimen, complete with lid, was found in the rich Thessalian tomb of the second century B.C. (*Ath. Mitt.* XXXVII, 1912, p. 107, fig. 8, p. 110). Others are decorated in the West Slope style (*Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 75, No. 19; Baur, *Stoddard Collection*, No. 506, fig. 105; *C. V. A. Pays-Bas 2*, *Musée Scheurleer*, 2, III L and N, pl. 4, 12 and 15).

H., 0.201 m. D. at the flange, 0.32 m. D. of rim, 0.21 m. Side-wall restored in plaster.

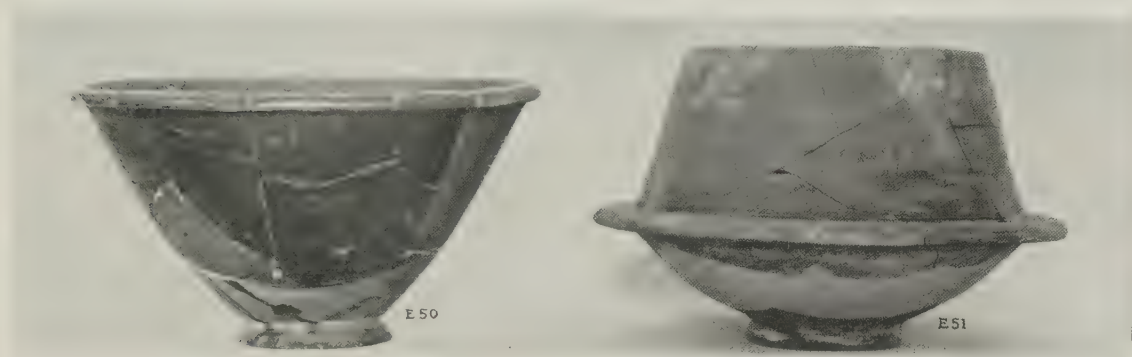


Fig. 85. Black-glaze Bowl and Pyxis from Group E

E 52, 53 (P 3357, 3358) Two-handled bowls. Fig. 84. For the profile cf. **D 17**, Fig. 118

High, flaring base-rings. Tall upper walls inclined slightly inward. Horizontal handles bent back on themselves. Metallic black glaze. On the floor of each, a circle of rouletting. There are fragments of two other such bowls. Similar bowls: **D 17** and **18**.

Of **E 52**: H., 0.077 m. D., 0.171 m.

Of **E 53**: H., 0.083 m. D., 0.17 m.

Both are fragmentary.

E 54 (P 3362) Small pitcher. Fig. 86

Heavy base-ring; broad shoulder; slender neck with wheel-run grooves around its lower part; strap handle. Covered with flaky glaze, mottled black and brown.

P.H., 0.09 m. D., 0.11 m. The mouth, the handle and parts of the side-wall are broken away.

E 55 (P 3363) Small pitcher. Fig. 86

Flat bottom; side-wall of angular profile. Covered with dull black glaze inside and out. Similar pitchers: **D 20** and **21**.

P.H., 0.105 m. D., 0.096 m. The lip, the handle and parts of the side-wall are missing.

E 56 (P 3364) Spheroid jug. Fig. 86

Flat bottom, slightly inset from the side-wall; spheroid body; low rim, slightly outcurved; covered inside and out with black glaze fired to red in places. A line of glaze has been scratched away at the junction of side-wall and rim. A similar jug: **D 19**.

H., 0.091 m. D., 0.11 m. The handle, much of the lip and part of the side-wall are missing.

E 57 (P 3176) Bowl with lion's head spout. Fig. 86

Similar in shape to **D 13**. Black glaze, thin, metallic.

P.H., 0.051 m. D., 0.072 m. The handle, base and much of the side-wall are missing.



Fig. 86. Black-glaze Ware from Group E

E 58 (P 3175) Spheroid inkwell. Fig. 86

The body is almost a perfect sphere with a small opening on the top. On its outside a net pattern was incised while the clay was still soft. There is no trace of handle. Covered inside and out with red glaze somewhat flaked. The base, which must have been broad and flat, is completely broken away. A fragment of a similar but smaller vase came from the Pithos D. On the net pattern cf. the note on **D 38**. The type is not uncommon. In the National Museum there is a complete specimen very much like ours save that it has on its side-wall a pen-holder in the shape of an eagle's head, pierced vertically (Nicole, *Supplément au Catalogue des Vases Peints du Musée National d'Athènes*, Paris, 1911, No. 1158, pl. XXI). An identical specimen is illustrated by Baur, *Stoddard Collection*, No. 498, fig. 106. In the National Museum there is a smaller well, with plain side-walls and without the pen-holder, placed in a case of lamps. There is another specimen like ours, and likewise lacking its base, illustrated in *C. V. A. Pays-Bas 2, Musée Scheurleer*, 2, III L and N, pl. 4, 14. From Priene come two Hellenistic wells with spheroid bodies and flat bases but with a double mouth so arranged that, were the vessel to be overturned, not quite all its contents could escape (*Priene*, pp. 426, 430, Nos. 98, 99, fig. 540, with references to similar vessels in blue faience and terra sigillata and to another from Asia Minor). Several specimens have recently been found in an early Roman well in Corinth, I am informed by Dr. Oscar Broneer. Cf. further Paul Wolters, *Münch. Jahrb.* VIII, 1913, p. 214; F. Oswald and T. D. Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, London, 1920, pp. 209 f., pl. LXX.

P.H., 0.06 m. D., 0.071 m. Base and fragments of side-wall are missing.

WEST SLOPE WARE: **E 59-69****E 59** (P 3185) Amphora. Figs. 87 and 88

Thick neck with broadly flaring lip. Twisted handles with short spurs at the lower point of attachment. On the shoulder on either side there is a panel of checker-board pattern between cross-hatching. The neck is encircled with an ivy garland. The glaze has been scratched from

shallow grooves around the top of the neck, the root of the neck, and the top of the side-wall. The stems of the ivy leaves are incised. White was used for the alternate squares of the checker-board, for the main stem and the berries of the ivy garland, and for loops on the side-wall below the handles. Fine, buff clay, the glaze mottled black and red.

H., 0.243 m. D., 0.204 m. Fragmentary; the base and one handle are missing.



Fig. 87. West Slope Amphorae from Group E

E 60 (P 3177) Amphora. Fig. 87

Low, flaring base-ring. On the shoulder, to either side of the handle, is cross-hatching in thinned clay. The tasselled ends of ribbons done in white paint hang on the side-wall beneath each handle. The glaze has been scratched from a groove around the base-ring and around the top of the side-wall, exposing the milto-covered clay. Fine, buff clay, metallic black glaze.

P.H., 0.114 m. D. of base, 0.132 m. Only the lower part, including a little of the shoulder, remains.

E 61 (P 3193) Amphora. Fig. 87

Low, flaring base-ring, coarsely moulded. On the shoulder there is a trace of diminishing rectangles. On the side-wall beneath each handle are two loops in white paint. The glaze was scratched from a groove around the base-ring and the top of the side-wall. Fine, buff clay, metallic black glaze.

P.H., 0.088 m. D. of base, 0.094 m. The lower part, with a little of the shoulder, remains.



Fig. 88. **E 59**. West Slope Amphora.
From a Restoration in Water-color. Scale *ca.* 1:4

E 62 (P 3366) Plate. Fig. 89

High, flaring base-ring. Deep bowl with upturned rim. On the bottom, within the base-ring, is a star of 8 points, alternately white and yellow. The glaze is scratched from a groove on the under-side of the base-ring. The side-wall is bounded above and below by a pair of grooves from which the glaze was scratched. Each pair of grooves encloses a band of pairs of short dashes



P 3 3 6 6 1 4 6 2

Fig. 89. E 62. West Slope Plate. Scale 1:2

alternately vertical and horizontal. The vertical dashes are rendered in white, the horizontal in yellow. Between these two zones there is a wreath of debased grape-vine, its stem and flowers in



Fig. 90. E 63. West Slope Plate. Scale 1:2

white, its fruit in yellow. Metallic black glaze. Where the glaze was scratched away the surface of the clay had been covered with milts. For a similar state of decrepitude in floral decoration cf. the ivy wreath on the little amphora, D 27.

H., 0.077 m. D. of rim, 0.235 m., of base, 0.079 m. Much of the side-wall restored in plaster.

E 63 (P 3365) Plate. Fig. 90

Similar in shape to the preceding. On the bottom, within the base-ring, there is a star of six points, four white and two yellow. The glaze was scratched from a groove on the under-side of the base-ring. The side-wall is bounded above and below by pairs of grooves from which the glaze has been scratched. Between the upper pair there is a band of short, transverse strokes in white paint; between the lower pair, a line of dots in white. From the lower zone spring slender rays alternately white and yellow. Metallic black glaze. The shape of this and the preceding piece as plates is surprising at this period and raises the suspicion that the original of the type is to be found in the red-figure lids of fourth century lekanai (which could also serve as plates on occasion), one of the most popular shapes of the expiring red-figure style. The relatively late date of our two plates is amply proven by the utter debasement of the old motive of the grape-vine on the one, by the complete predominance of geometric design on the other.¹

H., 0.078 m. D. of rim, 0.242 m., of base, 0.075 m.

E 64-68 (P 3367, 3368 and 3373, 3372, 3371, 3370) Fragments of West Slope vases. Fig. 91

Fragments **E 65** a and b come from the lid of a large pyxis, possibly **E 51**. Around the edge ran a garland of grain: its stems and leaves in white paint, heads in thinned clay, kernels in white paint. The mid-lines of the stems are incised. There are short bars of thinned clay and dots of white paint in the lower field. Inside and outside are covered with reddish black glaze. **E 66** is from the rim of a saucer similar to **D 28**. **E 67**, with its garland of debased grape-vine(?) is a fragment from the mouth of a straight-walled kantharos. The glaze of all the fragments is very poor and the painting is careless.

E 69 (P 3187) Fragment of a relief bowl with painted rim. Fig. 91

The lower part of the vase was shaped in a mould like an ordinary Megarian bowl. But the wall was carried high above the edge of the mould and inclined slightly inward. The moulded zone comprises a jewelled line, a band of double spirals and a line of rosettes and sprays alternating. On the side-wall, above, there is a conventional wreath of leaves rendered alternately in thinned clay and white paint. Firm, black glaze; scratched away in wheel-run grooves bounding the upper wall. The same combination of motives for the upper zone is found in a Megarian bowl from the West Slope (*Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 59, A 9). Two fragments of similar high-rimmed bowls or kantharoi, combining,

¹ An earlier stage of development is represented by a recent find on the Pnyx Hill. For similar decoration on the *inside* of a plate cf. *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 82, No. 32: from Athens, now in Bonn.



West Slope Plate from the Pnyx, underside

like these, the two techniques, were found on the West Slope (*ibid.*, p. 71, 8 a and b). Apart from these, the cistern yielded only seven or eight small scraps of West Slope Ware.

P.H., 0.065 m. P.W., 0.071 m. Only a piece of the lip and upper wall remains.

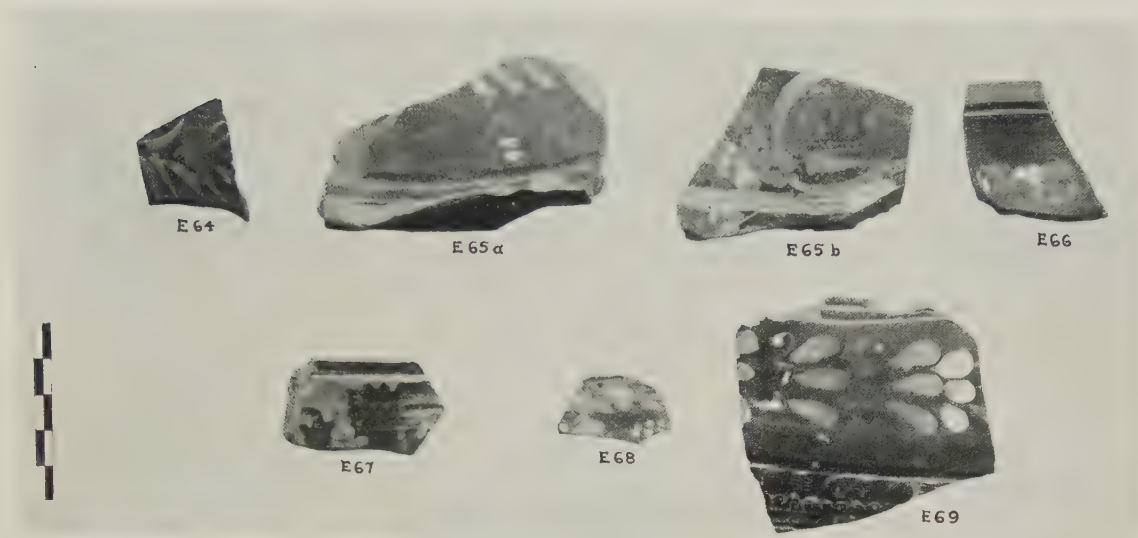


Fig. 91. West Slope Ware from Group E

LAGYNOI: E 70–73

E 70 (P 3375) Lagynos. Fig. 92

Low body and neck. Flaring mouth. Strap handle doubly grooved. A band of black paint encircles the base-ring and the lower part of the side-wall. Around the top of the side-wall is another broad band with two lines below and two lines on the shoulder above; a black band encircled the root of the neck and another the lip. On top of the shoulder are four ribbons, with tasselled ends tied in bow-knots to the root of the neck. In the field are short black strokes. There are traces of red paint on the back of the handle and around its point of attachment to the neck. Buff clay covered with a firm white sizing. The paint of the designs varies from black to brown.

H., 0.167 m. D., 0.178 m. Fragments of the mouth and side-wall restored in plaster.

E 71 (P 3374) Lagynos. Fig. 92

High body; short neck; flaring mouth; handle doubly grooved. Clay buff to red, covered all over with white paint. Around the shoulder, a broad band of black with two narrow lines above and below. There is a band of black paint around the root of the neck and another around the outside of the lip. Of the decoration on the top of the shoulder there remains one ribbon tied in a bow-knot at the root of the neck.

H., 0.162 m. D., 0.167 m. Parts of the side-wall and handle restored in plaster.

E 72 (P 3376) Lagynos. Fig. 92

Low body, high neck, thickened lip; strap handle doubly grooved. Above the white there are bands of red paint around the lip, the root of the neck, the junction of the shoulder and side-wall



Fig. 92. Lagynoi from Group E.



Fig. 93 a. E 74

(with a line on the shoulder above and another on the side-wall below) and at the junction of the side-wall and base-ring. On top of the shoulder there were wreaths of which traces of two remain. Dark buff clay; the white paint is much rubbed; the decoration is in red paint. Two closely similar lagynoi were found in the chamber tomb in Aegina to be dated probably between 144 and 133 B.C. (*Arch. Anz.* 1931, cols. 274 ff., fig. 35). Cf. also Leroux, No. 17 (from Eretria) for shape and decoration.

H., 0.222 m. D., 0.195 m. Fragments of the side-wall and handle restored in plaster.

E 73 (P 3188) Lagynos. Fig. 92

Shallow body; the neck tall and tapering; the lip thickened; the handle twisted. There is a band of red paint around the base-ring, another around the outer edge of the shoulder, and within this two red lines; the lip is red; the top of the shoulder is plain. On the side-wall just below the shoulder a *mu* was carefully incised in the soft clay. The clay is buff in color. Cf. *Priene*, p. 401, No. 19, fig. 539. Leroux, No. 9 (from Delos) is also very similar in shape and decoration. Among the sherds from this cistern there are small fragments of perhaps three more lagynoi, exhibiting, however, no unusual features.

H., 0.184 m. D., 0.23 m. Fragments of the handle and side-wall restored in plaster.

MEGARIAN BOWLS AND RELATED WARE: **E 74–86**

E 74–77 (P 3378–3381) Bowls with long petals. Figs. 93 and 94

These four pieces illustrate some of the possible variations among the bowls of long petals:

E 74 with its petals divided by jewelled lines terminating in tiny leaves (cf. **D 40**), **E 75** and **76** with

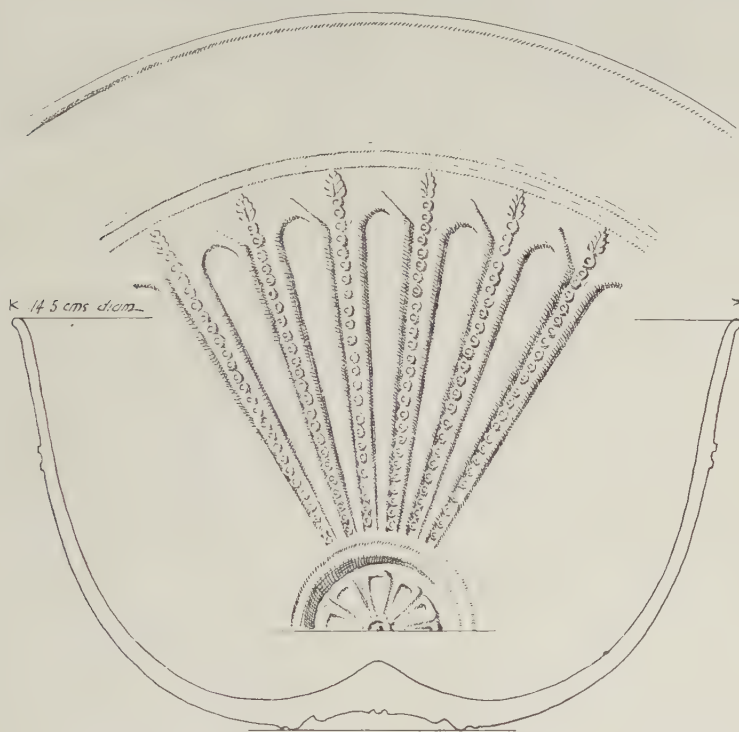
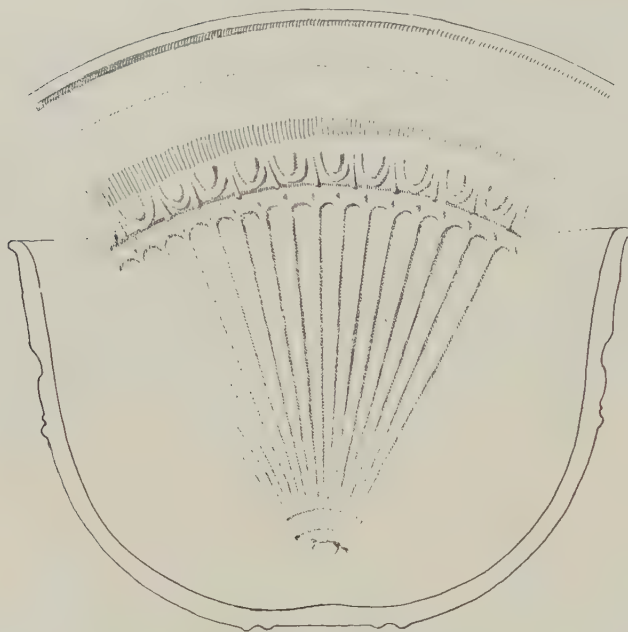


Fig. 93 b. **E 74**. Scale 2 : 3

Fig. 94. **E 75**. Scale 2 : 3

upper zone of egg-and-dart, **E 77** completely lacking an upper zone. Of the first three the medallions were centered with rosettes, that of the fourth is plain (cf. **D 42—44**). **E 74** and **76** have no scratched line beneath the rim. On all the glaze is thin and metallic, varying in color from black to red.

Of **E 74**: H., 0.083 m. D., 0.145 m.

Of **E 75**: H., 0.074 m. D., 0.125 m.

Of **E 76**: H., 0.074 m. D., 0.146 m.

Of **E 77**: H., 0.074 m. D., 0.138 m.

All are more or less fragmentary.

E 78 (P 3382) Bowl with concentric semicircles. Figs. 95a and b

In the medallion is a rosette with alternating petals and sepals. The side-wall is occupied by four groups of concentric semicircles suspended from the raised line which constitutes the upper zone. Between each group there is a jewelled line forked at the top. Thin black glaze, somewhat flaked. For the decoration cf. the lamp **E 113**. It has been suggested that the motive of concentric semicircles developed from the hanging garland (Zahn, *Priene*, p. 406, Nos. 34 and 35; *Jahrb. XXIII*, 1908, p. 67, No. 24; Courby, pl. XIII, 30; Baur, *Stoddard Collection*, Nos. 202 [fig. 46] and 208). But see p. 442.

H., 0.069 m. D., 0.137 m. Much of the rim and side-wall is missing.

E 79 (P 3377) Bowl with floral and vegetable decoration. Figs. 96a and b

Shallow, flat-bottomed, with slightly rolled lip. In the medallion is a rosette with petals, sepals and stamens. Around it there is a band of small, veined leaves from which spring alternately acanthus leaves, long-stemmed flowers and lotus petals. The upper zone is a band of beading, much blurred, between raised lines. There is no scratched line beneath the lip. Red clay, covered



Fig. 95 a. E 78

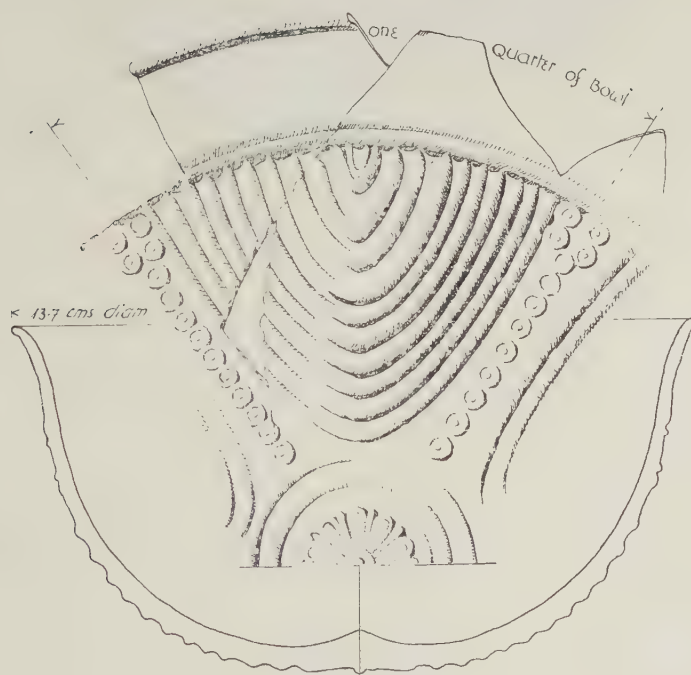


Fig. 95 b. E 78. Scale 2 : 3

with firm glaze which fired red over the lower part both inside and out. The combination of acanthus leaves and lotus petals was common enough elsewhere than at Athens. Cf. Benndorf, *Gr. u. Sic. Vasenbilder*, pl. LVIII, 1 (Megara); *Jahrb.* XXIII, 1908, p. 51, No. 5 (South Russia); *Pergamon*, I, p. 274, fig. 10, Beiblatt 40₁, 42₉ and 14; 43₁ (Pergamon); *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, fig. 79 a (Alexandria). The same decorative scheme and style are found also on one of the silver



Fig. 96 a. E 79

bowls from Hildesheim (Pernice and Winter, *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund*, Berlin, 1901, pp. 28 ff., pls. VI and VII; Courby, p. 374, fig. 75 b). Its fabric, shape and decoration are against an Athenian origin for our piece. Its shape is close to that of Pergamene bowls and the scheme of decoration would also seem to have been popular in Pergamon.

H., 0.095 m. D., 0.185 m. Parts of the base and side-wall are restored in plaster.

E 80 (P 3385) Wall fragment. Fig. 97

On the side-wall are the horses of a quadriga galloping left. Of the upper zone there remains a band of egg-and-dart. The relief is high. Dull black glaze, somewhat flaked.

P.H., 0.051 m. P.W., 0.068 m.



Fig. 96 b. E 79. Scale 2 : 3

E 81 (P 3382) Wall fragment. Fig. 97

Apollo stands, gripping a leg of his tripod with his right hand. Metallic black glaze. For the same scene cf. **C 18**.

P.H., 0.029 m. P.W., 0.037 m.



Fig. 97. **E 80 86**. Fragments of Megarian Bowls and of a Relief Pitcher. Scale 1:2

E 82 (P 3386) Wall fragment. Fig. 97

The lower side-wall is divided by a fine, raised line into two zones. In the lower a winged victory stands, a wreath in her left hand, her right arm raised above her head. In the upper a victory flies right. Above, a band of ovules. Buff clay, covered with black glaze, much flaked. Such a division of the side-wall into two figured zones, rare in Athens, suggests the influence on the Attic industry of vases imported from such a manufactory as that of Pergamon where the scheme was more common. (Cf. *Pergamon*, I, Beiblatt 41₁ = 42₁₁; 43₂₁. For a somewhat similar arrangement cf. *Olympia*, IV, pl. LXX, No. 1311. On the principle of the arrangement see Courby, p. 371.)

P.H., 0.053 m. P.W., 0.038 m.

E 83 (P 3383) Fragments. Fig. 97

In the medallion is a rosette of eight, pointed petals. On the side-wall are traces of sprays with leaves. The upper zone consists of a band of egg-and-dart surmounted by a line of double

spirals which is punctuated by tiny leaves. Buff clay, covered with black glaze, fired to red in places and somewhat flaked. For the same combination of motives in the upper zone cf. *Jahrb.* XXIII, 1908, p. 45, No. 1. The decoration of the side-wall consisted probably of vine tendrils, like that of **A 74**.

Estimated D., 0.15 m.

E 84 (P 3384) Wall fragments. Fig. 97

From bottom to top the zone comprises a band of egg-and-dart, a jewelled line, a row of double spirals on which rest alternately rosettes and tiny sprays. Buff clay, firm black glaze. For the zone cf. *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 59, A 9, where, however, the egg-and-dart does not appear.

Two fragments from the upper zone are preserved.

E 85 (P 3388) Wall fragment. Fig. 97

It was covered by long, swirling petals divided by jewelled lines. Buff clay, metallic black glaze. Cf. **D 41**.

P.H., 0.058 m. P.W., 0.041 m. Only a fragment of the side-wall remains.

Of the numerous other fragments of bowls from the cistern, practically all are of the long-petalled variety, with or without rosettes in the medallion. Hence this was decidedly the popular type at the period although the comparative numbers of the published pieces might lead one to think otherwise.

E 86 (P 3389) Moulded vase. Fig. 97

The fragment comes from a small vase with slender neck. Its body was moulded and covered with vertical ridges. Every other channel is jewelled. Fine buff clay, covered with a white sizing, over which is painted a brown band around the root of the neck. The vase was undoubtedly a one-handed pitcher with a spout protruding from the shoulder like the Delian piece illustrated by Courby, pl. XIV, 5, p. 367. The clay of our fragment is identical with that of lamp **E 106**, signed by the potter Ariston.

Max. Dim., 0.055 m. A fragment of the neck and upper part remains.

LAMPS: **E 87-116**

E 87 (L 1307) Lamp with central tube. Fig. 98

Flat bottom; side-wall gently inclined; rim narrow and flat; nozzle short and set close to rim; flaky black glaze inside and out. Cf. **C 58** and references there given.

H., 0.061 m. W., 0.051 m. H., 0.025 m. Upper part of central tube broken away.

E 88 (L 1385) Lamp, Type X. Fig. 98

Flat bottom; side-wall bulges slightly toward bottom; filling hole surrounded by raised rim. Nozzle has blunt, slightly flaring end. Buff clay, red flaky glaze. Closely similar is *Delphes*, V, p. 186, No. 492, fig. 789. Cf. also *Aegina*, pl. 130, 9, and Broneer, No. 163, pl. IV.

L., 0.079 m. W., ca. 0.052 m. H., 0.03 m. Much of the side-wall is missing.

E 89 (L 1310) Lamp, *ca.* Type XII. Fig. 98

Well defined base; angular profile, the upper wall inclined sharply inward; depressed rim; vertical strap handle. Unpierced knob on left side. Brown glaze much flaked. Wheel-made. Comparable lamps, with and without handles and knobs, from tombs at Sparta: *B. S. A.* XIII, 1906-1907, p. 162, fig. 6, c and f.

P.L., 0.086 m. W., 0.062 m. H., 0.031 m. Handle and tip of the nozzle missing.



Fig. 98. Lamps from Group E

E 90-95 (L 1312, 1306, 1305, 1309, 1386, 1387) Lamps, *ca.* Type XII. Fig. 98

Similar in shape to **E 89**, save that the top is rather smaller. All have vertical handles and unpierced side-knobs. On all, the glaze is black and metallic and usually somewhat flaked. Wheel-made. For earlier lamps of this type cf. **C 54-57**.

All broken but fairly complete.

E 96 (L 1300) Lamp, *ca.* Type XII. Fig. 98

High base; sharply angular profile; narrow rim surrounded by a high ridge. Vertical strap handle; unpierced knob on left side. Thin glaze mottled black and brown. Wheel-made.

L., 0.093 m. W., 0.065 m. H., 0.043 m. Handle and tip of nozzle are missing.

E 97–105 (L 1304, 1389, 1330, 1388, 1394, 1390, 1391, 1393, 1399) Lamps, Type XVIII. Fig. 98

This group of lamps is closely uniform in type: low base; watch-shaped infundibulum; continuous band of ribs around the shoulder; a plastic cornucopia on the left side; two shallow longitudinal grooves on the top of the nozzle; vertical, strap handle. The nozzle is long and drawn to a blunt, rounded tip. The nozzle of **E 103** is marked by rudimentary flukes. On **E 104** the filling-hole is surrounded by a circle of raised dots. Of **E 105** the shoulder is plain. All are covered with metallic black glaze, inclined to flake, and all are mould-made. Similar lamps: **D 56–58**.

Usual dimensions. All are broken but more or less complete.

E 106, 107 (L 1392, 1303) Lamps, Type XVIII. Figs. 98 and 99

Low base, rising slightly toward the middle. Angular profile. Around the filling-hole, a groove between two ridges. Long nozzle with angular tip. On the shoulder are ribs, on the top of the nozzle an elongated palmette. On the left side, a plastic cornucopia. On the bottom of **E 106**, moulded in raised characters: ΑΡ[ιστο]ς. The under-side of **E 107** is plain. Very fine buff clay; red glaze somewhat flaked. Mould-made. For further discussion see pp. 463 f.

Of **E 106**: H., 0.028 m. W., 0.056 m. P.L., 0.087 m. (handle and much of the side-wall are missing); of **E 107**: H., 0.027 m. W., 0.046 m. P.L., 0.062 m. (tip of nozzle missing).

**E 108–111** (L 1395, 1398, 1396, 1397) Lamps, Type XVIII. Fig. 98

Similar in shape to **E 97–105** save for the addition of a high rim around infundibulum and nozzle. Inferior glaze, usually metallic and somewhat flaked. Cf. *B.C.H.* XXXII, 1908, pp. 150 ff., fig. 24; Broneer, No. 304, pl. VI. On the raised edge, intended to catch the oil spilled in filling, see Broneer, pp. 12 ff.

Usual dimensions. All broken but fairly complete.

Fig. 99.
Reverse
of Lamp
E 106.
Scale 1:1

E 112 (L 1308) Lamp, Type XVIII. Fig. 98

The rim is broad and decorated by a band of five boukrania linked together with dotted garlands. In the field are rosettes and flowers. Around the filling hole, a depression surrounded by two raised lines. Vertical strap handle. Tan-coloured clay covered with a thin purplish wash.

P.L., 0.062 m. W., 0.063 m. The handle and the back part of the top remain.

E 113 (L 1401) Lamp, Type XVIII. Fig. 98

Low base-ring; watch-shaped body; narrow depression around filling-hole. Vertical strap handle. The wick-hole is surrounded by a round collar. The shoulder is decorated with concentric circles and nodules; the top of the nozzle with a palmette. Buff clay, metallic glaze, mottled black and brown. A lamp found in Delos shows a similar scheme of decoration (*B.C.H.* XXXII, 1908, pl. II, 1). Cf. also the Megarian bowl, **E 78**.

L., 0.068 m. W., 0.044 m. H., 0.024 m. The handle and much of the side-wall are missing.

E 114 (L 1400) Lamp, Type XVIII. Fig. 98

Low base-ring; high body with convex profile; vertical strap handle. On the shoulder are nodules, irregularly spaced, and on the top of the nozzle, herring-bone pattern. Buff clay, dull black glaze.

P.L., 0.104 m. W., *ca.* 0.077 m. H., 0.044 m. The end of the nozzle and much of the side-wall are missing.

E 115 (L 1403) Lamp, Type XIX. Fig. 98

A low ridge around the filling-hole; a high ridge on the shoulder. On the top of the nozzle, the tip of a thunderbolt (?) opening toward the filling-hole (cf. *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, I, p. 59, No. 179, pl. VII). Ash-gray clay, black glaze, much flaked. Mould-made.

P.L., 0.04 m. W., 0.049 m. Only a fragment of the upper part remains.

E 116 (L 1402) Lamp, Type XVIII. Fig. 98

Low base-ring; vertical strap handle. On the bottom within the base-ring, is a raised rosette with five petals, and on the under-side of the nozzle is the lower part of a palmette in relief. Buff clay, metallic black glaze.

P.L., 0.06 m. W., *ca.* 0.052 m. Only the lower part remains.

In addition to the lamps here catalogued there are fragments of perhaps a dozen more, none of which, however, shows features not illustrated by the published pieces.

PLAIN WARE AND PAINTED COARSE WARE: **E 117–150****E 117** (P 3394) Plain bowl. Fig. 100

Flat bottom, slightly offset from the side-wall. Hemispherical bowl with lip flaring very slightly. Inside and outside left quite rough by the wheel. Gritty, ash-gray clay, unglazed.

H., 0.08 m. D., 0.184 m. Part of the side-wall restored in plaster.

E 118 (P 3395) Plain bowl

Low base-ring; hemispherical bowl with plain lip. Coarse red clay, unglazed.

H., 0.095 m. D., *ca.* 0.185 m. Only a segment remains.

E 119–121 (P 3398, 3397, 3399) Lekanai. Fig. 101

Low, false base-ring; steep wall; sharply down-turned lip; heavy handles pressed close against the rim. Gritty clay, fired to buff and greenish yellow. **E 119** and **120** are unglazed. Of **E 121** the inside is covered with a thin, red wash.

Of **E 119**: H., 0.14 m. D., 0.39 m.

Of **E 120**: H., 0.135 m. D., 0.39 m.

Of **E 121**: H., 0.127 m.

All are broken but fairly complete.

E 122 (P 3401) Deep lekane. Fig. 100

High, almost vertical side-wall; plain outcurved rim. The interior is decorated with intersecting horizontal and vertical striations. Coarse, red clay, unglazed. For similar combing cf. **A 63**; **C 68**.

P.H., 0.24 m. D., *ca.* 0.36 m. Only a fragment from the upper part remains.



Fig. 100. Plain Ware from Group E

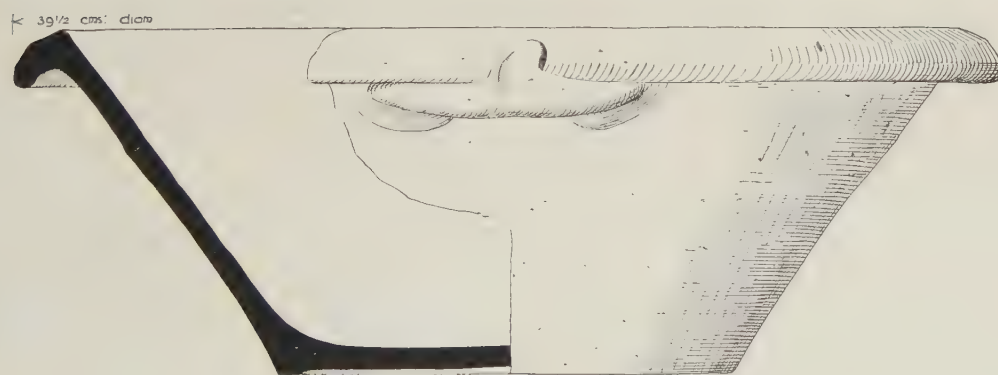


Fig. 101. E 119. Scale 1:3

E 123 (P 3400) Rim fragment of lekane. Fig. 122

The lip curves gently out and is sharply indented on its outermost edge. Heavy loop handle. Coarse yellow clay, covered on the inside with a thin red wash.

D., 0.34 m. A fragment from the rim and one handle remains.

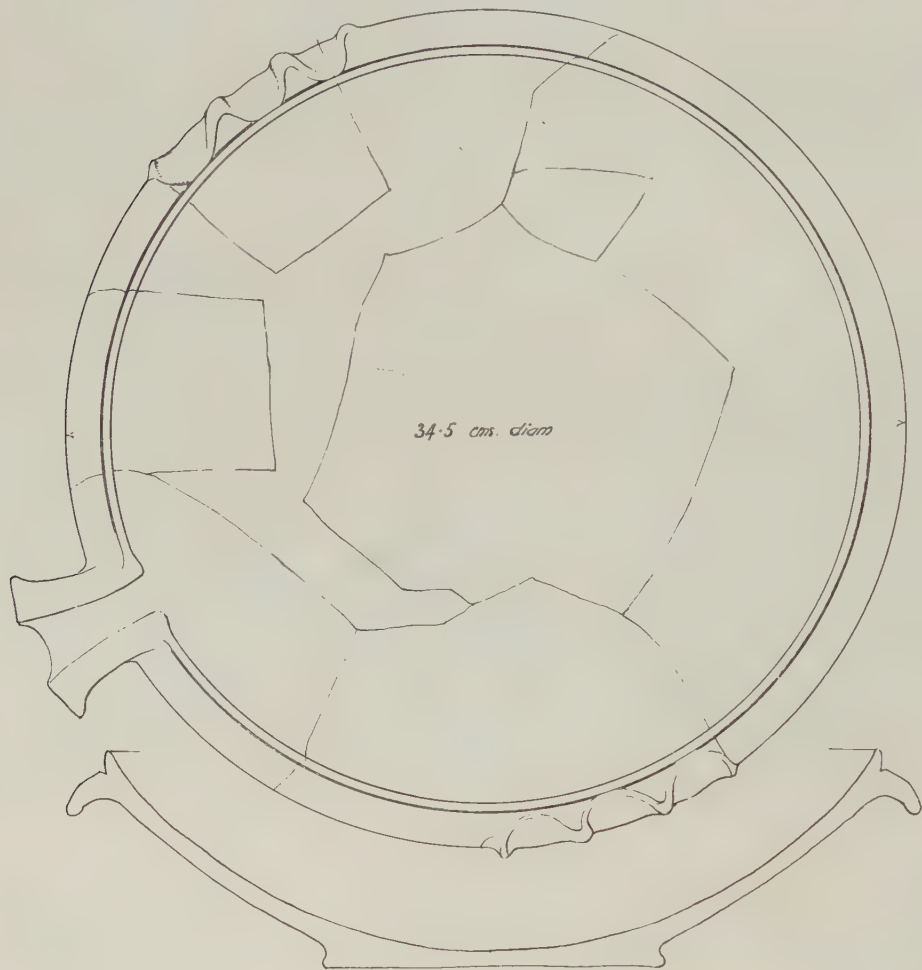


Fig. 102. **E 124.** Scale 1:3

E 124 (P 3396) Mortar. Fig. 102

Flat bottom, slightly offset from the side-wall; sharply profiled rim; slender spout with fluked end. On the rim on either side, a hand-grip made like a pie-crust with an applied strip of clay. Pale yellow clay containing large fragments of white grit. Traces of abrasion on the floor. Unglazed.

H., 0.092 m. D., 0.345 m. Broken and lacking small fragments from the side wall.

E 125 (P 3403) Plain amphora. Fig. 100

Low base-ring, barrel-shaped body, slightly flaring lip; vertical, ridged strap handles. Buff clay covered with a pale yellow slip, much flaked. Cf. *Priene*, p. 423, No. 70, fig. 540 (smaller and with the two handle attachments in a horizontal line).

H., 0.29 m. D., 0.276 m. Much of the side-wall restored in plaster.

E 126 (P 3203) Plain amphoriskos. Fig. 100

Elongated ovoid body with shallow horizontal corrugations. Round vertical handles. Gritty buff clay, lightly slipped. A similar amphoriskos was found in a chamber tomb on Aegina (*Arch. Anz.* 1931, cols. 274 ff., fig. 35). In the National Museum at Palermo there is a similar flask from Salnitriano.

P.H., 0.27 m. D., 0.08 m. The top of the mouth is missing.

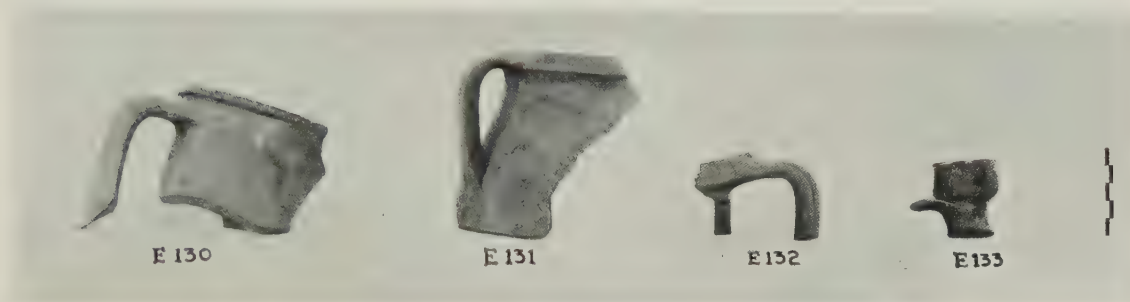


Fig. 103. Fragments of Jars and Pitchers from Group E

E 127 (P 3404) Water pitcher. Fig. 100

Low base-ring; ovoid body; high neck, expanding toward the top; flaring lip; heavy, ridged handle. A ridge encircles the neck at the level of the handle attachment. Coarse, red clay, unglazed.

H., 0.375 m. D., 0.244 m. Parts of lip and side-wall restored in plaster.

E 128 (P 3405) Plain jar. Fig. 100

Low base-ring; plump body; low neck with flaring lip. Gritty, ash-gray clay, unglazed. Similar in shape to **D 63**.

H., 0.197 m. D., 0.171 m. The handle and much of the side-wall restored in plaster.

E 129–132 (P 3406–3409) Fragments of jars. Fig. 103

E 129 is from a jar of the same shape as **E 128**. Its clay is pale buff in color, unglazed. Of the other pieces the clay is coarse, in color varying from red to gray. **E 130** is covered on the inside only with a thin, red wash.

Only the handles and parts of the mouths remain.

E 133 (P 3410) Pitcher with bell-shaped mouth. Fig. 103

Low, slender neck. Large, bell-shaped mouth, one side of which is pinched in to form a spout. Vertical strap handle. Coarse clay, mottled gray and buff, covered with a flaky brown glaze.

Cf. *Priene*, p. 422, No. 68, fig. 544. Much the same shape, though without the pinched beak, appears also at Chatby (*Sciatbi*, pl. LIX, 134 and 138).

P.H., 0.044 m. W. at lip, 0.037 m. The mouth, part of the neck and handle remain.

E 134 (P 3392) Coarse stamnos with painted decoration. Fig. 104

Low base-ring; ovoid body with horizontal handles set at the shoulder. Coarse, red clay covered with a thin, pale yellow wash. There are four broad bands of red paint on the outer wall and between the uppermost two a wavy line. There is a band of red paint on the outer face of each handle.

P.H., 0.245 m. D. of base, 0.145 m. The mouth and much of the side-wall are missing.



Fig. 104. Painted Coarse Ware from Group E

E 135 (P 3393) Fragment from a coarse vase with painted decoration. Fig. 104

Coarse yellow clay, covered with a white wash over which a garland of ivy was painted in brown.

P.W., 0.073 m. Only a fragment from the side-wall remains.

E 136 (P 3178) Terracotta funnel. Fig. 104

The upper wall of the bowl is sharply incurved, the lip flaring. Horizontal loop handle. The outside is decorated with seven straight bands and one wavy band of red paint.

H., 0.166 m. D., 0.18 m. Partly restored in plaster.

E 137 (P 3390) Fusiform unguentarium.

Slender. Purple-gray clay, with two bands of white paint around the body and one around the neck. Crudely made. Similar unguentaria: **A** 64 and 65; **B** 6 and 7, 44; **C** 76 and 77; **D** 77 and 78; **E** 138.

P.H., 0.196 m. D., 0.045 m. The mouth is broken away.

E 138 (P 3391) Fusiform unguentarium. Fig. 104

Similar to the preceding in shape and fabric.

P.H., 0.167 m. D., 0.031 m. The base is chipped.

In addition to the two examples here catalogued, the cistern yielded fragments of perhaps ten more fusiform unguentaria of similar fabric, some of them rather plumper in profile but all showing the same coarse, careless workmanship.

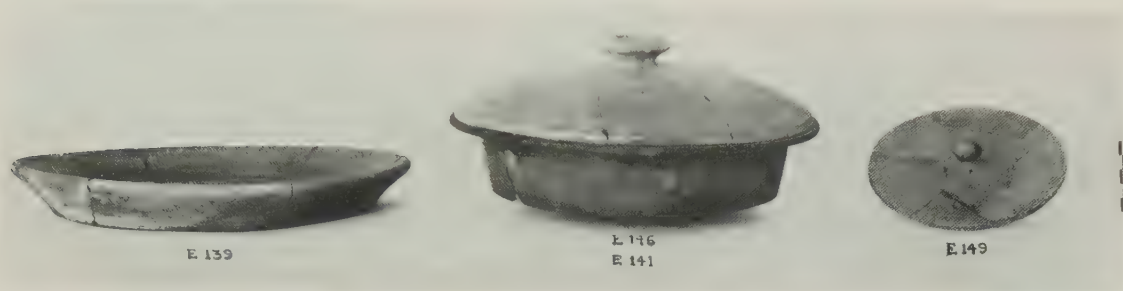


Fig. 105. Plain Cooking Vessels from Group E

E 139 (P 3420) Cooking plate. Fig. 105

Flat bottom; low side-wall, sloping sharply outward; plain rim. Coarse clay, blackened through and through by fire.

D., 0.26 m. H., 0.033 m. Much of the bottom restored in plaster.

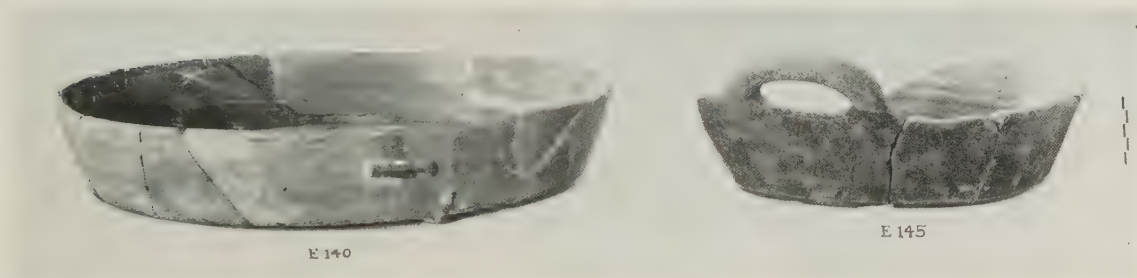


Fig. 106. Plain Cooking Vessels from Group E

E 140 (P 3186) Cooking plate. Figs. 106 and 107

The plate had already been broken in antiquity and carefully mended by means of dove-tailed lead clamps consisting of two members. The upper was inlaid in the inside of the plate, the other was set on the outer surface, and the two were secured to one another by a lead pin at either end. Parts of seven clamps remain. Flat bottom, high side-wall, sloping gently out; plain rim. Coarse red clay, unglazed, blackened by fire on the outside.

H., 0.07 m. D., 0.375 m. Broken in many pieces, a few of which are missing and restored in plaster.

E 141–144 (P 3413, 3412, 3415, 3411) Casseroles. Figs. 105 and 121

Slightly bulging bottom; straight side-wall; broad, flat rim; no trace of handle. Coarse, red clay, blackened by fire on the outside. Similar casseroles: **C 73–75; D 72**.

Of **E 141**: H., 0.066 m. D., 0.249 m.

Of **E 142**: H., 0.10 m. D., 0.28 m.

Of **E 143**: H., 0.12 m. D., *ca.* 0.40 m.

Of **E 144**: H., 0.09 m. D., *ca.* 0.26 m.

All are fragmentary.

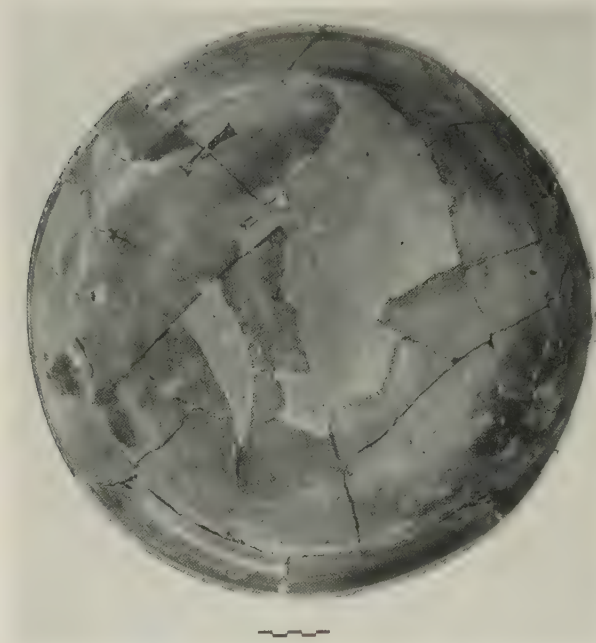


Fig. 107. **E 140**. Cooking Plate Mended in Antiquity

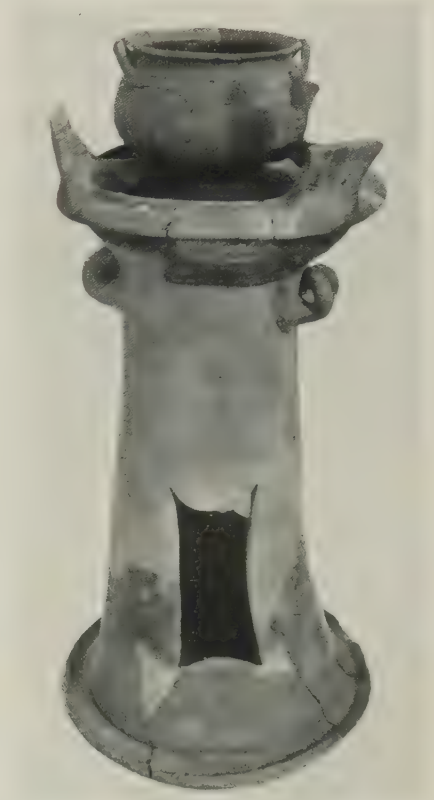


Fig. 108. **C 70**, Cooking Pot and **E 150**, Brazier. Scale *ca.* 1:8

E 145 (P 3414) Casserole. Figs. 106 and 121

Slightly bulging bottom; high side-wall, sloping outward. The rim has a narrow ledge to receive a lid. There remains one vertical loop handle set on the rim. At one point the lip was slightly deflected to form a rudimentary spout. Coarse red clay, unglazed, blackened by fire on the outside. Cf. *Aegina*, pl. 122, 18. A similar casserole, complete with lid, from Chatby: *Sciatbi*, I, p. 89, No. 273, fig. 51.

H., 0.07 m. D., *ca.* 0.34 m. Much of the side-wall and of the bottom is missing.

E 146–148 (P 3416, 3417, 3419) Lids of casseroles. Figs. 105 and 121

Plain, convex lids. The knob on **E 146** is exceptionally elaborate. It finds a parallel in a fragment from the Stoa of Attalos. The other two lids have button-like knobs. Similar lids: **A 58; D 73–75**.

D., of **E 146**, 0.24 m.; of **E 147**, 0.185 m.; of **E 148**, 0.26 m. All three are more or less fragmentary.

E 149 (P 3418) Lid of a cooking pot. Fig. 105

A flat disk with a small knob rising from its mid-point. Coarse red clay, unglazed. Suitable for such cooking pots as **D 70**.

H., 0.021 m. D., 0.134 m. Partly restored in plaster.

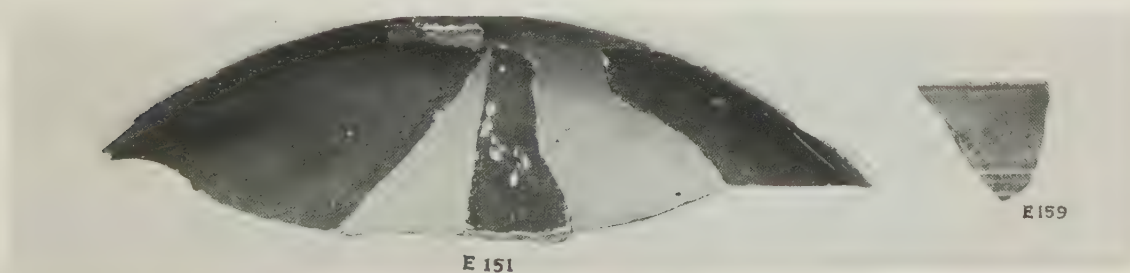


Fig. 109. **E 150**. Brazier. Scale *ca.* 1:3

E 150 (P 3421) Brazier. Figs. 108 and 109

The fire-bowl is deep, its bottom pierced with one central and three lateral holes. It has a broad, down-curving rim. From the rim rise three rectangular lugs, their inner faces decorated with satyrs' masks in relief, the out-thrust beards supporting the cooking vessel. The stand consists of a hollow column, swelling toward the bottom and surrounded at the base by a broad channel. One of the handles remains: an upturned loop set on the column close below the fire-bowl. The column is pierced by a large air-hole. Red clay, containing much grit, unglazed, blackened by fire on the inside of the bowl. A fragment from the base of another such brazier made its way into the cistern. A similar brazier: **D 76**.

H. to rim, 0.57 m. D. of bowl, 0.312 m.; of base, 0.322 m. Much of the fire-bowl and base remain, but they do not join. Restored in plaster.



E 151

E 159

Fig. 110. Scale *ca.* 1:2

PERGAMENE WARE: **E 151–152**

E 151, 152 (P 3424, 3423) Fragments of Pergamene plates. Figs. 110 and 116

Flat floor; high, almost vertical rim. Fine, buff-colored clay covered with firm, red glaze. **E 151** had been broken and mended in antiquity. One lead clamp remains: dovetailed at either end and carefully inlaid in the inner surface of the plate.

D. of **E 151**, *ca.* 0.315 m.; of **E 152**, *ca.* 0.275 m. Of each plate only a small part of the rim and floor remain.



Fig. 111 a. Detail from Neck of **E 153**



Fig. 111 b. Detail from Neck of **E 153**

E 153 (P 3155) Krater with plastic decoration. Plate III and Fig. 111 (*Ill. Lond. News*, June 2, 1934, p. 863, fig. 10, p. 896)

H., 0.27 m.; D. of lip, 0.205 m.; D. of body, 0.188 m.; D. of base, 0.106 m. Parts of the lip and side-wall and one handle are restored. Several of the plaques are damaged. A round hole, *ca.* 0.02 m. in diameter, pierced in the floor after firing, suggests that the vase was used as a flower pot. Fine, ash-gray clay, covered with thin glaze which has fired irregularly to black, brown and silvery gray.

High, moulded base; small body; narrow, abrupt shoulder; high, cylindrical neck with broadly flaring lip. On either side, a round, ribbed handle rises from the shoulder. Plastic leaves spring



Fig. 111 c. Detail from Neck of **E 153**

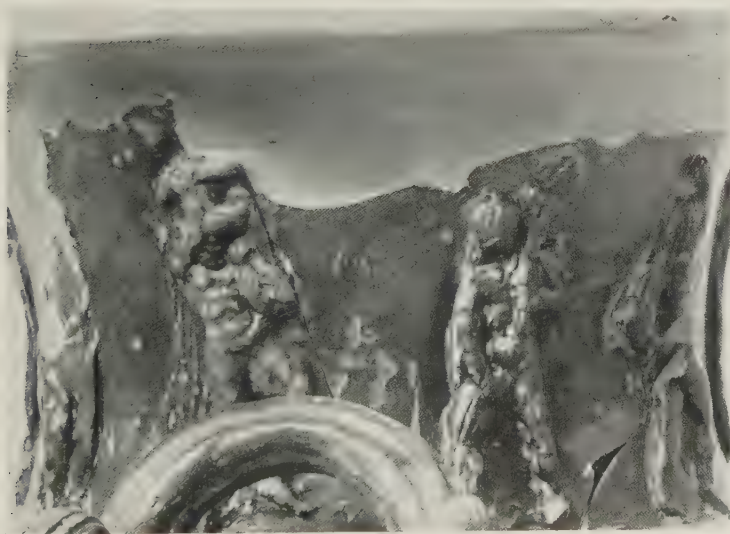


Fig. 111 d. Detail from Neck of **E 153**

from the handles and beneath each point of attachment there is a lion's head in relief. Before the handles were attached, a line of ovules was stamped all around the outer edge of the shoulder. The ovules are bounded above by a line of tiny circles, below by a straight line. The top of the shoulder is lightly stippled.

Around the neck of the vase is a series of nine relief plaques, moulded separately and attached. The presence of stray limbs at the edges of two of the plaques suggests that the moulds for making them were shaped on a more compact band of relief. The plaques in order from left to right represent:

1. An erect, female figure clad in chiton and himation, with the himation drawn over her head, grasping a tall sceptre in her right hand. This is probably Leto. The goddess, in similar pose and costume, appears before her seated son on one side of each of the little terracotta altars already mentioned.¹
2. A maenad, in swirling drapery, moving left but looking back, holding a kid in her left hand. Of a second figure which stood to her left in the prototype there remains one leg, the right shoulder and the right hand resting on the maenad's shoulder. As an example of a prototype in metal one may compare the dancing maenads on the silver pyxis from the second-century Thessalian tomb.² In terracotta there are parallels on the "Maenad Krater" from Sparta.³ The type, of course, was a favorite one on the Neo-Attic reliefs, of which such pieces as ours may be regarded as forerunners. In this connection the place of origin of our vase (probably Pergamon) assumes added interest.⁴
3. A female figure, wearing chiton and himation (the latter drawn over her head) standing erect, supporting in her left hand a tall sceptre(?), in her right a patera. A somewhat similar figure, holding a patera in her r. hand, a sceptre in her l., appears on an Athenian Megarian bowl from South Russia. Zahn (*Jahrb.* XXIII, 1908, p. 48, No. 2) suggests that it may be Demeter.
4. The youthful Dionysos, with long locks, his drapery gathered over his thighs, supported on his left by an anxious, draped woman, on his right by another figure of which only the left arm remains, resting on his shoulder. This triple group: the young Dionysos supported on one side by a satyr, and on the other by a Maenad or Ariadne, occurs on another face of the small terracotta altars already mentioned, and, with slight variations, on Megarian bowls and other works of art of the period.⁵

¹ Deonna, *Rev. Arch.* 1907, 10, p. 246, fig. 1, and Courby, fig. 70, 16.

² *Ath. Mitt.* XXXVII, 1912, pls. IV and V.

³ Cf. below, p. 425, and see *B.S.A.* XXVI, 1923-1924, 1924-1925, pp. 304 ff. for a general discussion of the type. On the dancing maenad cf. also Winter, 50th *Winckelmann's Program*, 1890, pp. 97 ff.: "*Über ein Vorbild neu-attischer Reliefs*" and Oswald-Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, pl. XXXIII, 27-35, XXXIV, 1, 2.

⁴ On the place of Pergamon in the development of the Neo-Attic style cf. F. Hauser, *Die neu-attischen Reliefs*, Stuttgart, 1889, p. 180.

⁵ Deonna, *Rev. Arch.* 1907, 10, pp. 251 ff.; Zahn, *Jahrb.* XXIII, 1908, pp. 45 ff.; Courby, fig. 69, 3; Baur, *Stoddard Collection*, No. 196.

5. A bearded satyr moving right, playing a double flute. His cloak is fastened around his neck and falls loose behind. Satyrs playing double flutes occur elsewhere on the late Pergamene relief ware.¹
6. A standing figure, to right, with cloak falling behind.
7. A satyr moving toward the right, carrying a great basket on his left shoulder. His cloak hangs in a heavy mass behind him. Cf. a similar figure on a late Pergamene relief bowl.²
8. A winged eros, torch in left hand, gazing left.
9. A nude, male figure, probably a satyr, moving right, carrying a sack over his shoulder. His right arm is raised high above his head.

The way in which the relief plaques were handled, the style of the figures themselves and the preponderance among them of the Dionysiac element suggest that our vase belongs to a group of late Pergamene relief ware which has been studied in detail by Courby.³ The clay of our piece differs in color from that of most of the vases of the group, but its fabric is identical with that of a lagynos in the National Museum whose shoulder is decorated with a series of similar relief plaques.⁴ That this lagynos belongs to the Pergamene group is made altogether probable, as Courby has pointed out, not only by its technique but also by the appearance on it of a group (drunken Dionysos supported by a satyr) that recurs on a fragment of ordinary Pergamene fabric.⁵ Its fabric, then, need not stand in the way of a Pergamene origin for our vase.

A small but significant direct link between our krater and Pergamon is given by the band of deeply impressed ovules surrounding the shoulder of the vase: a favorite decorative motive on the contemporary Pergamene lamps.⁶ It is worth noting, too, that in the Pergamene lamps clay and glaze occasionally fired gray.⁷

Perhaps the closest parallels for our vase are to be found in a number of fragmentary kraters from the acropolis of Sparta.⁸ They, too, were of gray clay covered with black glaze and decorated around the neck with relief plaques moulded separately and attached. Among the representations appear a seated Athena, dancing Maenads, Eros with a lion and scenes of rape. These kraters may well belong to the same Pergamene group. This is suggested by the close similarity that Miss Hobling has pointed out between the seated Athena and the goddess that appears on Pergamene silver coins of Attalos I and

¹ Courby, fig. 101, 11 a and b. See also Oswald-Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, pl. XXXIII, 1–15.

² Courby, fig. 101, 11 h.

³ *B. C. H.* XXXVII, 1913, pp. 418–442; *Vases grecs à reliefs*, Chapter XXIV: "La Céramique à reliefs de Pergame."

⁴ National Museum, No. 2170, of unknown provenience = Leroux, *Lagynos*, No. 137, pp. 84 f.; Courby, *B. C. H.* XXXVII, 1913, p. 424; *idem*, *Vases grecs à reliefs*, p. 452, n. 1.

⁵ Courby, *Vases grecs à reliefs*, p. 452.

⁶ *Pergamon*, I, p. 280, Nos. 1, II 2, Beiblatt 50, Nos. 3 and 5, Beiblatt 51, Nos. 2, 3 a and 7. Cf. also the plate rim, p. 270, No. 24 and the West Slope bowl rim, Beiblatt 38, 1.

⁷ *Pergamon*, I, p. 280.

⁸ Hobling, *B. S. A.* XXVI, 1923–1924, 1924–1925, pp. 297 ff.

Attalos II, and the possibility that both coin and relief type may be copied from the cult statue of Athena Nikephoros set up by Attalos I in commemoration of his victories. We find another connecting link between the pieces from Sparta and the Pergamene ware in the similarity between the peculiar dental ornament that encircles the kraters and that found on a fragment of a pyxis(?) from Pergamon.¹ The probability of a Pergamene origin for the kraters is further strengthened by the demonstrable Pergamene influence on the local fabric of Megarian bowls.²

Our vase illustrates admirably the technical process that Courby had supposed to have been employed in many cases by the Pergamene potters: the potter would place a band of moist clay over a metal relief frieze, and then, because he could not use a mould so long on his vases, would cut the strip into a number of short lengths, bake them and so provide himself with several moulds, the casts from which he could then use in any desired combination.³

Courby (*op. cit.*, pp. 480 ff.) dates the Pergamene series to *ca.* 150–50 B.C. Our piece may well fall about midway in that period.

GRAY WARE: E 154–158

E 154–156 (P 3425, 3428, 3429) Plates of "Gray Ware." Figs. 112, 115 and 116

E 154 has a flaring base-ring and a gently concave floor surrounded by a high, vertical rim. In the middle of the floor are two small concentric circles; farther out another pair with hatching between. On the floor of **E 155** are two small concentric circles; on that of **E 156**, a rouletted circle. **E 155** and **156** would seem to have been closely similar to **E 154** in profile. Of all three the clay is fine and ash-gray in color, covered with hard, gray-black glaze.

Of **E 154**: H., 0.044 m. D., 0.215 m. (parts of rim and floor restored in plaster); of **E 155**: D. of base-ring, 0.049 m. (only the middle part remains); of **E 156**: D. of base-ring, 0.048 m. (only the middle part remains).

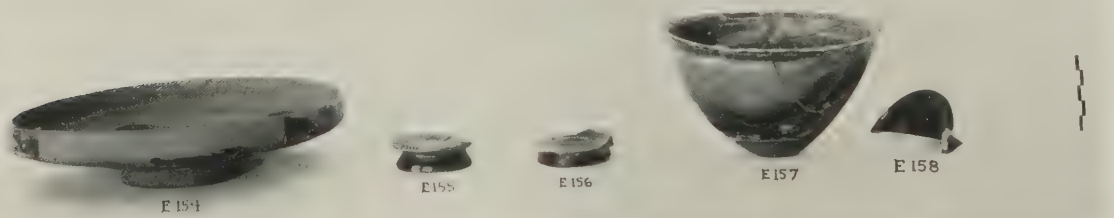


Fig. 112. Gray Ware from Group E

E 157 (P 3426) Hemispherical bowl of "Gray Ware." Fig. 112

Fine ash-gray clay, covered with a firm glaze mottled gray and black.
P.H., 0.075 m. D., 0.14 m. The bottom restored in plaster.

¹ *Pergamon*, I, p. 271, No. 31.

² *Hobling, l. c.*, pp. 292 f.

³ *Vases grecs à reliefs*, pp. 456, 473 f.

E 158 (P 3427) Fragment from the mouth of a pitcher of "Gray Ware." Fig. 112

Broadly flaring lip, thickened at the edge. Fine, ash-gray clay, covered with firm, black glaze with a silvery sheen. Of this same fabric there are fragments from another open bowl, the base-ring of another plate and the bell-shaped mouth of a large pitcher with a strainer in its throat. P.H., 0.036 m. D. of lip, ca. 0.09 m.

E 159 (G 20) Fragment of a glass bowl. Figs. 110 and 113

Steep wall; slightly flaring lip. The bowl was undoubtedly hemispherical in shape and footless. There are two shallow grooves around the outside of the lip, and at least three farther down on the side-wall. The bowl was moulded and then polished on the lathe. Both inner and outer surfaces show clear traces of lathe-work. The glass is yellowish-green through and through. There is a very thin film of oxidization over part of the inside, but no real flaking has occurred.

The fragment provides a welcome addition to our evidence for the chronology of these early glass bowls. Its lip profile alone would show that it is contemporary with the Megarian bowls among which it was found. For the type cf. Edward Dillon, *Glass*, London, 1907, p. 45.

P.H., 0.035 m. P.W., 0.039 m. Part of the lip and side-wall remains.

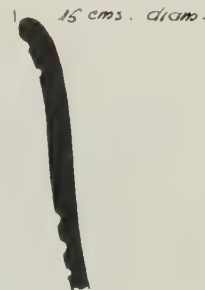


Fig. 113. Rim
Profile of **E 159**.
Scale 1:1

RED-FIGURE PELIKAI.¹ Figs. 13, 14 and 114**B 1, 2**

Of the many r. f. horse pelikai resembling ours, those most useful for comparison are two from Olynthos,² a pair from the Alexandrian cemetery at Chatby,³ two now at New Haven⁴ and one found in a grave at Kertsch.⁵

¹ I am indebted to Miss Lucy Talcott for preparing the following study of the two r. f. pieces. Since her writing, Schefold's long awaited and very welcome *Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen* have appeared and I have added references to that book. Otherwise, I quote Miss Talcott *verbatim*.

For further comparison with our vases one may now quote from Schefold's catalogue the following pelikai with similar scenes: Nos. 361, 427, 428, 429, 432, 458, 459, 460, 463, 464, 470, 490.

² Robinson, *Olynthus*, V, No. 267, pl. 120: A, Amazon and horse, B, Amazon and griffin; No. 268, pl. 121: A, Amazon and griffin, B, two ephebes. These are of local manufacture. No. 269 (oinochoe) has the same subject.

³ Breccia, *Sciatbi*, No. 91 (I p. 49 and II pl. 47, 71-72 = Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, No. 334): A, two Arimasps fighting a griffin, B, two cloaked figures; No. 92 (I p. 50 and II pl. 48, 73-74 = Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, No. 335): A and B as of No. 91, but less well preserved. Aside from squat lekythoi with coarse palmettes these seem to be the only red-figure from the cemetery, which is believed to date from the founding of the city.

⁴ Baur, *Stoddard Collection*, No. 136 (fig. 37, p. 109): A, Amazon, horse and griffin, B, two ephebes; No. 137 (fig. 37, p. 109): A, Amazon and horse, B, two ephebes. Dated by Baur in the fourth century. These, apparently, are not catalogued in Schefold's *Untersuchungen*.

⁵ Rostovtzeff, *Decorative Art in South Russia*, S. Petersburg, 1913 (in Russian), pl. 28, a group from a tomb found at Kertsch, including: a black glazed cup-kantharos, with good stamping inside (Nos. 1 and 2); six small squat lekythoi with net pattern or coarse palmette design (Nos. 3-5); one plain alabastron (No. 6); two strigils (No. 8); four "autonomous" coins and two illegible, not further referred to nor taken into account in dating the tomb, which is done by the pots; one pelike: A, Oedipus and the Sphinx, B, two ephebes (No. 10 = Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, No. 501); another pelike: A, Amazon and horse, B, two ephebes (No. 9 = Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, No. 498).

Of this group, the two earliest members may well be the pots from Olynthos, whose roundly bulging bodies (so far as the shapes can be made out) suggest forms of the mid-fourth century, as Schefold, *Bilder griechischer Vasen*, Heft 3: *Kertscher Vasen*, Berlin, 1932, pl. 24 b (= *Untersuchungen*, No. 366), rather than anything later.

The two examples in New Haven, and those from Alexandria, should be slightly later. They show a lessened bulge (more noticeably lessened in the last than in the



Fig. 114. B 2. Scene from the Obverse. The Lighter Parts have been Restored.

first two), a more drawn-in neck, and more angular handles. The shapes may be compared with those illustrated by Schefold (*Kertscher Vasen*, pl. 16 = *Untersuchungen*, Nos. 508 and 367) and dated by him *ca.* 335.

By the same criterion of shape the Kertsch example could be a little later than any of these. To it the shape of the Agora examples responds the most closely.

With respect to style, we note that, whereas the griffins on the Athenian pieces are fairly plausibly represented, on the pots from Olynthos they are hardly griffins at all. On the other hand, the mantle figures of the Olynthian pots have features, and some

pretense of humanity. On the Agora examples both have disappeared, and the style of the reverse is definitely later than that of any of the published Olynthian pieces.

Possibly the provincial painter was ill acquainted with griffins. His models for them were remote; mantle figures however were part of his daily stock in trade. To the later Athenian potter of the Agora examples, the griffin is an accepted part of the traditional design, adequately represented as such. Only his mantle figures betray, in comparison with the pieces from Olynthos, the impending collapse of his technique.

Whereas such changes in style and shape indicate some divergence in date among the members of the group of horse pelikai, it is on the whole their obvious similarity which should be emphasized. Their closeness in date as well as in style is indicated by the grave group to which the Kertsch piece belongs. This group has close affiliations both with Olynthos, and with the finds from the Chatby cemetery. The former is illustrated by the cup-kantharos with stamped decoration, similar to examples from Olynthos, but with a somewhat more developed conical moulded foot. The latter connection is provided by the small lekythoi with coarse palmettes and with net patterns, common both at Olynthos and in Alexandria. A further indication of the date of this group is provided by the only other figured piece, a pelike with Oedipus and the sphinx. The body is slender, but the proportions are not ungainly, and the style is hardly later than the decade 340–330, if we follow Schefold's dating. His *Kertscher Vasen*, Plate 22, a and b (= *Untersuchungen*, Nos. 214 and 212) affords good comparisons for the types of head, and for the drawing.

If we may safely date this grave group to the decade indicated, the relationships of the horse pelikai become fairly clear. The grave looks back to the contents of the Olynthian houses destroyed in 348. It is roughly contemporary with the manufacture of the pelikai¹ taken to Alexandria by Macedonian colonists in 332, and it looks ahead to the final decay of red-figure painting, as evidenced by the Agora pelikai, in the succeeding decade, at the latest.²

BLACK-GLAZE WARE

A 1–37, 70–72; B 5, 15–18, 31, 46; C 1–10; D 1–24; E 1–58

Practically all the plain black-glaze ware from our groups is of local manufacture and shares with Attic pottery of this and the preceding age the inestimable superiority made possible by the seemingly inexhaustible beds of Attic clay: fine in texture, con-

¹ On grounds independent of context, the Chatby pelikai can probably be dated to the vicinity of the decade 340–330. Though the work is so coarse as almost to defy comparison, we can note the peculiar jagged representation of the ground, characteristic of a period better illustrated by Schefold's *Kertscher Vasen*, Plate 22. The curious arrangement of the drapery, with marked horizontal fold-lines, appears on what I take to be the latest identifiable piece from Olynthos (Plate 93, No. 146), a pelike whose shape and style alike suggest a date only slightly before that of the Alexandrian pieces.

² Another pelike, in Leningrad, very close to ours both in shape and style, is now assigned by Schefold to the period 320–300 B.C. (*Untersuchungen*, No. 490, pl. 25, p. 142) [H. A. T.].

taining little or no mica and grit, firing to a warm buff color. Although the Hellenistic potter did not wash and work his clay as thoroughly as his ancestor, yet its freedom from objectionable foreign matter, its clean and pleasing color and its good firing qualities make the Attic fabric stand out in comparison with most of the contemporary local wares of the Greek world.

In the glaze, however, one can trace a progressive decline. The plates and saucers and drinking cups of Groups A and B show the thick, rich, deep-black glaze which the fourth-century potter had inherited from the workshops of the two previous centuries. That finish no longer retained the velvety depth of the fifth century and it now more commonly suffered from misfiring, but it was still the finish developed for and proper to ceramics and its quality can be appreciated even from the photographs. In the third and second centuries the glaze was often, apparently deliberately, altered in composition to heighten the metallic effect sought after in the changing shapes of the vases. The deep black has given way to a bluish or grayish tinge with a higher, more reflecting sheen; a change that is most marked in those pieces which are obviously most closely based on metal, for instance, the little pitchers **D 20** and **21**, **E 55**, the bowls with lion's-head spouts **D 13**, **E 57**, the two-handled bowls **D 16-18**, **E 52**, and above all the Megarian bowls (pp. 452 ff.). Such a metallic finish may often be of excellent quality. But in this period the quality too often suffered, perhaps at times from careless blending of ingredients, sometimes certainly from the stinginess with which it was applied: the floors of many of the later saucers with furrowed rims are but lightly daubed with the thinnest of brown glaze, in striking contrast to the rich black finish on the earliest saucer of the type in our series (**A 38**). Further evidence for the striving after economy, natural enough in this age of mass production, is to be found in the increasingly common practice of stacking the open vessels one on top of another in the kiln. The difference in color produced by the difference in the conditions of firing was sometimes rich and striking (note the plate, **D 1**) but too often the result was merely an unsightly gray blotch or ring on the floor or the wall of the vase. That the Attic potter of the third and second centuries was interested in the red finish *per se*, whether produced by a difference in the composition of the glaze or in its firing, seems improbable.¹

The practice of stamping patterns with little individual moulds in the soft clay before glazing continued throughout our period but was not so commonly employed as in the preceding century and a half (Fig. 115). For there can be no doubt that this system of decoration goes back at least to the middle of the fifth century. By the time of our earliest pieces the style had long since passed its prime in Athens and we find only the simplest forms still in use. The palmettes on the little bowls from the Well A (**A 7**, **14**, **72**) have much the same shape as those on the latest pieces from Olynthos (mid-fourth

¹ The occurrence of a red finish on Attic pottery of the Greek period has been discussed by Waagé (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 280 ff.). Such a finish, deliberately aimed at, would appear to be less common in our period than in the sixth to fourth centuries, a consideration which weighs against any attempt to trace a direct connection between the red glaze of the earlier Greek period and that of terra sigillata.

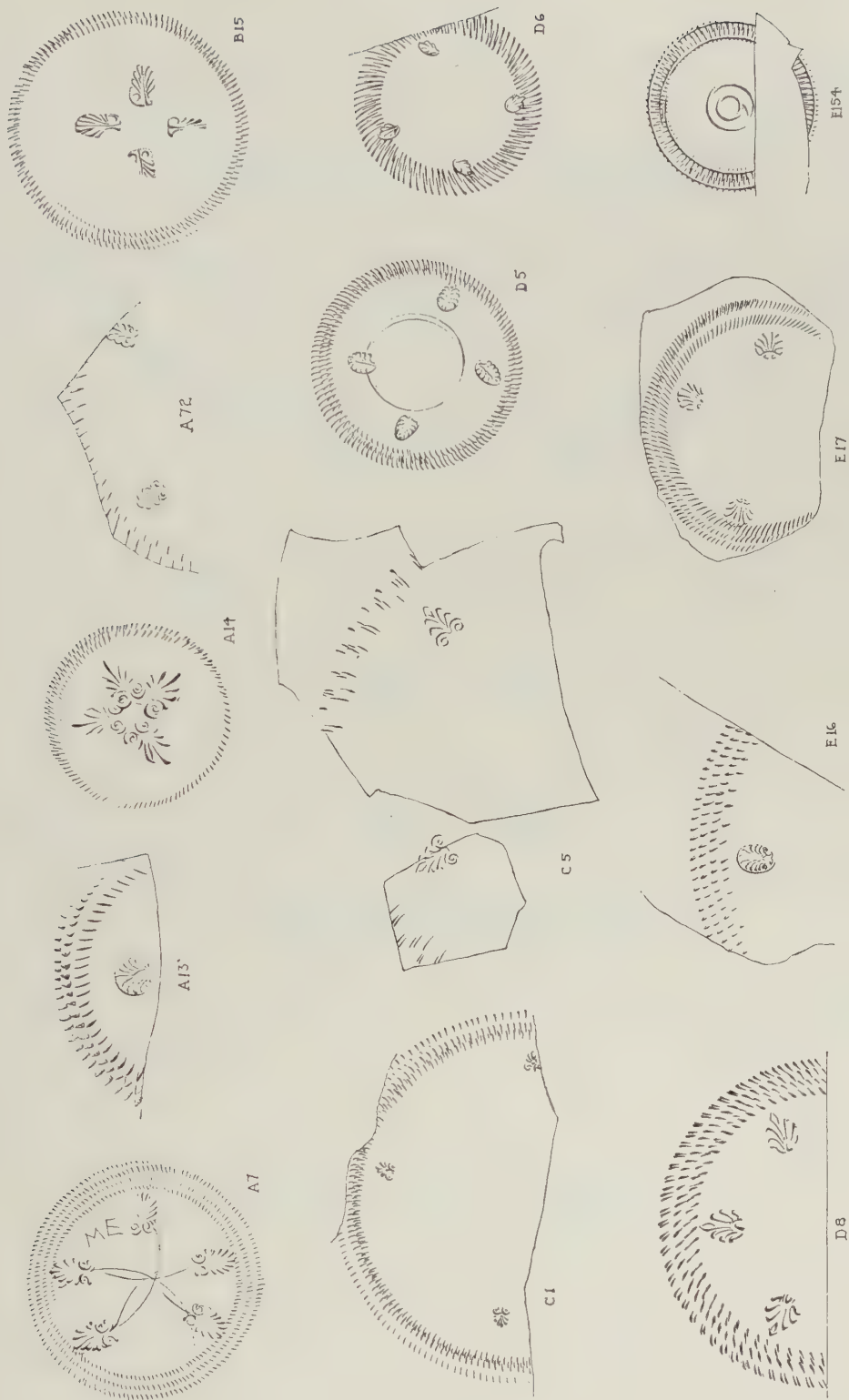


Fig. 115. Stamped Designs on Black-glaze Ware. Scale 1:2

century) and those on **A 7** are still tied together by the impressed arcs so common in the fourth century. But the palmette of the old standard form from now on is often replaced by palmettes with pointed and angular petals and without the base volutes (**C 5, D 8**). On some of our latest pieces we find something that is not a palmette at all but rather a tiny spray such as might have been impressed with a stamp from the tool-box of a maker of Megarian bowls (**D 5** and **6, E 16**). As time went on, the individual motives tended to become smaller. Within our period there remains nothing of the complex designs of alternating bands of palmettes and ovules which enriched the floors of the cups and saucers of the late fifth century. Indeed, the individual motives are now rarely held together even by the arcs of the fourth century. Once released, the palmettes yield to centrifugal force and fly outward as far as the bounding line of rouletting will permit, sometimes further (**D 6**), and their scattered arrangement is emphasized by their diminishing size and number. It was this latest form of Attic stamping, with tiny and much scattered palmettes or fronds, that was adopted and carried on by such later wares as the Pergamene.¹

Compared with the fifth, and even the fourth century, the Hellenistic age seems poor in variety of vase forms, i.e. of terracotta. The shapes of the old classical krater and amphora had almost completely disappeared with the red-figure style together with which they had grown to perfection. The kylix as a drinking cup had made way in the course of the fourth century for the black-glaze kantharos and this was soon to be replaced by the Megarian bowl. The skyphos too was supplanted by that same ubiquitous vessel.

The shapes in plain black glaze which did survive into the third and second centuries are fairly well represented in our groups. They may be roughly classified and briefly discussed under the headings of drinking cups, plates and saucers, bowls and pitchers. Before considering these classes individually, we may note a feature common to the development of them all, *viz.* a growing tendency to ape the corresponding shape in metal. This is probably responsible for the increasing thinness of fabric. The heavy walls of the fourth century, proper to the ceramic art, were within a century reduced often to egg-shell thinness, and this thinness, combined with crisp firing and a metallic glaze, frequently resulted in a remarkably close imitation of metal. This tendency toward thinner walls is best illustrated by the profile drawings of plates, saucers and bowls, Figs. 116–118.

Further evidence for the influence of the toreutic on the ceramic art is to be found in the increasing popularity of angular shapes in terracotta. Consider, for example, the

¹ The whole history of stamped decoration on Attic pottery deserves detailed investigation. Miss Lucy Talcott is working on the material from the Agora. Until some such study is available one may consult: R. Zahn, *Priene*, pp. 397, 399 (Zahn errs in supposing that the practice of stamping died out in Athens in the third century); E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, I, pp. 410–411; Blinkenberg, *Lindos, Fouilles de l'Acropole, 1902–1904*, I: *Les petits Objets*, Berlin, 1931, cols. 657 f.; Graef-Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, Berlin, 1933, II 3, Nos. 1266–1286, pls. 90 and 91: elaborate stamping dated by the editors to the end of the fifth and to the fourth century.

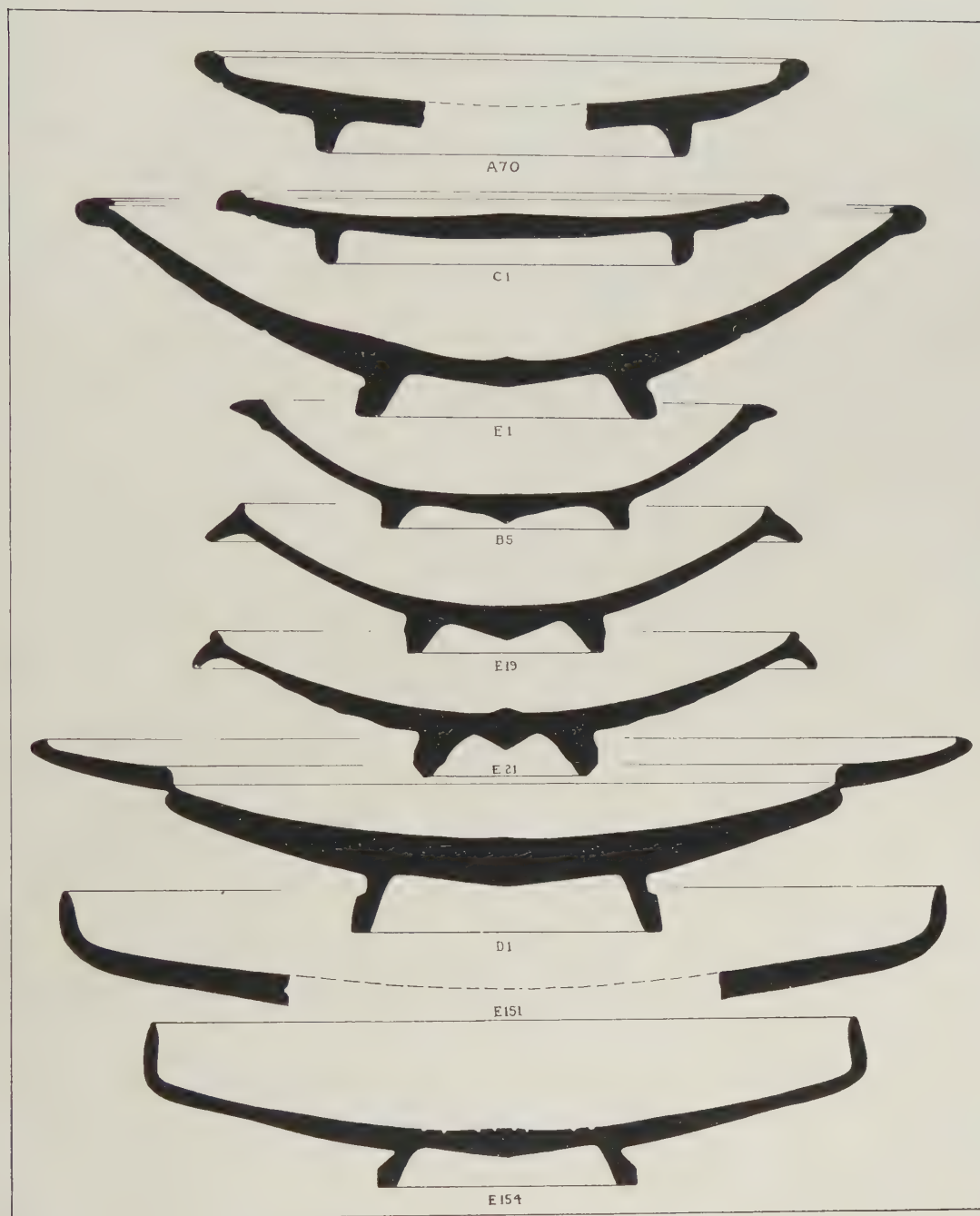


Fig. 116. Profiles of Plates. Scale 1:2

two-handled bowls **D 17** and **18**, **E 52** and **53** and the pitchers **D 20** and **21**, **E 55**. The potter, indeed, was sometimes led on to produce a form quite impractical in his medium, such as the plates with sharply offset rims (**D 1**, **E 22-26**). The same tendency is apparent also in the shape of certain handles: those of the little pitchers (**D 20** and **21**, **E 55**), double and bound together with a hoop, are purely metallic, and so too are those of the two-handled bowls (**D 17** and **18**, **E 52** and **53**), so sharply bent back on themselves, and those of the kantharoi (**A 30-32**). In the hemispherical bowl we have a shape that had been familiar enough to the primitive potter, but had practically disappeared from the repertoire of the Attic potter of classical times. In our period it returned to favor as a cheap imitation of the metal vessel of the same shape. How popular the metal prototype might be is proven, for instance, by the number of such found in the second-century tomb in Aetolia (cf. p. 372). The dependence of the terracotta on the metal form is shown beyond doubt by the deep horizontal grooves both inside and outside and by the relief *emblemata* so commonly inset in the floor of the earthenware bowls.

Another tendency common to all the pottery of the period is a growing carelessness in execution: no longer is the surface polished before glazing, frequently the wheel marks are prominent both inside and out, all interest is lost in finely modelled base-rings. This tendency was to continue in Athens down at least to the first century A.D. and it was undoubtedly responsible for Athens' loss of her one-time monopoly on finer pottery in the Mediterranean market and left the way open for the importation of such technically superior wares as the Pergamene, Samian and, later, the Arretine.

The drinking cups with handles (kantharoi) included in our groups must be closely contemporary and so show but little development. Their place in the general history of their type has been pointed out in the description of the individual pieces, e.g. **A 26** and **27**. We may note further a continued tendency toward a less compact, more slender shape, well illustrated for instance by a comparison of **A 27** and **28** with **A 29**, **B 17** and **18**. Here again the metal worker was leading the way with shapes like those referred to under **B 20** and **C 36**.

The change in the shape of the ordinary dinner plate within our period is best illustrated by the profile drawings of **A 70**, **C 1** and **E 1** in Fig. 116. **A 70** is still fairly close to the mid-fourth century plates of Olynthos. Its fabric is massive, its profile simple, its lip thickened. In **C 1**, perhaps a century later in date, the weight of the fabric is markedly less and the lip profile has begun to assume a form that was to become regular in the following century, reaching its climax in such a piece as **E 1**: the thickening, instead of being upward, as in **A 2**, is now downward and the inner edge of the thickened lip is frequently undercut on the wheel. This undercutting is already marked on several fragments of plates from the pits in the Stoa of Attalos. **E 1** is quite typical of the many dinner plates found in Cistern E and shows the increased depth that had become popular in the advancing second century. **B 5**, **E 19** and **E 21**, also drawn in Fig. 116, illustrate the variety of smaller, shall we say "tea-plates,"

that were available for the table of the period. Among these, too, there is a movement away from the simple old lip profile. The indented profile of **E 21** is reminiscent of metalwork. This is still more true of the sharply offset rim of the large plate **D 1**. The drawing (Fig. 116) shows clearly how impractical the shape was in terracotta and the fact that this and most of the other plates of similar shape were found with their rims broken off proves the point. This shape first appears in Pithos D and had become quite popular by the time of Cistern E, if one may judge from the five specimens found there (**E 22-26**). **E 151**, probably Pergamene, and **E 154**, perhaps also of Asian origin, show profiles strikingly different from the contemporary Attic plates. They have, indeed, something in common with the Attic West Slope plates, **E 62** and **63**, but we have found reason to suspect that those pieces are in the line of descent, not so much of the dinner plate, as of the pyxis lid.

The little saucer with furrowed rim (**A 3-5, 38; C 2**; uncatalogued fragments from Pithos D; **E 27-32**; cf. especially Fig. 117) is one of the most distinctive of Hellenistic dishes. It is not completely the invention of the age, for its ancestors are to be recognised in pieces of the fourth, probably even of the late fifth century. In its earlier development, the dish is usually greater in diameter, less in depth, more carefully shaped and glazed both inside and out. Among the pieces from our groups, **A 38** (Figs. 6 and 117) decorated in the West Slope style, is unquestionably the earliest. It is completely glazed and its side-wall shows a pleasing curve. It should be noted, too, that the furrowed top of its lip is practically horizontal. As time went on, the lip began to slope more and more steeply. At the same time, the furrows were run with less and less precision until, as in **E 27** (Fig. 117), we find that one of the normal two furrows has been completely omitted. The drawings again illustrate how these changes were accompanied by a loss of subtlety in the wall profile, and by increasing coarseness in the base-ring. It has been already noted that the glazing, too, became more and more careless. After **A 38** only the floor was covered and in **E 27** that only by thin, brown daubs.

Another shape very characteristic of the age is the little bowl with outcurved lip (**A 9-13, 71, 72; C 3** and **4; D 2-6; E 33-45**; see especially Fig. 117). The shape probably had its beginning toward the end of the fourth century. **A 9**, the earliest of the series, still shows good black glaze, rouletting on its floor and carefully shaped base-ring and lip. In its side-wall there is just the beginning of that angularity which becomes increasingly marked as the series advances. It is worth noting that the later bowls have become somewhat deeper in proportion to their diameter. And here again one may make the dreary record of coarsening base-rings and general carelessness in wheelwork.

In Fig. 117, **A 20, D 9, E 46**, are given the profiles of representative bowls of a deeper sort. **A 20** is very typical of the fourth century: heavy fabric, well modelled foot and side-wall, incurved lip. This shape, in a great variety of sizes and depths, was still common at the close of that century. **D 9** illustrates the thinning of the fabric

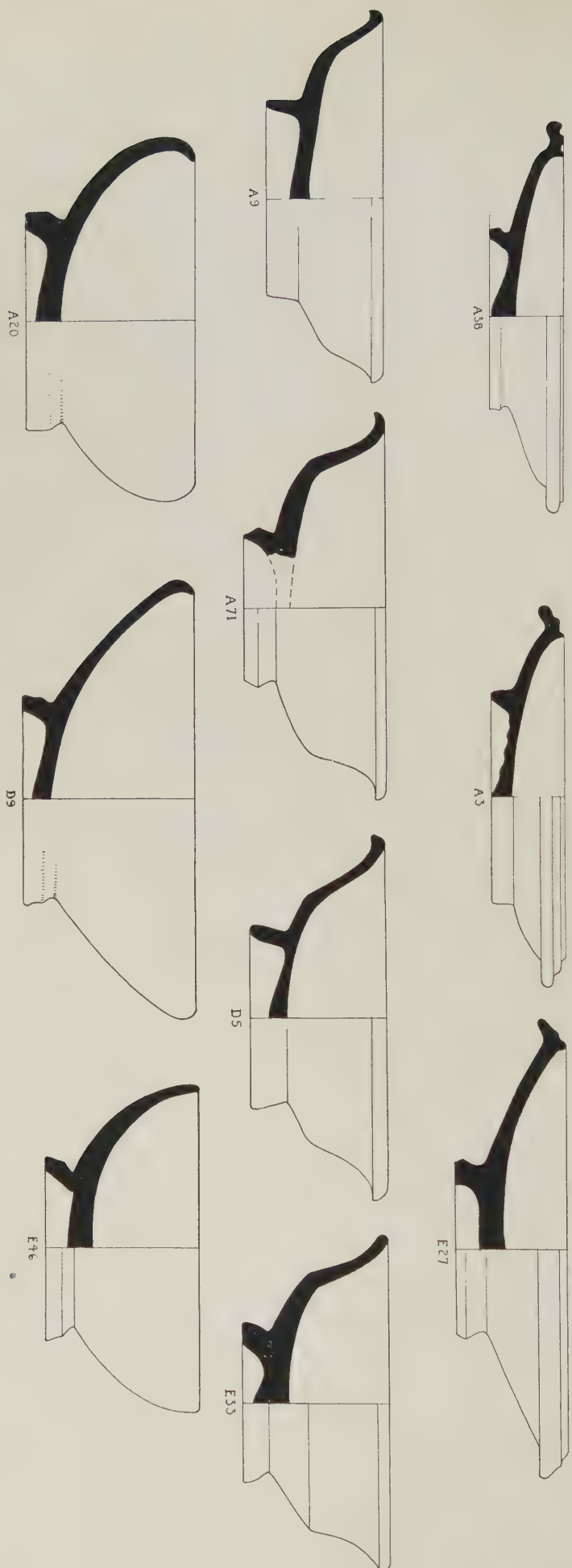


Fig. 117. Profiles of Saucers and Bowls. Scale 1:2

and the loss in subtlety of line so generally suffered in the following century. The little bowls represented by **E 46** seem to become common late in our period (cf. **D 7**; **E 47** and **48**), and the shape continued to be produced by the makers of terra sigillata. It is interesting to note that, in general, the housewife of the fourth century preferred a small bowl with incurved rim, while she of Hellenistic times favored rather the open shape.

Of little pitchers and jugs for oil and vinegar and other condiments there was need in every age. The old and once very popular lekythos did not survive the fourth

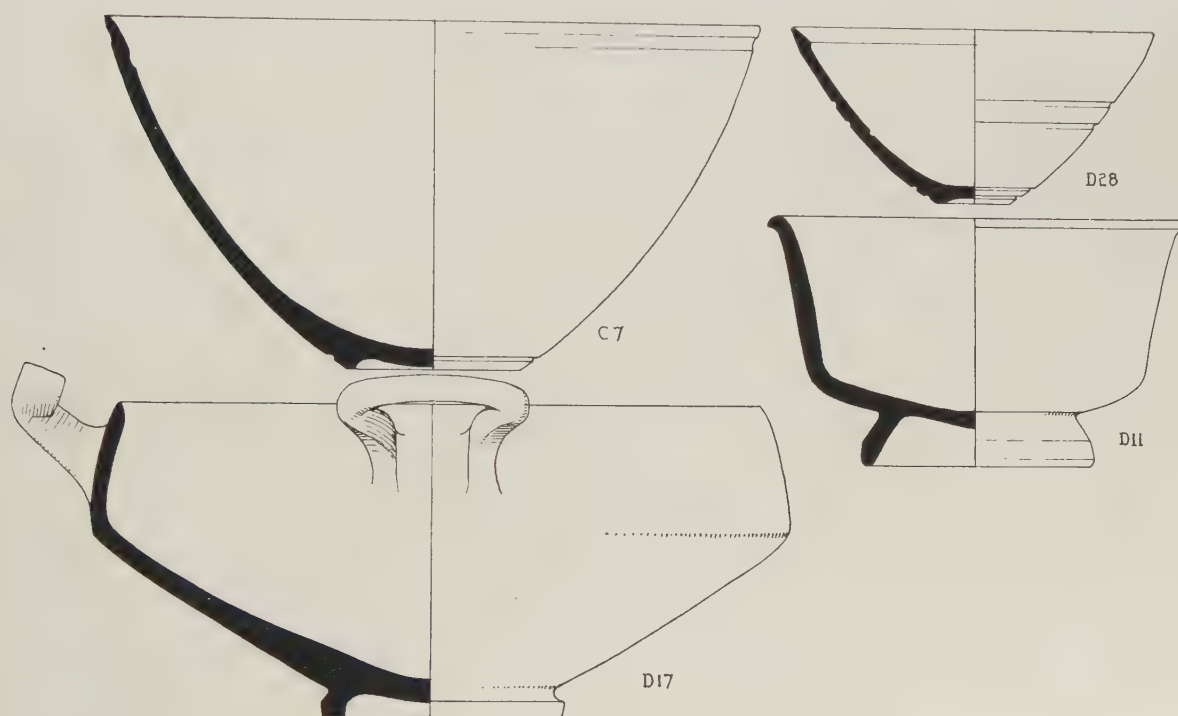


Fig. 118. Profiles of Bowls. Scale 1:2

century, scarcely the fifth. But in our period its place was taken by a great variety of little pitchers, with plain and trefoil mouths and handles of all sorts (**B 31, 32**; **C 8-10**; **D 13** and **E 57**; **D 19** and **E 56**; **D 20, 21** and **E 55**; **D 22-24, 79, E 54, 133**). There is, however, a noticeable paucity in the Hellenistic period of large, black-glaze pitchers with trefoil mouths, useful for wine or water, such as had been common in the fifth and fourth centuries. Our two specimens, **A 36** and **37**, fall early in the period. Later, water was undoubtedly kept commonly in the large, unglazed pitchers to be discussed below; for wine, vessels of metal probably became more popular.

Of the relative chronology of these black-glaze wares enough has been said in the foregoing discussion. Their absolute chronology is sufficiently indicated by their occurrence in the various groups. The date suggested for each of those groups at the close of

the description of each well or cistern may be accepted with assurance for these plain wares which would certainly not be treasured for generations as heirlooms, but would seldom survive a useful life of more than twenty or twenty-five years. In the matter of chronology, the series of dinner plates, the saucers with furrowed rims and the little bowls with outcurved lips are most interesting, for they extend over the entire period and careful observation will show that they underwent a consistent development.

WEST SLOPE WARE

A 38, 39, 73; B 3, 4, 8, 19-26, 35-37; C 11-14, 53; D 25-29; E 59-69

West Slope Ware was first isolated as a distinct ware by Carl Watzinger who based his study on a group of vases found in the excavations of the German Archaeological Institute at the foot of the West Slope of the Acropolis, supplemented by pieces scattered among the museums of Europe.¹ In a very thorough way he investigated the technique, the motives, the shapes and the chronology of the fabric. Since his foundation study, the most important contribution has been made by Rudolph Pagenstecher in his discussion of the imported and local ware of this type found in and about Alexandria.²

The importance of the new material from the Agora lies in the opportunity which it affords of studying the development of the ware over a considerable period of time on a single site. In the brief discussion that follows, progress beyond the position reached by Watzinger will be marked chiefly in this direction.

From the closing years of the fifth throughout the following century the practice had been growing in Attica of decorating the necks and sometimes the walls of black-glaze vessels, especially hydriai, kraters and kantharoi, with garlands of ivy or olive or laurel or with imitations of necklaces rendered in thinned clay, frequently covered with gold leaf to heighten the illusion of gold overlay on silver, and in white paint. Numerous examples of this class of ware are to be found on the Agora shelves. Among the vases of the present groups the type is well illustrated by **B 20**. The chief element in the beauty of the vessel continued, however, to be the rich black glaze which completely covered its side-wall and the deep reeding which was often used to produce a play of light and shadow on its lower wall. The added decoration was distinctly subsidiary and assisted chiefly in providing a striking contrast of rich colors.

But toward the end of the fourth century, when the red-figure style had completely degenerated in Athens and Attic potters were compelled to devise some new scheme of primary decoration, they naturally turned to and developed the method long familiar in a secondary rôle and that principally on small vases. It is difficult to define precisely

¹ *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, pp. 67-102.

² *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, pp. 13-20, pp. 40 f. Cf. also Pfuhl's brief review (*Malerei und Zeichnung*, II, pp. 908 ff., especially p. 910) and his bibliography (*ibid.*, pp. 914 f.); For bibliography see also Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, New Haven, 1929, pp. 460 f.

the beginning of the ware ordinarily denoted by the term "West Slope," but we may perhaps fix it arbitrarily at the point where thinned clay and white paint were first used for primary decoration on such large vessels as amphorae. For a good while still, smaller vessels continued to be decorated with simple wreaths as they had been for a century past.

The elements of the decoration were three: thinned clay, applied with a brush or a pointed stick or possibly with a fine tube, a heavy white paint, and incision. As the area covered by the thinned clay increased, the practice of gilding it was discontinued, for one of the chief recommendations of an imitation must be its cheapness.

The use of white paint was familiar not only from the fruit and flowers of the forerunners of West Slope Ware noted above but also from the late red-figure vases. In view of its very wide-spread use on the latter vases the restraint with which it was employed on the earlier specimens of the new style is surprising. Perhaps there had been a very intelligible revulsion of feeling. On the earlier vases it was used, however, and that not only for berries and flowers but notably for the filling of the popular wave pattern (**B 3, 8, 35**). Later, as the decorative motives became predominantly geometric, the white paint became almost as prominent as the yellow clay, the two ordinarily being used for alternate members of the pattern: star, rosette, band of dots, diminishing rectangles—checker-board frieze. But in these later stages the white also encroached further in the naturalistic motives, where it was used for filling in the doubled stems of garlands (**D 26**) or for the strings on which painted pendants hung (**D 25**).

At first, incision was used but sparingly and that in a way common throughout the fourth century, *viz.* to pick out a line around the foot or the shoulder or beneath the lip of the vase. A heightened effect was sometimes secured by covering the surface of the clay in those parts before glazing with a thin coat of miltos which showed bright red when the glaze was scratched away.¹ Incision became progressively more common. On the plates **E 62** and **63** it was used to border fringes of geometric motives; on **C 13** and **D 25** the pointed pendants were attached to the main string by an incised zigzag line; on the amphora **E 59** the stems of the ivy leaves were scratched through the glaze. But in our present groups we are spared the final stage in which the entire scheme of decoration, consisting of large panels of diminishing rectangle, checker-board and cross-hatching, was rendered by incision.² It has been well observed that by this time the cycle had been completed and the ceramic art was once again at the level of the lowest layers of Troy.

We have already seen that the West Slope style of decoration depended for its effect very largely on the contrast of color. To assure this contrast, a solid black background was most desirable; a consideration that will account in part for the general superiority

¹ For the same technique in Megarian bowls, cf. p. 454.

² See, for instance, the plate in Bonn (*Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 81, No. 31) and a pelike with lid in the National Museum (No. 13,156).

of the glaze used on vases to be decorated in this style as compared with that on the plain black-glaze contemporary vessels. The potter was also inclined to be more generous and painstaking with his glaze on vases which were unquestionably the most pretentious among those still being produced in terracotta. And yet, even among the West Slope vases, one may trace the inevitable, if more gradual, deterioration which beset the glaze used on all classes of Hellenistic pottery in Athens. The successive stages are well marked in our series of amphorae. **B 3** and **35** wear a generous coat of the rich and glossy black characteristic of the fourth century. Even in places where it fired red it is firm and pleasing. On **D 25** and **26** the coat is thinner and its surface assumed the metallic sheen so obviously sought after in this period. Finally, the very thin, blotchy and flaked covering of **E 59** would alone proclaim it the youngest of the series.

Toward the end of the fourth century the potter-artist, and perhaps still more his customers, would seem to have grown weary of human and animal figures on vases. Certainly men and animals are extremely rare in the new style of decoration.¹

Even apart from this rarity of human and animal figures, the vases show an amazing poverty of design. There is a limited repertoire of naturalistic motives which in the later period was supplemented and in large measure supplanted by purely geometric design. Among the earliest and most popular of the naturalistic motives was a representation of a necklace with painted pendants which, as we have seen, was already in use in the fourth century on terracotta vases imitating metal.² In the new style, too, it continued in use over a long period, being rendered with progressive crudeness. Compare the delicately shaped and hung pendants of **B 21** with those of **C 13** and **D 25**, and note especially how the finely drawn and arched threads of attachment have given way in the later vases to a roughly incised zigzag line. The main cord, too, has become thicker and coarser. Another motive traceable to the earlier fourth century, this time to red-figure painting, is the band of wave pattern, the water rendered with white paint, the surface of the waves at first with thinned clay (**B 8. 35**), later with incision (*Dolphes*, V, p. 174, No. 409, fig. 734). Perhaps the most common and at the same time the most effective designs were based on the ivy and the grape-vine: stems, leaves, flowers and fruit. Both motives were well known in the history of Attic vase painting. In the hands of the Hellenistic artist they soon showed signs of aging. Compare the carefully drawn and quite realistic grape-vine of **B 35** and the ivy garland of **B 4** or **22** with their scarcely recognizable descendants on **E 62** and **D 27**.

The names of divinities that appear on some of the kantharoi (γραμματικά ἐκπώματα) are sometimes worked in as part of the decorative scheme (see especially **B 23**). They

¹ A fishing scene on a vase from the Cyrenaica, now in the Louvre (Pagenstecher, *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, pp. 14 f.); a large bird on the wall of a bowl from Pergamon (*Pergamon*, I, p. 273, fig. a). The dolphin occurs, but not so commonly as on the Megarian bowls, and chiefly on the earlier vases (**B 8** and **35**; *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 70, No. 7 a; p. 71, No. 8 b; p. 80, No. 28; *Pergamon*, I, Beiblatt 38, 4).

² For a fine example in silver cf. the kantharos from the Crimea (Reinach, *Ant. du Bosphore Cimmérien*, pl. XXXVIII, 1).

occur but for a limited period and that in the earlier stages of the style, as may be gathered from the provenience of our specimens and from the quality of their glaze. An early date is suggested, too, by the style of the lettering, which is distinctly that of the fourth and third centuries rather than that of the second.

Purely geometric motives may occur early in the series as is shown by the presence of diminishing rectangles on the kantharos **A 39**, whose carefully moulded foot, good glaze and profile combine with its place of finding to date it among the earliest pieces in our collection. But the geometric style of decoration reached its height considerably later in the alternating panels of diminishing rectangles and checker-board pattern that mark the period of our large amphorae **D 25** and **26**. The rectangles and the checker-board were the most popular and most effective of the geometric motives. They were supplemented by the central stars or rosettes which, in the Attic fabric at any rate, are almost invariably more geometric than naturalistic (**C 12**, **D 28**, **E 62** and **63**), and by the bands of pairs of dashes set at right angles to one another (**D 28**, **E 63** and **66**). One of the latest geometric designs to appear was cross-hatching, and the fact that only two examples of it occur in our collection and that in the latest group (**E 59**, **60**) proves that its use had certainly not become common before that group was closed. It was ordinarily used in panels in combination with either checker-board or diminishing rectangles, replacing one or other of the members of that old pair.¹ It was sometimes used alone in a continuous band around the upper wall.² This cross-hatching is the simplest and most rudimentary of all forms of geometric ornament and its appearance marks, we may hope, the beginning of the final stage in the degeneration of the West Slope Ware.

That the free use of geometric motives was more common at Athens than in other centres where similar ware was produced, may be gathered from a glance at the publications of Pergamon, Delphi and Alexandria. Nor are purely geometric designs so common among the contemporary wares of Italy. The present state of our evidence does not permit us to say whether this geometric style developed earliest in Athens, but in any case the relative chronology of the various schools would not stand against such a supposition.

Yet among these geometric motives we feel more remote than in the case of the naturalistic from Attic pottery of the red-figure period. Their origin has not yet been satisfactorily explained. It is well known that such geometric designs were popular among the native potters of Cyprus and Apulia both in early and late times, but there is no evidence to suggest that the ceramic industry of Athens was subject to influence from either of those regions in the third and second centuries B.C.³ Connections have been suggested with the contemporary wares of the Gauls in Asia and with the late La-Tène fabrics; but here, too, if there be any actual interrelation, the influence was

¹ For good examples cf. *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 81, Nos. 30 and 31; National Museum, No. 13,156 (pelike with lid).

² *Delphes*, V, p. 174, No. 411, fig. 736.

³ Pagenstecher, *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, p. 17.

probably from old Greece outward.¹ It may indeed be asked whether the Athenian potters of the period, granted that their art had sunk again to such primitive levels, did not have the ingenuity to devise anew such essentially simple designs.

Still another explanation may be suggested. There is an obvious similarity between those West Slope vases done in the geometric style and Greek Protogeometric and early Geometric wares: in the choice of motives such as checker-board pattern, cross-hatching, diminishing rectangles, stars, in the arrangement of these designs in zones of rectangular panels, and in the predilection for the shoulder of the vase as the primary field for decoration. There is, indeed, so far as I am aware, no example of a West Slope vase decorated with concentric circles or semicircles, two of the most popular motives in Protogeometric. Yet it must be remembered that these designs would be difficult to execute in the media which would have been employed by the West Slope artist: thinned clay or incision. And it is worthy of note that in **E 78** we have a Megarian bowl whose wall is covered with pendant concentric semicircles in the true Protogeometric manner. The rosettes and stars that appear so commonly on the floors and undersides of the West Slope vases are reminiscent of the decoration on the underside of Protogeometric and early Geometric plates and pyxides. Even the ribbons that hang from the handles of the amphorae **E 60** and **61** find their closest parallels in similar ornaments on goblets and large water jars of the Protogeometric period. And the "warts" on the necks and walls of vases are common to both periods.²

The similarity in designs is sufficiently obvious, but the difference in time seems to preclude any direct relation. Yet the gap of seven or eight hundred years may perhaps be bridged with evidence gathered from excavations in the region of the Agora. They

¹ Pagenstecher, *l. c.*; Zahn, *Arch. Anz.* 1907, col. 230.

² Both cross-hatching (or lattice-work) and checker-board are found commonly alone or variously combined on vases of both periods. But a more significant phenomenon is the appearance in both of the two motives combined in horizontal zones. For such a combination in West Slope Ware one might cite, *inter alia*, our amphora **E 59**; *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 73, No. 13: a footed bowl with a zone around the side-wall; *ibid.*, p. 78, No. 26: a kantharos with a zone around the top of the side-wall; *ibid.*, p. 81, No. 30: a bowl with a zone around the top of the inside; *ibid.*, p. 83, No. 34: an askos (from Thebes) with a zone around the middle; the amphora from Olbia, referred to under D 26, with a zone on its shoulder; a pelike in the National Museum, No. 13,156, with a zone around its shoulder. From the earlier period there is *C.V.A. Copenhagen*, 2, pl. 71, No. 4 a: an early Geometric pyxis, its wall decorated with a zone made up of groups of checker-board between cross-hatching divided by swastikas; and a Protogeometric goblet (P 3,171) found in the spring of 1934 on the slopes of Kolonos Agoraios in the Agora Excavations. Its side-wall is covered with a tall zone of alternating panels of checker-board and cross-hatching. I do not know of any example of diminishing (or compound) rectangles in Attic Protogeometric, but the motive occurs on the Protogeometric ware from Marmariene in Thessaly and one may find there a zone of alternating panels of diminishing rectangles and cross-hatching which can be exactly paralleled on West Slope vases (*B. S.A.* XXXI, 1930-31, p. 48, No. 54, pl. IV; *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 81, No. 31). For Protogeometric skyphoi decorated with groups of concentric semicircles pendent from the rim, cf. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection*, p. 289, Nos. 1710-11 (from Cyprus); *B. S.A.* XXIX, 1927-28, pl. VI, 8 (from Crete); *ibid.* XXXI, 1930-31, pp. 28 ff., Nos. 115-122, fig. 12, pl. VII; and *C.V.A. Copenhagen*, 2, pl. 66, No. 4 (from Marmariene). Our growing knowledge of Attic Protogeometric (a fabric of which we as yet know little) may shed more light on the problem.

have shown that the slopes of the Areopagus and of Kolonos Agoraios were dotted with graves of the Protogeometric and early Geometric periods. Dörpfeld in the 90's discovered two burials of the early Geometric period to the north of the Amyneion on the south slopes of the Areopagus, and six more at the northern foot of the Areopagus.¹ The current excavations have so far brought to light two amphora burials of the Protogeometric period and three graves of the early Geometric at the northern foot of the Areopagus; one grave (of which only the vases were found) of the Protogeometric and one of the early Geometric period on the east slopes of Kolonos Agoraios. These fifteen burials have yielded a total of fifty vases. Of earlier times we have found but a solitary, Mycenaean, burial; of a later period, none whatever.² The area in question would appear to have been used as a burial ground over a limited period in Protogeometric and Geometric times. In earlier and later ages burials were made by the Dipylon, in the great cemetery which remained in continuous use throughout the history of the city.

Now in classical times the earth filling overlying the bedrock was comparatively shallow, seldom more than a meter in depth and often much less in those parts surrounding the market-square, so that in sinking their foundations to bedrock, as they regularly did, builders must constantly have been exposing burials accompanied by vases of the Protogeometric and early Geometric periods. At no time would the opportunity for such finds have been greater than in the second century B.C., for that century was unparalleled for the extent of the building operations which it witnessed in the Agora. Indeed, at that time the whole market-square was reorganized: toward the east a new limit was established by the Stoa of Attalos, and along the south side by a great double stoa closely contemporary with that of Attalos. To the same period is to be assigned the reconstruction and enlargement of the Metroön on the west side of the square. These large operations involved the disturbance, the removal and in some cases the re-setting of older and smaller structures. The Athenian potters, we know, lived and worked in this very region, on the edges of the market-place, so that they could not avoid seeing the products of their ancestors as they came from the ground.³ That they should have been interested in them is proven by the enthusiasm which the ancients displayed over such finds on other occasions: at Capua in the building done by the colonists sent out under the *Lex Julia*, and at Corinth on the occasion of its refounding in 44 B.C.⁴ That they should have been sufficiently interested to adopt and utilize the motives on the old vases is made probable by the general tendency which has been observed in the art of this period to turn back to the archaic

¹ *Ath. Mitt.* XXI, 1896, pp. 106 f.; XXII, 1897, p. 478; *C. V. A. Athens*, I, pls. 1 and 2.

² *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 468 ff.; *A. J. A.* XXXVI, 1932, p. 386, fig. 5 A; XXXVII, 1933, p. 540; *Illustrated London News*, June 25, 1932, pp. 1060 ff.; Aug. 26, 1933, pp. 326 ff.; June 2, 1934, pp. 862 f.; *Arch. Anz.* 1932, cols. 108 f., fig. 7; 1933, col. 198.

In addition to the graves, three large pits at the north foot of the Areopagus yielded quantities of Protogeometric pottery.

³ *A. J. A.* XXXVII, 1933, pp. 290 f.

⁴ Suetonius, *Div. Julius*, 81; Strabo, VIII, 381.

and the primitive.¹ That such archaising should have taken precisely this direction will not be surprising to one familiar with the present practice among the Athenian potters of decorating their vases with motives taken directly from the spoils of the graves of fifth-century Greece.

Of large vases the amphora was the shape most commonly chosen by the West Slope potters for their distinctive style of decoration.² The development which the shape underwent in their hands is well illustrated by our series **B 3** and **35**, **D 25** and **26**, **E 59**, which are placed in that chronological sequence by their places of finding. The form of the amphora is distinctive and its origin is puzzling. It is quite different from that of the late red-figure pelikai which immediately precede it. Nor in its earliest stage of development does it show evidence of metallic influence. That came later and is illustrated by the applied plastic masks of **D 25** and **26**, **E 59**, and by the deeply indented rim profile of the last two vases. But within the series once begun, one can trace a consistent development or degeneration. In **B 3** and **35** we find a compact and well proportioned, if not a graceful, outline, handles that follow and emphasize the lines of the body and a base of satisfactory height reasonably well modelled. In the later examples the fine sense of proportion is lacking: at one time the neck is unduly squat (**D 26**), again it becomes so big as to overshadow the body (**E 59**). The mouth shares with those of various groups of large plain vases, to be studied below, a tendency to become unduly flaring. The handles are inclined to start off at angles most disturbing to the general lines of the vase (**D 25**). Finally, the foot sinks to a base-ring of insignificant height,—an ovolo in profile. Throughout this development in form, however, the scheme of decoration remained constant: neck and shoulder provided the sharply defined fields for ornamentation, the one for garlands suspended from the handles, the other for zones continuous or panelled.

Another of the most popular and distinctive West Slope vase forms is the kantharos with straight walls and strap handles (**A 39**, **73**; **B 4**, **8**, **21–25**, **37**; **D 29**; **E 67**).³ The form finds its closest parallel in the Kabeiric cups of the fourth century.⁴ On the Athenian vases we do not find the double spurring of the handles so characteristic of the Boeotian. But the proportions are the same and the scheme of decoration is common to both: the side-wall is usually divided horizontally, on the West Slope vases by a wheel-run groove, on the Kabeiric by a painted band, and the decoration is confined to the upper part. The use of the grape and ivy is also common to both, and both show the influence of the toreutic art in the shape of the handles and in the horizontal division of the wall. The majority of the Kabeiric vases are doubtless of the fourth century, their production running down perhaps to the destruction of Thebes by Alexander in 335 B.C. This would

¹ Pfuhl, "Die Wurzeln der hellenistischen Kunst," *Neue Jahrb. f. d. klass. Altertum*, XXIII, 1909, pp. 609 ff.; *Malerei und Zeichnung*, II, p. 803; Pagenstecher, *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, p. 17.

² For a discussion of the shape cf. Watzinger, *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, pp. 94 f.

³ Cf. Watzinger, *ibid.*, pp. 91 f.

⁴ On the Kabeiric vases and their literature, cf. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, II, § 780–782.

indeed permit of a Boeotian origin for the Attic wares; but that a local ware of Boeotia should have had any decisive influence on Attic pottery of the late fourth century seems altogether improbable and we should continue to seek a common ancestor for both. The presence among our earlier groups of these distinctive kantharoi proves that they were popular in the beginning of the West Slope period, more especially perhaps because they afforded a more satisfactory field for decoration in the new style than did the kraters and kantharoi of the fourth century type. Those old types also lived on for a while in the ceramic art (**B 20**), longer still perhaps in the toreutic, but both types of drinking cup soon gave way to the Megarian bowl. The preponderance of the kantharos in our two earlier groups, the supremacy of the Megarian bowl in the three later, probably illustrate truly the history of the two forms. The slight variations in shape and scheme of decoration within the limited period of their popularity are adequately illustrated by the three kantharoi **A 39**, **B 4** and **21**. The quality of their glaze supports their contexts in proving that all three are closely contemporary. The form, with variations, occurs elsewhere, at Delphi,¹ at Pergamon,² at Alexandria,³ and it was sometimes copied with most unfortunate results.⁴

One might have expected that the West Slope artist would have favored the plate as offering an attractive field for his style of decoration. From the surviving specimens, however, we may surmise that he found the problem involved in the decoration of its surface rather beyond his genius. A practical consideration may also have deterred him, for the Hellenistic housewife must often have lamented the perishable nature of the West Slope decoration. Small saucers such as **C 12**, **D 28** and **E 66** are common. The West Slope style was quite unsuited for the decoration of the smaller table ware, such as little pitchers, which were consequently for the most part left in plain black glaze. **C 13** is an exception.

Our well and cistern groups provide the best evidence so far available for the absolute chronology of the fabric.⁵ The earliest stage in the development of the ware as defined above (p. 439) is undoubtedly represented by the closely contemporary amphorae: **B 3** and **B 35**, kantharoi **A 39**, **B 4** and **B 21**, and saucer **A 38**. Now of these, the amphora **B 3** and the kantharos **B 4** were found in a branch of Cistern B in very definite association with the two red-figure pelikai **B 1** and **2** which can be dated with reasonable assurance in the third quarter of the fourth century. Even granting that the pelikai may have been kept in the house for twenty years or so, they undoubtedly reached the cistern before or about the end of the century. It is, then, in the last years of the fourth century that we may place the beginnings of the true West Slope style and thus we may regard it as the immediate successor of the red-figure

¹ *Delphes*, V, pp. 172 f.; Nos. 386, 389, 390, 391, figs. 716, 719, 720.

² *Pergamon*, I, Beiblatt 39, Nos. 2 and 4.

³ *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, pp. 26 ff., Nos. 1–12, 14–16, fig. 34; *Sciatbi*, pl. LI, 94, LII, 101.

⁴ See the two vases from Olbia, now in Bonn, *Arch. Anz.* 1891, col. 19, No. 3.

⁵ For an earlier discussion of its dating cf. Watzinger, *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, pp. 86, 94, 99 f.

style. The close similarity between our kantharoi and those from the Kabeirion, which probably run down only to 335 B.C., tends to confirm this dating. It is strengthened too by an examination of the glaze on all the members of the above group.

For the ceramic history of the third century, we need more cistern groups. When we reach Pithos D, there is obviously a considerable chronological difference between its West Slope Ware and that earliest group. The difference is best illustrated by comparing the amphorae **D 25** and **26** with **B 3** and **35**. If we suppose that the Pithos was closed around the middle of the second century and grant that the two amphorae, as "mantel-piece" rather than table articles, may have been in the house for a good while, we may date them somewhere in the first half of that century. The fragmentary specimens from the Cistern C (**C 11-14**) fall midway between those two groups and may be placed, in respect of degeneration and fabric, let us say, in the second half of the third century. A score of fragments from the pits in the Stoa of Attalos still show reasonably good glaze and a restrained use of incision, a consideration which will warn us against dating too early the vases of this period. All the pieces recovered from Cistern E agree in marking another considerable advance, or rather degeneration, beyond those of Pithos D. Again the downward tendency is most clearly marked by the amphora **E 59**. This group may be dated in the late second century. Beyond the end of that century the style was doomed to still further degeneration in the increasingly common use of the more primitive motives, such as cross-hatching, and of the most primitive technique, incision.

When Watzinger wrote in 1901 he was obliged to leave the origin of wares of this type an open question, although he was inclined to favor the coast of Asia Minor as a starting point.¹ Various local schools in the eastern Mediterranean have been recognized: in Pergamon,² Alexandria,³ in South Russia.⁴ Recent excavations at Corinth have brought to light a quantity of similar ware of excellent quality and certainly not of Athenian manufacture. Some at least of it may be Corinthian, and in any case it proves the existence of another centre of manufacture.⁵ It is dangerous to make generalizations that rest even in part on negative evidence which may be invalidated by further excavation or publication of other sites, but it may be said that at present no other site in the eastern Mediterranean rivals Athens in the quantity of this ware produced, nor, in all probability, in the early date of its beginning. In Athens, too, we have found an easy transition between the black-glaze vases of the fourth century, carrying a secondary decoration in thinned clay and white paint, and the vases done

¹ *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, pp. 101 f. On the question of its origins cf. also Pagenstecher, *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, pp. 16 ff.

² *Pergamon*, I, pp. 272 ff.

³ *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, p. 19.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 16 with references. E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 351.

⁵ I am indebted to Dr. Oscar Broneer for showing me the material, which came chiefly from the great stoa closing the south side of the market-place in Corinth.

in the true West Slope style. In fact, we have been able to trace the whole history of the style on this one site. These considerations make Athens the most probable original home of the ware.¹

KERNOI²

A 40; B 9, 10, 27-29

These vases of distinctive shape are undoubtedly the sacred vessels used in the worship of the Eleusinian Demeter, and they must come from the Athenian sanctuary of that deity. Their provenience is definitely limited, for, apart from a single specimen,³ all have been found within a small area between the northern foot of the Areopagus and the southern edge of the market-square (Sections ΣΤ and Ζ).⁴ The Athenian Eleusinion will be found in that region.⁵

¹ The relations between the Athenian and the Italian wares require further investigation. Cf. Picard, *B. C. H.* XXXV, 1911, pp. 197 ff., 206 ff.

² Although the form *κέρυκος* is found in the official inventories of the objects kept in the Athenian Eleusinion for the years 408/7 and 407/6 B.C. (*I. G.*, I² 313₁₇; 314₂₃) and although the same object is in all probability denoted by the two words, yet the form *κέρυκος* is the better attested from literary references (Leonard, *Real-Encycl.* s. v. *kernos*, cols. 316 f.). The best description of the kernoi as vases is by O. Rubensohn in *Ath. Mitt.* XXIII, 1898, pp. 271-306, pls. XIII and XIV. See also Pringsheim, *Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des eleusinischen Kults*, Bonner Dissertation, Munich, 1905. For a more recent discussion and the citation of literature see Leonard in *Real-Encycl.*, 1921, s. v. *kernos*. A complete publication of the large collection of kernoi in terracotta, bronze and stone found at various times in the excavations at Eleusis is being prepared by Dr. K. Kourouniotes.

³ This piece, of the simple type, came along with a small sanctuary dump of the late fourth century found in a cistern to the west of the Stoa of Zeus (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 128, 454). The deposit may conceivably have come from the nearby Metroön, for the *kernos* occasionally is mentioned in connection also with the worship of Kybele (Leonard, *l. c.*, cols. 325 f.).

⁴ In addition to those included in the inventories of the present groups, fragments of other kernoi were found scattered at random in Section ΣΤ: 6 of the simple, 2 of the compound type.

⁵ This is not the place to discuss in detail the topographical problem involved. But it may be noted that for the suggested location of the sanctuary additional evidence is now at hand in a number of terracotta figurines appropriate to the worship of the Eleusinian Demeter found in that same region. For this suggestion I am indebted to my wife. From the same place come two fragments of the inscription bearing the inventory of the confiscated goods of Alcibiades (I 236 a; *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 47, No. 35; I 236 b found in 1934). According to Pollux (*Onomastikon*, X, 97), if his text is in order, the stelai on which were inscribed the inventories of the goods of those involved in the desecration of the Mysteries stood in Eleusis (not in the Eleusinion, as in Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 289). But copies may well have been set up in Athens and where more appropriately than in the Athenian Eleusinion? Further evidence is provided by the coins, for among those found in this region there is a larger proportion of pieces bearing the Eleusinian symbols (accompanied by the name either of Athens or Eleusis) than in groups from other areas of the excavation. These small copper coins may well have been struck on the occasion of the celebration of the Eleusinia, whether in Eleusis or in Athens, and especially for use at the sanctuaries (cf. Babelon, *Traité*, III², pp. 140 f.; Shear, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 262 ff.). Nor is it unlikely that the seventh-century votive deposit recently published and tentatively assigned to the Sanctuary of the Eumenides really comes from the Eleusinion (*Hesperia*, II, pp. 636 ff.). This possibility was pointed out by Miss Burr (*l. c.*, p. 637). The close similarity between certain of the votives from the deposit and others from Eleusis takes on added significance. A more substantial remnant from the sanctuary has long

The type of compound vase represented by our piece **B 27** answers perfectly to the description of the kernos given by Polemon in a well known passage quoted by Athenaeus, XI, 478 c (cf. 476 e; Preller, *Polemon*, frag. 88): "(The kernos) is a terracotta vessel with many little bowls stuck on to it. In them there is sage, white poppy heads, wheat, barley, peas(?), vetches(?), pulse, lentils, beans, spelt(?), oats, cakes of compressed fruit, honey, olive oil, wine, milk, and unwashed sheep's wool. When one has carried this vessel, like a *liknophoros*, he tastes of the contents."¹ The manner in which these vessels were actually carried on the heads of the worshippers in the sacred processions is well illustrated by the red-figure plaque of the late fifth or early fourth century that Niinion dedicated to the Two Goddesses at Eleusis.²

Our piece finds no exact parallel among those from Eleusis, neither in shape nor fabric, for they are mostly of local, Eleusinian, manufacture, whereas ours is undoubtedly of Athenian origin.³ But in its essential features, i.e. as a bowl on a stand with a number of small bowls set on its rim, it closely resembles several kernoi found in the filling beneath Philon's Porch of the Telesterion. The porch was built during the regime of Demetrios of Phaleron (317–307 B.C.) so that the Eleusinian pieces must be not later than those years.⁴ Its good glaze, heavy fabric and careful workmanship would place our piece in the second half of the fourth century.

As for the simpler type of vessel, represented by our **A 40, B 9, 10, 28** and **29**, although it is passed over by Polemon in the passage quoted above and is not specifically mentioned by other ancient authors, it too unquestionably served the same sacred purpose as the larger type and it must have borne the same name. Examples of the two types have been found together both in Eleusis and Athens, and actually, on some kernoi in Eleusis, the attached containers are identical in shape with these small individual pieces.⁵

been recognised in an epistyle block built into the south wall of the Little Metropolis about 700 m. to the northwest of the place under discussion. Among the other symbols of Demeter represented on it in relief, there is a kernos with lid (Bötticher, *Philologus*, XXIII, p. 227; Rubensohn, *Ath. Mitt.* XXIII, 1898, p. 301; H. Omont, *Athènes au XVII^e Siècle*, Paris, 1898, pl. XX, 2). The topographical evidence adduced from a fragment of a single kernos found in the excavations of the German Archaeological Institute to the south of the Areopagus in 1894 is outweighed by that of the numerous newly found pieces (*Ath. Mitt.* XXIII, 1898, pp. 280 f. For another kernos, of simple form, said to be from Athens, cf. *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, pp. 11 f., fig. 18). Such a site as we suggest would agree admirably with the significant passages bearing on the Eleusinion in Xenophon (*Hipparchikos*, III, 2) and Pausanias (I, 14, 3).

¹ τοῦτο (τὸ κέρνος) ἐστὶν ἀγγεῖον κεραμεῶν ἔχον ἐν αὐτῷ πολλοὺς κοτυλίσκους κεκολλημένους· ἐνεῖσι δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ὕμνιοι, μήκωνες λευκοί, πυροί, κριθαί, πισοί, λάβυροι, ὄχθοι, φακοί, κύαμοι, ζεαί, βρόμος, παλάβιον, μέλι, ἔλαιον, οἶνος, γάλα, ὕον ἔριον ἄπλυτον. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο βαστάσας οἶον λικνοφορήσας τούτων γεύεται.

² For the literature on the plaque cf. Leonard, *op. cit.*, col. 320. It has been most recently illustrated by L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin, 1932, pl. V₁.

³ For the shape cf. a kernos from Crete: *B. S. A.* XII, 1905–06, pp. 18 ff.; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 75 ff.

⁴ Vitruvius, VII, praef. 17; Noack, *Eleusis*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1927, pp. 116 f. Of the published specimens see those illustrated in *Ath. Mitt.* XXIII, 1898, pl. XIII, 1 and 2. Dr. Kourouniotes informs me that some of the kernoi found here may well belong to a filling made in Periclean times. Differences of shape and fabric within the group suggest a considerable range in time.

⁵ *Eph. Arch.* 1885, pl. IX, 8.

In works of art, moreover, it is the simple type that is represented to the exclusion of the other, often, notably in the case of coins, because of its very simplicity. The smallness of their bases makes it altogether improbable that they were intended to be borne on the head. They may rather have been carried in the hand, slung on a cord passed through the holes in the rim. That these holes were not intended, exclusively at any rate, for the fastening of the lid is proven by their occurrence on specimens whose mouths are quite unsuited to receive lids.

Our small kernoi find close parallels in size, shape and finish among the latest pieces from the filling of Philon's Porch at Eleusis. There too the fabric is a fine, buff clay, covered usually with a thick, white paint, sometimes with blue or red. As yet, we have no examples showing the more elaborate polychrome decoration found on some of the kernoi of Eleusis, nor the covering of gold leaf, shreds of which still cling to some of the Eleusinian pieces.¹ Lids are not common at Eleusis, but when they do occur they are of openwork like our **B 29**.²

The kernos appears occasionally not as a type but as a symbol on Athenian coins, but the uncertainty regarding the date of issue of most of the series on which it is represented makes the comparison of less value than might at first be expected for fixing the chronology of the vases. Our specimens are close in point of shape to the kernos that was used as a symbol on a series of bronze coins assigned by Svoronos to the period 255–229 B.C., by the British Museum cataloguer variously to 406–393 B.C. and 393–322 B.C.³ A closely similar shape is to be found in the symbols used on certain of those coins which are ordinarily regarded as of Eleusis but which bear the name of either Athens or Eleusis; among numismatists there appears to be no agreement regarding their date.⁴ The lid of pierced work, such as that of our **B 29**, is well illustrated on some of these pieces.⁵ Again, on some of those official bronze markers which Svoronos has called theatre tickets there appears as a reverse type a kernos not unlike ours in shape. This particular series is assigned by Svoronos to the period 255–220 B.C.⁶ The kernos continues to appear occasionally on Athenian coins of the New Style (229–30 B.C.) as an adjunct symbol of the magistrates.⁷ As a type it is common on the coins struck for the Athenian

¹ On the technique of manufacture and decoration cf. Rubensohn, *Ath. Mitt.* XXIII, 1898, pp. 297 ff.

² *Ath. Mitt.* XXIII, 1898, pp. 286 ff., pl. XIII, 8 a and b. On the doubtful significance of the pierced cover cf. *ibid.*, pp. 287 ff.; Leonard, *op. cit.*, cols. 323 f. That it should have been intended for the ventilation of a lamp placed in the bowl as suggested by the ancient scholiast on Nikander, *Alexipharmaka*, 217 f., seems improbable in view of the absence on the preserved specimens of any trace of the burning which must have been left by the flame of a lamp confined in a vessel so small.

³ Svoronos, *Trésor*, pl. 24, 33–40; *B.M.C. Attica, etc.*, No. 218, pl. vi, 4; No. 245, pl. vi, 12.

⁴ Svoronos, *Trésor*, pl. 103, 29–32 and 47–49. For a discussion of the various views regarding this money, cf. Shear, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 262 ff.

⁵ Svoronos, *Trésor*, pl. 104, 8.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. 102, 37–39. Cf. Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 377.

⁷ Svoronos, *Trésor*, pl. 33, 7–11 (229–197 B.C.); pl. 39, 6–10 and pl. 81, 18(?), 19, 22–24 (196–187 B.C.); pl. 75, 1–13 and pl. 79, 35 (first century B.C.).

cleruchs in Delos, i.e. subsequent to 166 B.C.¹ But in these later issues the shape has changed: the stem is shorter, the bowl flatter, the neck more contracted.

For fixing the chronology, a comparison between the Eleusis pieces and two kernoi from Alexandria (one from the cemetery at Chatby) is of interest.² The latter, even if, as is possible, they were carried to Egypt by some of the first Greek settlers, cannot antedate the foundation of the city by many years. The similarity in shape between them and the later pieces from Philon's Porch proves that some at least of the Eleusis pieces are little if at all earlier than the time of building of the Porch, i.e. than the late fourth century. As for our specimens of the simple sort, their resemblance on the one hand to the Alexandrian pieces and the latest of those from Philon's Porch and the fact that they are obviously earlier than those represented on coins of 229 B.C. and later, suggest a date for them in the late fourth—early third century B.C.³

LAGYNOI⁴

C 15; D 30, 31, 32 (pyxis); **E 70–73**

Among the most interesting of the imported vases represented in our groups are the lagynoi. From literary references and from the appearance of the word *κῶμος* on the shoulder of a specimen from Alexandria it is clear that the lagynos served as a wine decanter (*οἶνοφόρος*) for use on festive occasions. Although a similar shape had occurred sporadically much earlier, the form is one of those most nearly peculiar to the Hellenistic period: a squat body, sometimes round, sometimes sharply angular and again sometimes approaching the rectangular in outline, surmounted by a tall slender neck with thickened lip and with a vertical handle, usually flat, sometimes round in section. The fabric is quite uniform among our pieces: a very fine buff clay, covered with a firm white paint on which the design is executed in brown paint. Leroux has concluded that the shape is of little or no significance for the chronological development.

It has been conjectured that the type arose in East Greece, perhaps on the islands, on Cyprus or in Asia Minor; in any case in some region where it was a familiar practice to coat the surface of the clay completely with a white sizing. There were undoubtedly local centres of manufacture; the specimens from Cyprus seem especially distinctive. More useful work might be done in distinguishing among the products of different regions. Our fragments are certainly not of Athenian origin and at present I know of no evidence to suggest a local manufactory.

¹ *Ibid.*, pl. 106, 30, 45, 46, 48–51, 76–83; 107, 1–23.

² *Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, pp. 11 f., fig. 17; *Sciabbi*, No. 248, pl. LVIII, 131.

³ On the chronology cf. also Rubensohn, *Ath. Mitt.* XXIII, 1898, pp. 302 ff.

⁴ The standard study is by Gabriel Leroux, *Lagynos: Recherches sur la Céramique et l'Art Ornamental Hellénistiques*, Paris, 1913; reviewed at length by Picard, *Rev. Arch.* XXII, 1913, pp. 160 ff. Pagenstecher (*Exped. E. von Sieglin*, II 3, pp. 30–32) has some useful general remarks. See too Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, § 1000.

Leroux concluded that the lagynoi began to be made toward the end of the third century and were still in common use in the middle of the first century B.C.¹ Our groups, leaving as they do a large gap in the third century, are not helpful for fixing the initial date of the series but they do suggest that in Athens the lagynoi were coming into use in the early second century and were popular in the second half of that century.

MEGARIAN BOWLS

A 74–76; C 16–53; D 34–52; E 69 (with painted rim), **E 74–85, 86** (relief pitcher)

In cataloguing the Megarian bowls and related fabrics from these groups we have found occasion to question their Attic origin in only three instances: **D 47, E 79** and **86**. The clay and glaze of the others, if compared with those of the contemporary plain wares of undoubtedly local origin, would alone suffice to prove their Athenian manufacture. Were further evidence desired for a flourishing Athenian industry in the fabric, it is now forthcoming in the moulds that have been found in recent years in Athens. The Agora collection now numbers twelve, all fragmentary, and the excavations by the Dipylon have yielded about the same number. These fragments have been found where they were thrown out by the potters of the Kerameikos. It was probably from this same region, at any rate from the immediate neighbourhood of potters' shops, that a mass of earth filling was gathered to level off the top of the Pnyx hill for the reception of a large building erected there in late Hellenistic or early Roman times. Mixed with the earth was much discarded rubbish from potters' workshops: terracotta rings for supporting vases in the kiln, *Fehlbrände*, broken, unused vases (chiefly plain black-glaze bowls and plates and countless fragments of Megarian bowls) and broken moulds: several for lamps of Hellenistic types, and over fifty for Megarian bowls.² The specimens from the Dipylon will be published shortly by Dr. Willy Schwabacher; those from the Agora and Pnyx must wait. It may be noted here, however, that among the Agora pieces, there are three decorated with grape-vines (P 1523, 1592, 3130); of one the wall is completely covered with imbricate leaves (P 3157), of another, with elongated petals (P 2138), while the others show the usual variety of human and animal figures, with calyces of leaves. On the Pnyx there have been found pieces of one mould decorated with tendrils, of two with nodules, of one whose side-wall was covered with imbricate leaves, and of 21 with long petals, in 10 cases separated by jewelled lines.³

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 101 ff.

² The building, probably to be associated with the Thesmophorion, has come to light in the recent excavations conducted under the joint auspices of the Greek Archaeological Service and the American School of Classical Studies. The Hellenistic pottery will be published eventually along with the other small finds from the Pnyx.

³ The following names occur on these moulds:

from the Agora:

1. P 1523. ΗΦΑΙC[... retrograde. Scratched while the clay was still soft on the inside of a mould decorated with vine leaves.

The technique of manufacture is familiar and requires but brief description.¹ The moulds are bowl-like in shape, with or without base-rings, and ordinarily extend up no farther than the upper zone (Fig. 119). Soft clay was pressed into the mould. This was then centered on the wheel and spun so that the interior of the bowl and its rim were wheel-run, its lower outer surface moulded. The negative impressions in the mould itself were produced either by shaping the mould on another vessel of metal or terracotta, or, more commonly, by pressing into its still soft clay stamps bearing the individual scenes, leaves, flowers, etc. in any desired combination. In the Agora collection (SS 88) there is one of these individual stamps, (*poignon*) for making the medallion: a rosette (Fig. 120). The jewellery was done in the mould by means of a tiny, hollow punch. Tendrils, vine twigs and frequently even such complicated geometrical designs as the guilloche were incised free-hand in the mould with a sharp point. If the mould was made from a complete positive, its medallion might be restamped while its clay was still soft.² Traces of this procedure may be detected both in moulds and bowls. One can readily understand that such methods permitted of almost infinite variety. That variety was aimed at is proven by the complete absence of duplicates in such a considerable collection as that of the Agora and the exceeding rarity of such among all the bowls known. The variety in the surviving bowls was probably increased by the short life of the moulds themselves. Only a limited number of copies could be made from a mould, especially one bearing much fine detail, before it was worn out.

The clay used for the bowls, from the earliest to the latest in our series, is fine, clean and of the typical warm buff Attic colour. Occasionally it carries a few small grains of mica. The glaze shows the consistent degeneration common to all classes of Attic pottery through this period. A few specimens, and notably those decorated with tendrils and grape vines (**A 74**, **C 16** and **17**), are covered with the rich, deep-black glaze which one ordinarily associates with the plain black-glaze wares of the late fourth century. On most of the bowls with figured decoration the glaze has assumed a metallic

from the Pnyx:

2. **EN**: incised while the clay was still soft on the underside of the base of a mould on the medallion of which there is a rosette surrounded by veined leaves.

3. **XAPI**: incised like the preceding on the base of a mould with plain medallion, and with elongated petals on its side wall.

In the Agora collection there is a fragment of a bowl (P 1450) with a calyx of long acanthus leaves and with flying birds on the side wall, on which there is the name **KAAA**[. . . retrograde.

A fragment of another bowl (P 3211), decorated with long acanthus leaves and thin brown glaze has the letters . . . **PAT**[. . .] **Y**[. . .]. There is also preserved a fragment of the mould from which the bowl came.

For other signatures cf. Zahn, *Jahrb.* XXIII, 1908, p. 72, and note 31; Courby, pp. 363-366, 393, 411 f., 415 f.; Hobling, *B.S.A.* XXVI, 1923-24; 1924-25, pp. 291 f.; Baur, *Stoddard Collection*, No. 199.

¹ On the technique cf. Courby, pp. 327 f., 370 ff.

² For other examples of free-hand drawing in the mould cf. Zahn, *Jahrb.* XXIII, 1908, p. 49, No. 3 (tendrils on an Attic bowl); Robert, *Jahrb.* XXXIV, 1919, p. 73 (adjustment of figures on a Homeric bowl); Hobling, *B.S.A.* XXVI, 1923-24; 1924-25, p. 281 (tendrils on a mould from Sparta).



Fig. 119. P 3157. Mould for Making Megarian Bowls

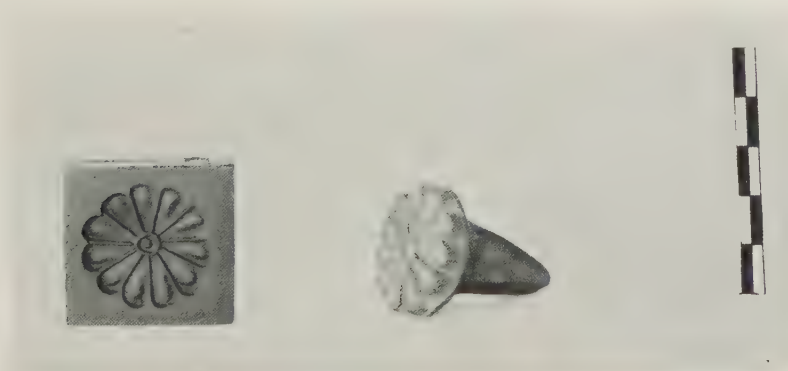


Fig. 120. SS 88. Stamp for the Making of Moulds for Megarian Bowls

sheen and often shows not true black but rather steel-blue or gray. In some cases, e.g. **D 35**, the artists were remarkably successful in attaining the metallic effect that they were obviously seeking. Later still, the makers of the bowls with long petals, though desirous of the same effect, were too sparing of their glaze and applied it so thin that the buff colour of the clay often shows through. Although an occasional long-petalled bowl carries a fair glaze, yet on the whole there is a marked decline in this respect among the bowls of that class. Among the bowls of all classes, occasional specimens are mottled red and black as a result of careless firing, and a few (e.g. **C 21**) show red patches and circles of fusion on their floors, caused by the practice of stacking in the kiln so common at this period. Distinctive of the Attic bowl are the lines scratched free of glaze (after firing) around the medallion and just below the lip on the outside. These areas were usually, though not invariably, coated with red miltos before glazing and, when the glaze was removed, the miltos remained, its bright scarlet often producing a striking effect in contrast to the deep surrounding black.¹ Both the scratching and the miltos were in general use throughout our period, but in some of the latest specimens (**E 74, 76, 79**), especially of the long-petalled variety, the line around the lip was omitted. The scratching was done, as one might expect, with various degrees of care. On the fine bowl decorated with grape-vines (**A 74**) the line around the lip was incised with a needle point. On other bowls the lines were traced with a blunt instrument leaving a furrow two millimeters or more in width.

The Athenian bowl is distinctive, too, in its shape. The Athenian potter preferred a deep bowl with lip slightly flaring, as compared, for instance, with the shallower body of the Asian centres and the inturned rim of Delos. And yet, within the Athenian series there is a well marked development in shape that is consistent with, and so confirms, the development in the glazing. The ideal shape in the mind of the earliest Athenian producer was obviously that illustrated by **A 74** (Fig. 11b). The bottom is well rounded and the bowl, up to the lower edge of the upper zone, forms an almost perfect hemisphere. But the line of the side wall carries through unbroken and above the zone swings gently out, coming to rest in the sharply everted lip. This perfection of line was not often attained. It was approximated in some of the better bowls of Group C, notably in **C 16** (Fig. 34). The bowls with figured decoration retain the depth and the rounded bottom but the subtle curve of the upper wall has been lost and its line is straightened. Among the bowls of long petals there is a tendency toward greater shallowness, a flatter bottom and a side-wall approaching the vertical but never actually bending inward. The transition between the moulded and the wheel-run part is now sometimes carelessly treated, so that the profile is broken at this point. The new shape is probably due to the influence of imported wares such as **E 79** which were now becoming, if not more common, at least less rare.

¹ Cf. Courby, p. 328, who has, however, failed to observe the true order of procedure. For the same practice employed on lamps, cf. Broneer, *Terracotta Lamps*, p. 46, and on pottery in general Richter, *The Craft of Athenian Pottery*, New York, 1923, pp. 53 ff.

Enough has been said regarding the decorative motives and their arrangement by Courby in his discussion of the "*bols à glaçure*," for this group corresponds substantially to the bowls of Athens (*op. cit.*, Chapter XX). His fourfold classification (*ibid.*, p. 328) may be accepted, at least until such time as an exhaustive study is made of the Athenian fabric alone. But the evidence from the Agora makes it possible to define more closely the chronological sequence of these various classes and their relations to one another.

We must consider first the bowls with purely floral and vegetable decoration (Courby's Class III: *les bols à décor uniquement végétal et floral*) represented by **A 74**, **C 16**, **17** and **38**, **E 83**. The glaze and the shape of these bowls would alone be sufficient to place them at the head of the Athenian series. This position is confirmed by the provenience of the pieces, coming as they do with the earlier groups. Apart from the very fragmentary **E 83**, which may well be a chance intrusion, there is not a fragment of a bowl bearing this decoration in the two later groups. We should be driven to the same early dating by a consideration of the ornament. Granted that the Greek industry in terracotta relief bowls was influenced in its beginning by Egyptian art, and especially by Alexandrian toreutic art (for this hypothesis a strong case has been made out and, with some modifications, retained after continued re-examination),¹ then we should expect to find Egyptian elements most in evidence in the earliest of the Greek bowls. It is precisely in this group that we find Egyptian features in preponderance: the idea of a base medallion surrounded by outspringing vegetable members; the palm branches, the petals of the true lotus and of *nymphaea coerulea*, and the bird sitting in the branches. Courby has already pointed out the striking similarity between other known bowls of this group and two ancient casts in plaster made probably from metal bowls, whose Egyptian origin is proven by the presence on the upper walls of representations of the god Bes and of Hathor heads (Courby, pp. 336f.). Bowls with this type of decoration are not common. Courby in 1922 could name only six (p. 335) and in the Agora in general they are comparatively rare. The close similarity which they exhibit among themselves in fabric suggests that they were made over no long period of time. Naturally, however, they do overlap with those of the following two types.

Courby has grouped together a few bowls whose walls are completely covered with nodules or with imbricate leaves (II: *bols à bossettes et à imbrications*, p. 334). Our collection contains a fragment of one bowl decorated with nodules (**C 29**) and of another with similar decoration to which was added a broad rim painted in West Slope style (**C 53**). We have already observed that bowls of this type were not uncommonly used in such combination. The West Slope decoration found on the upper parts in such cases is not of the earliest type but is still comparatively fine, and this, in view of the relative chronology of the two series of pottery, would suggest a comparatively early date

¹ The view was first advanced by R. Zahn, *Priene*, pp. 410 ff. It has been reconsidered and modified by Courby, *op. cit.*, Chapter XXIII. Egyptian influence is undeniable, even if we do not admit the completely Egyptian origin of the Megarian bowls. Cf. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, II, pp. 910, 915.

for this type of moulded decoration. This dating is supported by the fabric: the bowls are well made and their glaze approximates that of the preceding group. Our single specimen of the sort whose side-wall was covered with imbricate leaves is rather closer in shape and glaze to the general run of the following group.

This group includes the bowls of varied decoration with a band of vegetable motives surrounding the base medallion (Courby's Class IV: *bols à décor varié et corolle végétal*, *op. cit.*, pp. 338 ff.). Some of the Egyptian elements persist: the lotus leaves (**C 23**), the pairs of goats rampant about kraters (Courby, p. 351); perhaps the occasional water bird is reminiscent of Egypt (**D 36**). But the Hellenistic craftsman-artist has now realized his opportunity and here finds ample scope to deploy the myriad repertoire of his art: erotes flying and riding, satyrs in all satyric poses, miniature copies of favorite statuary groups, birds and dolphins, masks, wreaths, leaves and flowers. It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to trace any consistent development in the choice or arrangement of these decorative motives, but one would be inclined to place early such bowls as that showing Apollo with his tripod and Artemis with her stag (**C 18**), the exercising ephebes (**C 19**) and the combatants (**C 20**), bowls on which the main scenes or groups are well ordered and not overwhelmed by space-filling subordinate ornaments. It is, perhaps, significant that all three pieces come from one of the earlier cisterns. Bowls of varied decoration proved tremendously popular and must have been the best sellers for close on to a hundred years in Athenian pottery shops. Every well and cistern filled up in the time of their bloom yields quantities of fragments and every earth filling of that time is sprinkled with them.

But the time came when people must have wearied of their overloaded surfaces, especially as their reliefs became more commonly faint and blurred as a result of increasingly careless workmanship, and so favor inclined to the more sober bowls decorated with long petals (Courby's Class I: *bols à godrons*, pp. 329 ff.). The growing popularity of this latest type is well illustrated by our groups. The first three contain not a fragment of long-petalled bowls; in the fourth, numbers are about equally divided between bowls of varied decoration and the long-petalled variety; in the fifth the latter type is easily ahead. This alone is convincing evidence of the lateness of that type, the group which Courby had regarded as among the earliest of the "*bols à glaçure*."¹

¹ Courby was led to this view chiefly by his belief that the decoration *à godrons* was a development from the reeding on the side-walls of the kraters and amphorae popular in the second half of the fourth century (*op. cit.*, p. 332). But the two schemes of decoration are fundamentally different: in reeding the individual member is convex, in the type of bowl under discussion it is concave. The one, moreover, is a mechanical geometric motive, the other is undoubtedly naturalistic in its origin. The members are to be regarded as elongated petals springing from a common centre,—not a surprising development considering how often a lesser number of long leaves was thrown out from the rosette. Thus the origins of the style *à godrons* are inherent in the lotus petals of such a bowl as our **A 74**. The very fact that, among the bowls *à godrons* known to Courby, the greater number came from Delos should have warned him against placing them so early, for the Delian fabric is relatively late as compared with the Athenian (*op. cit.*, pp. 333, 397 ff.).

The variety of decoration within the group itself is limited. There are long round-tipped petals with (D 40) or without (D 39, 42-44, 48; E 75-77) jewelled lines between; there are petals with pointed tips (E 74) and there are swirling petals separated by jewelled lines (D 41, E 85). It should be noted that, quite apart from the sobriety of the wall decoration itself, there is also a marked simplicity in the other decoration: the upper zone is usually omitted or abbreviated to a row of ovules (D 48) or egg-and-dart (E 75, 76). At times that zone would seem to be feebly represented by the tiny leaves topping the jewelled lines (D 40, 44; E 74). The medallion is frequently left plain (D 42-44; E 77); when it is decorated it is with a simple rosette. It seems impossible at present to arrange these various subgroups with any assurance in a chronological sequence, for all are found together and their shape and glaze prove that there are early and late examples of each.

Our groups illustrate clearly and decisively the relative sequence of the various types of bowl. To fix the absolute chronology is more difficult. An upper limit may be set with some precision. So far in the Agora we have never found Megarian bowls of any type in significant association with red-figure pottery, and we have already explored many wells, cisterns and other closed deposits of the crucial period. This consideration would seem definitely to exclude the fabric from the fourth century.¹ Nor does the type occur at all in any part of Cistern B, and the coins found there show that parts at least of the reservoir were open down into the early years of the third century. In Well A specimens of the fabric were found sparingly and that only in the upper filling and one of those pieces is probably the earliest bowl in our collection. Its glaze is but slightly inferior to that on the plain black-glaze pottery found in the depths of the same well, and that filling probably extends but little into the third century. I should be inclined to place the beginning of the fabric in Athens in the first quarter of the third century, probably towards its end.² Such a date would give time after the founding of Alexandria for the undeniable Egyptian influence to make itself felt in Athens. Among the earliest bowls we may place those with decorations purely floral or vegetable. Then follow in quick succession the better specimens with vegetable calyces and varied wall decoration, and contemporary with the earlier of these will be the bowls with nodules. The bowl with varied decoration must have been decidedly the favorite and well nigh the exclusive type from the middle of the third into the second quarter of the second century. For there we should probably place the beginnings of the long-petal type. From the pits that were dug in the spring of 1933 in the undisturbed filling within the older part of the Stoa of Attalos (built by Attalos II,

¹ M. B. Hobling, *B.S.A.* XXVI, 1923-24, 1924-25, p. 279, places the beginning of the *bols à glaçure de décoration varié* about 330-310 B.C.

² Courby, pp. 333, 360 ff., places the beginning of the *bols à godrons* at the beginning of the third century; of those *à décor varié* at the end of the fourth. Zahn, *Priene*, p. 411, places the development of the Athenian bowls in the third century.

159–138 B.C.), among a considerable quantity of pottery, including more than twenty fragments of bowls of varied decoration, there was not a fragment of a bowl with long petals. But a few specimens of this type have been found in Corinth (destroyed in 146 B.C.),¹ and, if we are right in supposing that our Pithos D was closed up around the middle of the second century we see that the type had already gained some popularity in Athens by that time. The objects from Cistern E are on the whole unquestionably later than those of Pithos D. We have suggested that E was closed near the beginning of the first century B.C. The comparative numbers of the two types found in these cisterns show that, as the second century progressed, the bowls of long petals continued to grow in popularity. Those of varied decoration probably ceased to be made before the end of the century. How much later the long-petal variety of bowl continued to be produced in Athens we cannot say. For the ceramic history of the city in the first century B.C. we have as yet but little evidence. It is worth noting, however, that in at least one well which yielded good Arretine ware from its undisturbed lowest filling, no Megarian bowls were found.²

We have found ample reason, first in the moulds discovered locally and secondly in the quantity of Megarian bowls which have come to light in Athens itself, to believe that there was a flourishing local industry and a distinctive school of Attic "Megarian bowls." The Athenian fabric may, therefore, be assigned with assurance its place among the many local fabrics which have been isolated in old Greece, Asia Minor, Italy, Egypt and Syria.³ Since the Athenian fabric is practically identical with Courby's entire group of "*bols à glaçure*" his general remarks on the relative position of that ware need be but briefly reviewed.

The Athenian fabric is unquestionably one of the oldest wares of this type, in its earliest phases contemporary with the Homeric bowls which are probably of Boeotian origin.⁴ That no corresponding fabric existed in Athens is almost conclusively proved by the absence of any fragments of such bowls with narrative scenes and accompanying inscriptions among the extensive finds in the Agora. Nor do these two fabrics seem to have influenced one another; rather, in shape and decoration, they show the common influence of fine metal ware. Athens' debt to Egypt, especially in decorative motives, has been pointed out above. But after this initial impulse the Attic potters would seem

¹ I owe this observation to Dr. Oscar Broneer. For bowls of earlier type found at Corinth cf. Shear, *A. J. A.* XXX, 1926, p. 447.

² A well on the east slopes of Kolonos Agoraios, explored in the spring of 1934. Courby closes his series of bowls à *décor varié* in the last quarter of the third century (*op. cit.*, p. 362). That this series continued in use considerably later is sufficiently proven by the groups discussed above. Bowls of Delian fabric, he supposes, were probably still in use as late as 30 B.C. (*ibid.*, p. 398).

³ Since Courby's writing other fabrics have been localized at Sparta (Hobling, *B. S. A.* XXVI, 1923–24; 1924–25, pp. 281 ff.), Antioch (Waagé, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, I, pp. 67 f.) and probably at Herakleia (modern Florina) in Macedonia (Keramopoulos-Blegen, *A. J. A.* XXXVIII, 1934, p. 474). Doubtless every ceramic centre in the Hellenistic period produced relief ware of the same general sort.

⁴ C. Robert, 50th *Winckelmann's Program*, 1890, pp. 1–96; Courby, *op. cit.*, Chapter XIX.

to have relied very much on their own genius in developing the ware. Their output through the third and second centuries was enormous, sufficient to provide for a certain amount of export trade,¹ and to keep the home market exclusively to themselves. This latter consideration in itself would account for the lack of foreign influence on the Athenian type. Only comparatively late, when imports were less rare, is foreign influence again at all apparent. We have noted that the flatter shape common to the latest Athenian bowls may be copied from imported pieces.

The influence of the Athenian on other fabrics is more pronounced. This is most clear in the case of South Russia. A few bowls with varied decoration have been found there, imported and undoubtedly of Athenian origin.² That a flourishing local industry developed is proved by the discovery of many other bowls of local clay bearing characteristic local names. These show some influence from Asia Minor, notably Priene.³ But still more have they copied the Athenian products in both shape and decoration.⁴

Attic influence is also apparent both in the shape and decoration of the local fabric of Myrina.⁵

Finally, it is altogether probable that the type of decoration with long petals (*à godrons*) originated and developed in Athens, and subsequently became exceedingly popular throughout the sphere of the Megarian bowl. Courby (p. 333) had hesitatingly assigned the origin of the type to Boeotia, chiefly on the evidence of the number of such bowls found there. When he wrote he knew of only one fragment of a bowl of this type from Athens.⁶ But recent excavations have added vastly to its company. The moulds from Agora and Pnyx prove that there were local workshops producing this type in Athens. What is more important, the one mould for bowls of this type found in Delos is probably of Athenian origin.⁷ Courby (p. 327) noted that its clay was identical with that of the other mould known to him, one unquestionably Athenian. It finds close parallels, moreover, among the moulds from the Pnyx. It is tempting to see in this mould the very beginning of the fabric of the type *à godrons* in Delos, a beginning owed to Athens.⁸

¹ Cf. Courby, *op. cit.*, pp. 333, 335, 356 f.

² Zahn, *Jahrb.* XXIII, 1908, pp. 45 ff., Nos. 1–2, perhaps also 3.

³ Cf. Zahn, *loc. cit.*, p. 49.

⁴ For the shape consider Zahn, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 11 and 12 (p. 54), 13 (p. 55), 14 (p. 56), 20 (p. 60), 21 (p. 61); for the decoration Nos. 13, 14, 21. Cf. also Courby, *op. cit.*, p. 410.

⁵ Courby, *op. cit.*, pp. 402 f.

⁶ *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 61, B 11. Fragments of like bowls with this type of decoration were found in Aegina, one with plain petals, the other with jewelled lines between: *Aegina*, I, p. 465, Nos. 360, 361, fig. 398. These are in all probability of Athenian origin.

⁷ Courby, *op. cit.*, p. 333, pl. IX d.

⁸ On the transport of moulds and particularly of moulds for the making of relief vases, cf. Zahn, *Jahrb.* XXIII, 1908, pp. 52 ff.

LAMPS

A 41-47; B 11, 30, 38; C 54-60; D 53-61; E 87-116

At the end of the fourth season, the catalogue of terracotta lamps from the entire excavation numbers 1552 and includes a rich variety of shapes and forms extending from the seventh century B.C. into Turkish times. The specimens included in our group afford a fair notion of the changing styles during the third and second centuries B.C. Further excavation will certainly provide more evidence for those years. When the excavation has been completed it will be possible, and necessary, to establish an independent classification for the lamps of Athens. In the meantime, Broneer's classification, based on the finds at Corinth, has been used as a guide and his types retained wherever they can be transferred from one site to the other. The brief general discussion of our lamps which follows will emphasize the groups in which they were found. Groups A and B will be considered together.

Our series begins with lamps which may be placed in Broneer's Type VII, although among the Agora specimens two sub-groups must be distinguished.¹ Lamps of both groups are wheel-made, with massive walls and well defined bases. On those of the first group (**A 41, B 38**) a single deep groove encircles the top and within the groove a broad, gently convex shoulder surrounds the filling-hole. The horizontal handle and the pierced knob on the left side are optional features. Both inside and outside are covered with black glaze, usually rich and firm. The second group (**A 42-44; B 11, 30**) is clearly a development from the first. The deep groove has been drawn in closer to the filling-hole and, as a consequence, the shoulder has become narrower, and more sharply rounded. Occasionally an extra rill or two was run around outside the principal groove. Here again both handle and knob are optional, though the specimens included in our groups exhibit neither. The infundibulum has become more ball-like and the nozzle is smaller in proportion to the whole. The most distinguishing mark of the second group is the fact that it is glazed on the inside only; its outside is covered with a slip and polished. **A 45**, which falls into Broneer's Type VIII, is a variant from Type VII a in another direction: the groove around the top has moved out to the very edge, leaving a broad, flat area about the filling-hole. The shape of the nozzle and the scheme of glazing prove that this specimen is contemporary with those of the second group of Type VII. **A 46**, with its groove far out, its flat top and its sharply rounded shoulder about the filling-hole, combines features of both Type VII b and Type VIII. Among groups A and B the latest lamp, typologically, is **A 47** (Broneer's Type IX). The sharply angular profile of its infundibulum and the thinness of its wall are quite unknown in the fifth and fourth centuries and show that we are at the beginning of the Hellenistic period.

¹ Cf. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 199 f.

Groups A and B are of value for the chronology of these various types. The seven lamps catalogued in Group A must have reached the well within a very few years of each other, nor can the lamps of Cistern B be separated by any great length of time from one another or from the lamps of Well A. We have already observed in the catalogue that Type VII a was the most popular style in Olynthos at the time of the city's destruction in 348 B.C. and that it was the type of lamp carried to Alexandria by the Greek colonists in 332 B.C. Type VII b was just coming into favor when Philip destroyed Olynthos. We have placed our Group A in the closing years of the fourth and the beginning of the third century B.C., those parts of Group B which include lamps in the early years of the third. We may say, then, that at the turn of the fourth and third centuries in Athens Type VII a had almost ceased to be made (2 out of a total of 10 lamps in the two groups); Type VII b was the most popular (5 out of 10) and variations of it were being tried. The thin-walled, angular lamps of the Hellenistic period proper were just beginning to be made. Lamps of Type IX, like **A 47**, were to be among the most popular in use at Athens during the third century.

By the time of Group C, Type IX had already passed out of favor and another distinct type was dominant, that, namely, represented by **C 54–57**. These lamps correspond most closely to Broneer's Type XII.¹ Just at this time the most far-reaching change in the history of ancient lamp-making was taking place: the wheel was giving way to the mould.² Examples of the use of both devices are to be found among the lamps of this type. The base is ordinarily lower than on the earlier lamps; the walls are thinner, usually angular, sometimes watch-shaped in profile. We have here the beginning of that practical device so general among the later Hellenistic lamps, *viz.* a broad, flat top surrounded by a raised ridge to facilitate filling. The nozzle has been rounded on top and occasionally shows a tendency to flare at the tip (**C 55**), a feature carried to its extreme in the flukes of the slightly later lamps of the "Knidos type." The handle is optional, but when it does appear it is of the vertical, strap variety. The side-knob too may or may not be added and it may be either pierced or solid. By now, the glaze has suffered the degeneration common to all classes of Hellenistic pottery. It has almost completely flaked away from some lamps of this type (**C 57**). We cannot stress the significance of Group C for the dating of the lamps included in it, inasmuch as we have used them for fixing the date of the group. But the comparison made in the catalogue between these lamps and a pair found in an Aetolian tomb of the beginning of the second century makes it clear that the two groups are closely contemporary. We may suppose, then, that **C 54–57** are typical lamps of Attic manufacture in use at the beginning of the second century.

Their clay and glaze are against an Attic origin for the other lamps from Cistern C: **C 58–60**. **C 58**, with its central tube, belongs to a type common on Delos and represented

¹ Cf. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 200 ff., where similar lamps from the Agora are compared, less correctly, with those of Broneer's Type XVI.

² On the beginning of the use of moulds in lamp-making see Broneer, *Terracotta Lamps*, p. 54.

also at Priene. In fabric it is similar to **C 59** and also to **E 87, 106** and **107**. All would seem to have come from some central Aegean manufactory. In view of what we shall have to say about **E 106** and **107**, Rhodes should not be left out of mind. **C 59** is the earliest specimen in these groups of a moulded lamp with decoration. Such decoration probably originated and developed farther to the east. It never became very popular at Athens. The tradition of severe plainness appears to have persisted among Attic lampmakers from classical times throughout the Hellenistic period, so that our groups seem sober in comparison with the elaborately ornamented lamps of such sites as Delos, Pergamon and Priene. This is surprising in view of the flourishing Athenian industry in Megarian bowls. Lamps and bowls are products of similar technique and taste.¹ **C 60** is an imported specimen (perhaps from Asia Minor) of the same general type as the Attic lamps **C 54-57**. On it, however, the encircling ridge was made separately and attached, and small lateral holes were pierced through the top to permit spilled oil to enter the infundibulum. There is no reason why these three imported pieces should not be closely contemporary with the Attic lamps with which they were found. They are of special interest as representing the invasion of the Athenian market made possible by the decline of a local industry which through the fifth and the fourth century had supplied with lamps, not only Attica, but much of the Mediterranean region.

By the middle of the second century B.C. the dominant type of lamp in Athens had become that represented by **D 56-59** and the numerous uncatalogued fragments of the same sort (Broneer's Type XVIII). These, of course, are all mould-made. Their bases are low, their infundibula watch-shaped; the vertical, strap handle and the cornucopia-shaped lug on the left side have become regular features. Their moulded decoration is reminiscent of that on the contemporary Megarian bowls of the long-petal variety. Lamps **D 54** and **55** represent the farthest that Attic makers went in the direction of the fluked nozzle of the "Knidos type." Lamp **D 60** is of the same general type as **D 56-59** with the addition of the separately shaped and attached rim which was to become more common later. Its gray clay and glaze and the peculiar shape of its nozzle make improbable an Attic origin. In crudity and ugliness it is the outstanding lamp of the collection. **D 60**, too, was probably imported, from some place familiar with the "Ephesos type." As for the glaze of the lamps of Group D, even the photograph (Fig. 75) will reveal its metallic quality, especially marked on **D 55**.

Group E is of interest as showing the variety of lamps that may have served an Athenian family in the lifetime of a single generation around the turn of the second and first centuries B.C. **E 89-96** illustrate the persistency of the type represented by **C 54-57**. Their contracted tops and elongated nozzles are indicative of the advanced development of the specimens from Cistern E. Type XVIII was still the most popular sort. But in our latest group two new features have become common in the type: the pointed nozzle (**E 103, 106, 107**) and the attached rim surrounding the top

¹ Cf. Zahn, *Priene*, p. 458; Deonna, *B. C. H.* XXXII, 1908, pp. 160 ff.; Broneer, *Terracotta Lamps*, pp. 61, 67 f.

of infundibulum and nozzle (**E 108–111**). **E 112–114** (Broneer's Type XVIII) are representative of the more elaborately decorated moulded lamps which shared with the contemporary Megarian bowls a common repertoire of motives. **E 87, 106, 107** and **112** are all imported, the first three, as already noted, probably from the same place.

Ariston, whose name appears on **E 106**, is one of the most familiar of Hellenistic potters. Objects bearing his name have been found on several sites. From Athens other lamps are known;¹ from the Peiraeus a relief pitcher with a strainer in its throat;² from Attica a mould for lamps;³ from Delos a large number of lamps⁴ and fragments of three relief pitchers similar to that from the Peiraeus;⁵ from Rome a lamp.⁶

The close similarity among the lamps and the pitchers bearing the name, and the uniformity of the lettering in those instances where the signature is certain, prove that all these objects were produced by one establishment within a comparatively short period of time. Where was that establishment situated? The discovery of a mould in Attica would suggest that a factory was active there. It is said that one of the fragments of a relief pitcher bearing Ariston's name found on Delos was never fired.⁷ If this be the case, the fragment provides good evidence for supposing that there was a manufactory under this name on the island. But there are disturbing considerations against both suppositions. The signed lamp in our collection, **E 106**, seems not to be of Athenian manufacture. Its pointed nozzle, the delicate palmette on its throat and the greater precision of its moulding mark it off from the many lamps of undoubtedly local origin that were found with it. Its clay, too, is finer and of a more soapy texture than that which was being used by contemporary Attic potters. Lamp **E 106** is identical in form and fabric with lamp **E 107** and in fabric with **E 86** which is a relief pitcher of the same type as those signed by Ariston. There can be little doubt that these three articles all came from Ariston's manufactory and that they were made elsewhere than at Athens. On the other hand, their extremely fine clay, so different from that which is ordinarily regarded as the local Delian, is against a Delian origin for the lamps and pitchers. It is worthy of note, however, that their fabric is very close to that of wine amphorae bearing the name of Ariston as fabricant in similar, perhaps slightly earlier lettering found on Delos, at Pergamon and in Rhodes. These amphorae are of the ordinary Rhodian

¹ National Museum, Nos. 3181, 3281; Deonna, *B.C.H.* XXXII, 1908, pp. 158 f.

² *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 69, No. 5; Deonna, *l. c.*, p. 159.

³ *Sammlung Sabouroff*, I, pl. LXXV; Deonna, *l. c.*, p. 158.

⁴ *B.C.H.* XXX, 1906, p. 606; XXXII, 1908, p. 158.

⁵ Deonna, *l. c.*, pp. 159 and 160; Courby, p. 365.

⁶ *C.I.L.* XV, 2, p. 864, No. 6871. A terracotta figurine of a woman and a mould for a relief plaque representing a combat of a Greek and an Amazon found in Tarentum appear to bear the name Ariston in fragmentary form (*B.M. Catalogue of Terracottas*, 1903, E 16 and E 69). But the letters as reproduced in the catalogue do not resemble those on the lamps and vases and only an autopsy could confirm the identity of the signature.

⁷ Deonna, *l. c.*, p. 160; Courby, p. 365, pl. IX f.

sort whose Rhodian origin cannot be questioned.¹ It is tempting to believe that the same man or the same firm was responsible for the lamps, pitchers and amphorae and that the factory was situated in Rhodes from where a lively trade was carried on throughout the Aegean. But a thorough re-examination of the fabric and lettering of all products bearing the name Ariston might throw additional, perhaps decisive, light on the problem.²

As to the period of Ariston's activity, there need be less uncertainty. We have already pointed out that the various products bearing his name seem to have been made within a comparatively short time, probably within the compass of a single active lifetime. Our two pieces, **E 106** and **107**, are typical of the general run of his lamps. There is every reason to believe that they are contemporary with the bulk of the cistern filling in which they were found and this, we have suggested, is to be dated around the turn of the second and the first century B.C. The decoration on the relief pitchers bearing his name is akin to that on Megarian bowls of the long-petal variety, and these were popular in the latter half of the second century B.C. The form of lettering employed by Ariston agrees closely with that on dated documents of the late second century and that undoubtedly is the time when he lived and worked.³

PLAIN WARE

A. Water pitchers and jars. **A 48–56; B 12, 32, 33, 39, 42, 43; D 62, 63, 68, 69; E 125–135**

The carelessness of Athenian housemaids has been responsible for the appearance of perhaps an unduly large proportion of plain water jugs among the vases found in our wells and cisterns. It will be noticed that the big, plump pitcher with trefoil mouth

¹ Deonna, *B.C.H.* XXXII, 1908, pp. 159 f.; Courby, p. 365; *Pergamon*, VIII 2, p. 452, Nos. 936–940; Nilsson, "Timbres Amphoriques de Lindos" in *Exploration Archéologique de Rhodes*, V, Copenhagen, 1909, p. 394, No. 114; Grace, p. 229 of this Volume of *Hesperia*.

² Even the discovery of a lamp mould bearing Ariston's name in Attica does not, unfortunately, establish beyond question the existence of a factory of Ariston in that region. The mould might well have been imported, or, more likely still, it could have been made directly from an imported lamp bearing Ariston's name.

³ Broneer suggested (*Terracotta Lamps*, p. 65) that Ariston may have been the name of a firm originally seated in Athens, from where it may have established a branch factory in Delos at the time of the Athenian colonization of the island in 166 B.C. But Broneer was misled into attributing a long period of activity to Ariston by Courby's error in dating much too early the style of bowls to which Ariston's pitchers are related. It is quite impossible that lettering of the style used in his name should antedate 166 B.C. The broken bar in the *alpha*, for instance, is not known even in stone-cut inscriptions before the 60's of the second century and, as Mr. Sterling Dow points out to me, it is a precautionary device for cutting in stone undoubtedly originated by the stone cutter and so not likely to be copied in a safe medium such as soft clay until some time later.

occurs early, only in Well A (**A 48–51**). Its shape is based closely on that of the contemporary black-glaze pitcher, e.g. **A 36**. The glazed vessel was probably used for wine, the unglazed, whose porous walls would permit of perspiration, evaporation and cooling, for water. This shape early gave way to that represented by **A 53–55**, **B 39** and **E 127**: flat bottom, ovoid body, tall cylindrical neck finished above with a rolled lip and surrounded by a ridge at the level of the attachment of the strap handle. The clay shows a great variety of tints: pale yellow, greenish-yellow, buff, pink, brown. Pale yellow is the most common. Yet the texture is much the same in all: marked by numerous particles of grit and white matter. The clay undoubtedly all came from the same pits. Pitchers of this sort are the dominant form throughout our two centuries and they appear in unbelievable quantities of whole or broken specimens in some of the deep wells of this period. The actual shape underwent little change in all this time. A comparison of **E 129** with the earlier specimens will indicate the tendency of the neck to lose its perfectly cylindrical shape, becoming broader toward the top, and of the lip to flare, a characteristic common to practically all vessels of the period. A not uncommon variant in the same fabric is represented by the plain-mouthed, high-handled pitchers **A 52** and **B 12**.

This type of pitcher would seem to have been in vogue throughout the Aegean region in the Hellenistic age.¹ They were probably not made in Athens, for their clay is not typically Attic and both the fabric and the shape represent a sharp break from those of the plain pitchers in common use in Athens in the fourth and earlier centuries. Yet there was undoubtedly a single centre of production in the Hellenistic age. At present the evidence seems insufficient to fix that centre with certainty. The fabric is not unlike that of the modern products of Aegina. At the present day there is a flourishing manufacture of plain wares on the island and the Aeginetan water jar is recognized as the best in Greece. It is not impossible that the island industry has a long tradition.

In addition to the pitcher proper, intended not only for the carrying and keeping but also for the convenient pouring of water, there is a variety of large, plump jar with one or two handles (**D 63**; **E 125**, **128–132**) intended for the storage of liquids or solids before the day of the cheap tin can. Their clay is different from that of the group just described, yet in most cases it seems not to be Attic. Where they were made we cannot say.

Then too there is a group of plain, heavy-walled pots, mostly storage jars (e.g. **D 68**, **E 134**) but including also the funnel **E 136**, of coarse, buff clay sketchily decorated with straight and wavy lines and occasionally with garlands of ivy suspended between the handles. These may be Attic. This is not true of such other large jars as **D 69** and **E 135** decorated with floral designs applied over a coat of white paint.

¹ For finds on Aegina see the note on **A 53–55**. The type is common also at Corinth.

PLAIN WARE

B. Cooking vessels. **A 57, 58; C 69-75; D 64, 70-76; E 117, 118, 139-150**

Apart from the jars intended for water, there are others whose fire-blackened sides prove that they were used for cooking. These are round-bottomed pots of the simplest shape with one handle (**A 57, C 69**) or with two (**C 70, D 70** and **71**). On some (**C 70-72, D 70**) the lip was shaped to receive a lid such as **E 149**. Even here metallic influence made itself felt: in the grooves and the sharp rim profile of **C 70**, in the handles of **C 71** and **72**. The round bottom, which might seem so disturbing to a western housewife of today, accustomed to a flat-topped stove, was, of course, admirably adapted for use with the braziers on which most ancient (and modern) Greek cooking was done (Fig. 108).

For cooking on the same braziers were intended the plain casseroles represented by **C 73-75, D 72, E 141-145**, regularly intended to receive lids (**A 58, D 73-75, E 146-148**).¹ Pots of this type were, of course, indispensable in the Greek kitchen of all periods and on the Agora shelves their history may be traced back into the sixth century. On specimens of the sixth to fourth centuries the fabric is usually somewhat finer and the profile of the side-wall is more rounded than on ours; indeed, the earlier bowl is often watch-shaped. In that earlier period, also, the two vertical loop handles set close to the rim, which commonly appear on the casseroles of our period, were frequently supplemented by a long, tubular handle projecting upward from the shoulder. Within the limits of our period a consistent development in shape may be traced (Fig. 121). Our earliest specimen, **C 73**, still retains something of the well rounded side-wall. The steep angle of its rim and the double break in the line of its inside are also to be noted. In the later examples the profile of the bowl becomes more and more angular and the flaring lip intended for the lid is set flatter and flatter until the form of **E 141** was reached, a shape which carried through into Roman times and which indeed differs but little from that used by the modern Greek. Such was the common shape. A variant shape in the same fabric is represented by **E 145** (Figs. 106 and 121). The lids show little change from century to century: convex disks topped with big or little knobs.

In addition to these lidded bowls we find also flat, open plates, surprisingly like the modern pie-plate (**E 139** and **140**). In this period too there were still shallower plates fitted with long round handles: the ancient frying pan. The type is not represented in our groups.

Associated with the cooking vessels by identity of fabric and by their purpose are the braziers **D 76** and **E 150**.² And here again it was not, of course, the Hellenistic

¹ The casserole **E 141** and the lid **E 146** (Figs. 105 and 121) do not belong together, the lid being slightly too large.

² The most complete study of such braziers is by Conze in *Jahrb.* V, 1890, pp. 118 ff. Cf. also the study by F. Mayence of the specimens found on Delos (over 850 at the end of 1904): *B.C.H.* XXIX, 1905, pp. 373-404. For other specimens from the Agora see *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 189, fig. 6.

housewife who first felt the need of such a utensil. But the Athenian brazier of the fifth and fourth centuries was of quite a different form: a shallow bowl either circular or rectangular in plan with raised lugs on its flat rim to support the cooking vessel.

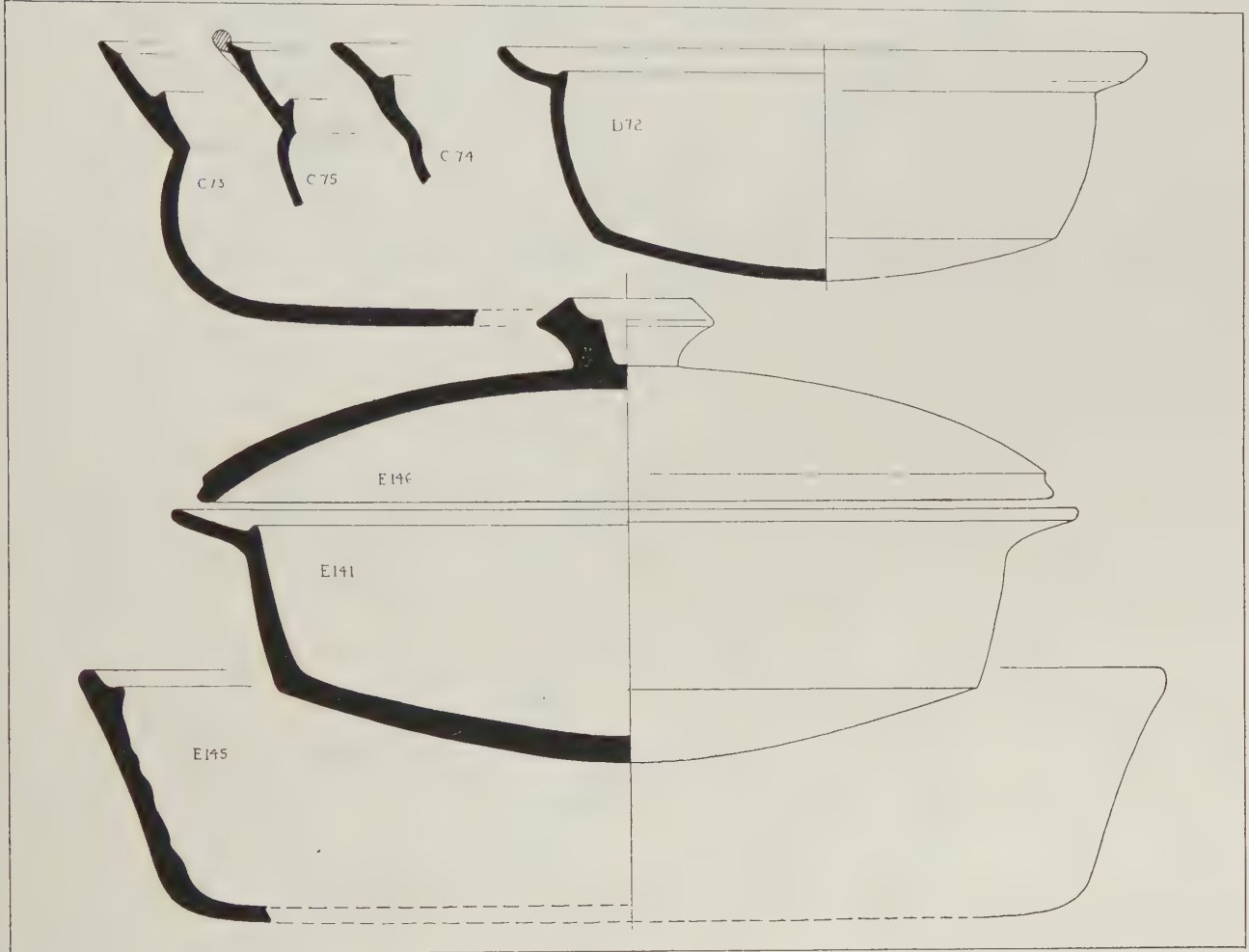


Fig. 121. Profiles of Casseroles. Scale 1:2

It, too, stood on a hollow stand pierced to admit of a draft, but bowl and stand combined seldom attained half the height of the Hellenistic brazier. The earlier specimens, moreover, were of quite a different clay: finer in texture, more buff in color. They may have been of local manufacture. This is almost certainly not the case with the later variety. Against its Athenian origin are the clay, the comparative paucity of specimens found in Athens, and, still more telling, the failure to find in Athens moulds for the shaping of the masks. But clearly, as soon as the new model was introduced,

it became popular with the Athenian housewife who must have been thoroughly weary of the old, low, back-breaking variety. Just when the high variety reached Athens is difficult to say. I have noticed one finely modelled lug, with satyr's mask, from the pits in the Stoa of Attalos. Their occurrence in Pithos D suggests a date at least equally early. Yet **D 76** is certainly not an early specimen. The superiority in design and execution of other examples from elsewhere in the Agora would suggest for them a date possibly fifty years earlier.

As already noted, the close similarity in fabric suggests that the braziers and cooking vessels were made in the same place, and, since it is practically certain that the braziers were imported, the same is probably true of most of the cooking vessels. Braziers of precisely the same type are found throughout the Mediterranean world and indeed they provide a small but significant indication of the community of ways and manners that developed in Hellenistic times. But nowhere are they found more commonly than on the Aegean islands, notably Delos. It is not unlikely that braziers and cooking pots alike were made on and disseminated from some one of those islands. Nor must it be thought strange that such coarse pottery should have been commonly imported and that to Athens. In modern times, just as Aegina is famous for her water jars, so Siphnos is noted for her cooking pots and braziers, of much the same shape and fabric as those from our wells and cisterns. In any Aegean port one may see little Siphnian sailing boats loaded to the gunwale and higher with such products, and the same wares are to be found on sale in shops and markets throughout Greece.

PLAIN WARE

C. Large basins and mortars. **A 59-63, 77-79; B 40, 41; C 61-68; D 65-67; E 119-124**

Our wells and cisterns have provided a good selection of the large wash basins necessary both in kitchen and lavatory. The very simplicity of the shape admitted of but little variation: a deep open bowl with steep sides which ordinarily carried down a little below the floor to provide a sort of false base-ring, an out-turned rim and a couple of vertical loop handles set close under it (Fig. 101). The clay has fired to various shades of red, yellow and brown but its texture is the same in practically all: coarse and often gritty. It scarcely requires the evidence of the *Fehlbrand*, **B 40**, to prove its Attic origin. In many cases the interior was covered with thin brown or reddish glaze. Occasionally the inner wall of these basins was striated by both horizontal and vertical strokes of a comb-like instrument drawn across the still soft clay. The three fragments from our groups that show this treatment have walls steeper than those of the ordinary basin (**A 63, C 68, E 122**).

For the development of the type, the rim profile is the most significant detail. On the earlier examples (**A 59-62**) the out-turned rim is flat on top, decorated some-

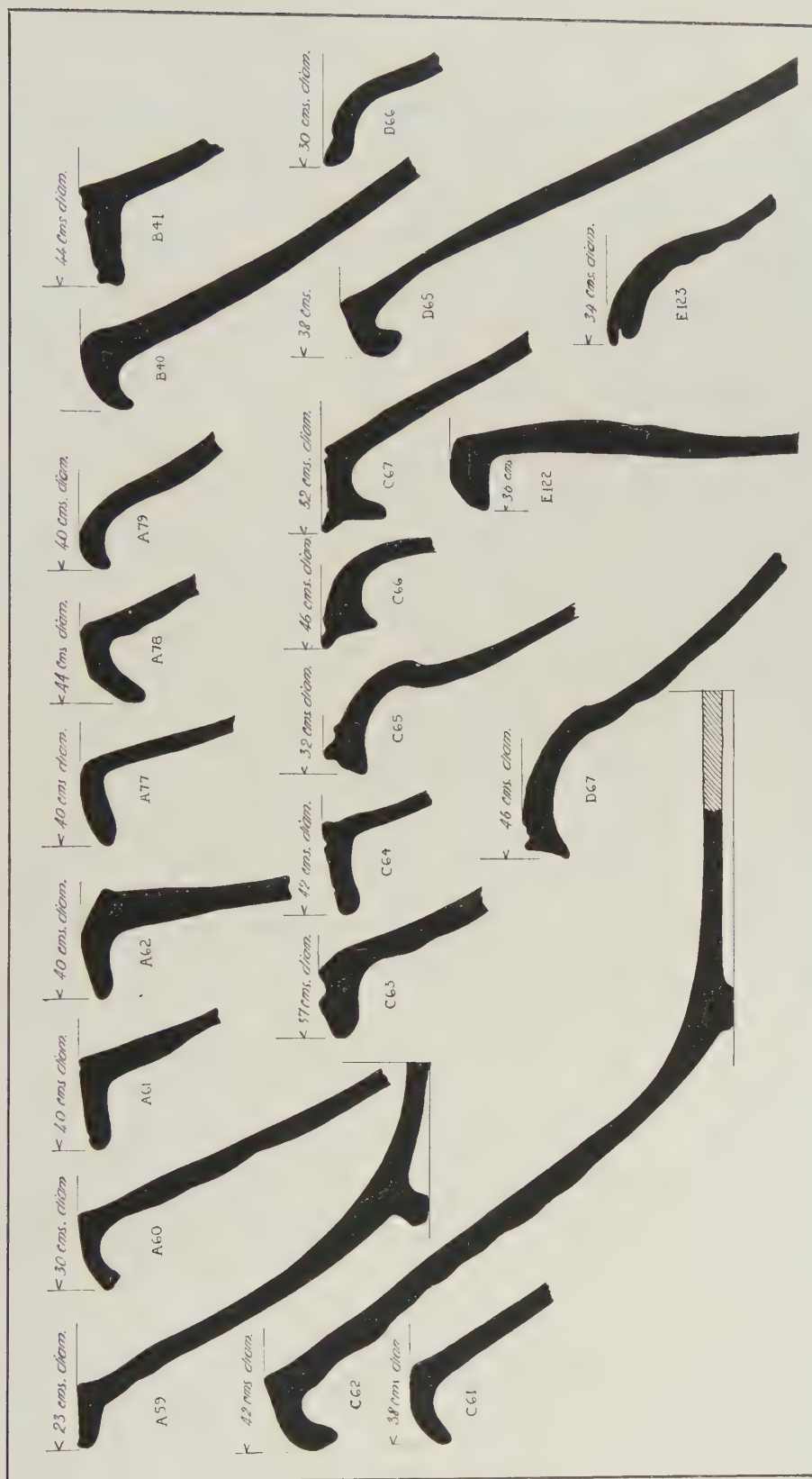


Fig. 122. Rim Profiles of Lekanai. Scale 1 : 2

times with a couple of shallow grooves with or without an incised zigzag line between, or else it is gently convex. In either case it is but slightly, if at all, turned down. These are the shapes that we find at the end of the fourth century and they are close enough to those used earlier in the century. The second-century shapes on the whole are markedly different. When the profile is simple, the lip is likely to be more sharply bent down than in earlier times (**C 62**, **E 119**, Figs. 101, 122). But in general the profile tends to be more elaborate; some of the deeply indented lips probably show the influence of metal work (**C 66** and **67**, **E 123**, Fig. 122). In common with other types of vessel of this age the basins show a slackening in their profiles: their lips tend to flare more, even to sag (**D 67**, **E 123**, Fig. 122) and to lose the crispness which had characterized them at the beginning.

Closely related to the large basins in shape and fabric are the household mortars represented by **E 124** (Fig. 102). It is surprising that our groups should contain but a single specimen in tolerable preservation. Its lip profile is essentially similar to those of the contemporary basins and the whole vessel is far removed from its predecessors of the fourth century. At that time the side-wall and lip were much heavier and the hand grips on the rim were often elaborately and pleasingly modelled.¹

BLISTER WARE

A 68, C 78

The amphoriskos **A 68** and the fragment from the base of a small pitcher **C 78** are of a distinctive fabric of which occasional pieces have been found in the excavations both of the Agora and of the Pnyx. The small, flat-bottomed pitcher would seem to be the commonest shape, but in addition to the pitchers and the amphoriskos I have noticed also a lamp, from the filling of the great double stoa along the south side of the Agora, of the form of Broneer's Type IX. The clay is fine in texture and distinctive in color. Occasionally it is ash-gray through and through. Again, it may be gray save for the inner or the outer surface, one or other or both of which may have fired to a dull orange color. Of another fragment I have noticed that the core and both surfaces fired red, the space between, gray. The name has been suggested by the common occurrence on the surface of blister-like protuberances caused probably during the firing by the explosion of particles of water lodged in the clay. That the effect was deliberately sought is proven by a fragment from the Stoa of Attalos in which similar protuberances were produced on the outside by pressing on the wall from the inside. The potter left his finger prints.

¹ For fourth-century examples from Corinth cf. *A.J.A.* XXXVII, 1933, p. 147. A good many of the same century have been found on the Pnyx and will be published along with the other small finds from there.

The earliest datable specimens of the ware, to my knowledge, are the amphoriskos from the depths of the Well A and the lamp of Type IX mentioned above. These two pieces must be from the turn of the fourth and third centuries. The ware would seem to have continued in use, though never very popular, for some time. I have noted fragments of at least three vases from the pits in the Stoa of Attalos.

Whether the ware was made in Attica from some special clay bank or by some particular shop, or whether it was imported and if so from where, are questions which must await further evidence.

GRAY WARE

E 154-158

Cistern E yielded several fragments of a fabric marked by its fine, ash-gray clay and its hard, metallic-gray glaze. Its profile (Fig. 116) and the decoration on its floor (Fig. 115) mark off the best preserved plate (**E 154**) from the contemporary local pieces. Its comparatively flat floor and high rim remind one of Pergamene plates but the base-ring is quite different from anything in that ware. The hemispherical bowl (**E 157**) and the fragment from the mouth of a pitcher (**E 158**) are not distinctive enough in their profiles to assist one in placing the ware. The clay and glaze of the group are very close to those of the relief krater **E 153** which we have found reason to assign with some assurance to a Pergamene school. In suggesting that attribution we had, indeed, to suppose that the fabric of the krater was, if not unparalleled, at any rate unusual among the products of that school. But in the case of the plates we should scarcely venture to fly in the face of irregularities both of fabric and profile. While not assigning the group to Pergamon we may perhaps be not wrong in supposing that it did come from the Asian coast. Lamps of a closely similar fabric are not uncommon in that region and there, too, bucchero ware, of which our gray ware is reminiscent, continued to be made down into Hellenistic times.¹

PERGAMENE WARE

E 151. E 152

From the Cistern E come fragments of two plates which agree precisely in fabric and shape with others found earlier in the Agora excavations and already assigned by Waagé to Pergamon.² The clay shows the same yellowish-buff color and extremely fine texture and the plates have the same flat floor and high rim. The present fragments have a chronological interest, for they come from the earliest datable context so far to yield

¹ For Hellenistic bucchero in Samos cf. Technau, *Ath. Mitt.* LIV, 1929, p. 48. Cf. also W. Lamb, *J.H.S.* LII, 1932, p. 3.

² *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 285-287. See also Waagé, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, I, pp. 68 ff.

this fabric in the Agora. It does not yet appear in Pithos D. No specimens of it have so far been found in the Stoa of Attalos nor yet in the filling of the great double stoa across the south side of the market-place, a building probably contemporary with the Stoa of Attalos. The available evidence, therefore, suggests that this ware came into use in Athens in the second half of the second century B.C.

The two plates, combined with the relief krater **E 153**, have also an historical interest, adding as they do to our evidence for the relations between Pergamon and Athens in the second century. In the political, artistic and sentimental fields those relations are known to have been close. Our finds are witnesses to commercial intercourse.

FUSIFORM UNGUENTARIA¹

A 64, 65; B 6, 7, 44; C 76, 77; D 77, 78; E 137, 138

This spindle-shaped vessel is one of the most ubiquitous and characteristic of Hellenistic vases, appearing commonly not only in tombs but almost invariably in house deposits of the period. Although specimens have been found in all parts of the Mediterranean region, the uniformity of fabric points to a single place of origin.

In the earlier specimens the walls are often astonishingly thin and fragile; the clay fine, dull red inside, dark gray, sometimes almost black on both surfaces, and fired hard. Later, the clay tends to be coarser and has frequently fired to a dirty ash-gray color throughout. The walls, too, become thicker. Ordinarily, the sole decoration consists of three narrow bands of white paint, around neck, shoulder and body, a tradition which persisted throughout the history of the type. The development can be traced most closely from the shape. The earlier specimens are almost always plump, showing a well rounded belly, and sometimes, especially on the smaller bottles, a well defined shoulder between side-wall and neck. At first, both lip and foot were carefully modelled on the wheel, the lip invariably showing a considerable projection and a bevelled edge, the foot a slight flare. As time went on, the body tended to become more and more slender, the neck to swell and to flare toward the top so that on many late examples the diameter of the lip is equal to or greater than that of the body (**D 77** and **78**). At the same time, the wheel work became more careless, so that, although the lip retained very much its old profile, the foot was often not set off from the stem by special moulding. Though stout specimens may occur late, with these other criteria in mind one need not be deceived in their date.

¹ It is needless to cite the great numbers of published specimens. So far as I am aware, no thorough-going study of the type has been made. Among the more useful notes the reader may consult the following: Dragendorff, *Thera*, II, 1903, pp. 283 f. (D. speaks of examples of this type as late as of the first century A.D. found in Germany and Tarentum); Zahn, *Priene*, p. 428; Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I, *Les petits objets*, Berlin, 1931, p. 738, Nos. 3165-3169; Van Ingen, *C.V.A., U.S.A.* 3, *University of Michigan*, 1, 1934, p. 67.

Their presence in each of our five groups provides good evidence not only for their relative but also their absolute chronology. **B 6** and **7** were found in definite association with the late r. f. pelikai, **B 1** and **2**, and may without question be assigned to the end of the fourth century.¹ **A 64** and **65** will be not much later. The specimens from the Cistern C (**C 76** and **77**) may be taken as typical of the early second century and those from D and E (**D 77** and **78**, **E 137** and **138**) of the latter part of that century. Numerous fragments from the pits in the Stoa of Attalos were closest in type to those of our Group C and I have seen none from the Stoa that need be as late as those from Group D. That those fragments from its filling, however, are considerably earlier than the Stoa is shown by comparison with the pieces of Group D and is confirmed by specimens from a tomb at Corinth that must shortly have antedated its destruction in 146 B.C. (unpublished, cf. p. 370). These Corinthian pieces are closely similar to those from the Pithos D.² How much longer the fusiform type continued before it was supplanted by the bulbous form common in Roman times, we cannot say. The old type probably died out in the first century B.C. In graves (unpublished) of the early Roman period in Corinth (the city was refounded in 44 B.C.) the bulbous type is found.

It was long supposed (on scriptural authority)³ that these flasks were intended to receive the tears of the mourners and then to be placed in the grave,—hence the name “tear-bottle.” It seems more probable that they were intended for the transport of unguents which might be used for daily needs but which would also find an appropriate place in the service of the dead. Unguents came from the east, and so presumably did their containers. From just what part these bottles came we cannot say with certainty. Myres suggested Syria.⁴ They seem to have begun to reach the Greek world regularly in the closing years of the fourth century,—with but a single exception I know of none from contexts that need be dated earlier than the specimens discussed above. We may suppose that the producers of the unguents who put up their wares in such flasks established regular contact with the Greek world as an immediate result of Alexander’s conquests and plied a profitable and continuous trade for some three centuries thereafter.

¹ This dating is confirmed by the finding of a specimen like **B 6** in shape in a tomb at Phalasarna in West Crete accompanied by r.f. pottery not much later than the middle of the fourth century (*Mon. Ant.* XI, 1901, cols. 377–378, fig. 66 k), and by the discovery of another example closely similar to our **B 7** along with a drachma of Alexander in a tomb at Pergamon that Jacobsthal would assign to the early years of the kingdom (*Ath. Mitt.* XXXIII, 1908, pp. 430, 436, pl. XXVI, 1). Another flask, similar to our **B 7**, was found in a tomb at Delphi dated by Perdrizet to ca. 400 B.C. (*Delphes*, V, pp. 12 and 163 ff., p. 166, Nos. 345–349, fig. 698). But there is a remarkable range in the objects found in the tomb and some, at least, are doubtless considerably later than 400 B.C.

² Other dated specimens of this period are those from the Aeginetan tomb, probably of 144–133 B.C. (*Arch. Anz.* 1931, cols. 274 ff., figs. 34 and 35).

³ *Ps.* 56, 8.

⁴ *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus*, New York, 1914, p. 120, No. 994. But M. gives no evidence for this suggestion. He places the *floruit* of the flasks in the second and third centuries A.D.!

That those producers had already been using the same type of container for two centuries before they began to ship regularly to Greece is proved by the exception noted above. This is a very plump and archaic looking specimen, marked, however, by the unmistakable gray clay, and the shape, not only of body, neck and stem, but even of lip and foot. Around neck and shoulder there are many lines of dark paint and around the body, two. It was found in a Rhodian grave along with black-figure pottery (an oinochoe shows Andocidean influence).¹

The early date of this piece excludes Alexandria as the home of the type and indeed Egypt in general is probably eliminated by the scarcity of such flasks in the cemetery at Chatby.² Syria, which Myres had already suggested, remains, and its case is strengthened by its proximity to the place of finding of that early, stray export.³

LOOM-WEIGHTS

A 69; B 13, 14, 34, 45, 47; D 80

The terracotta weights used by the ancients to hold taut the vertical threads in their upright looms have been found in quantity in the Agora as in all excavations on Greek sites.⁴ Our groups have yielded specimens of the two types most commonly found in

¹ *Clara Rhodos*, IV, 1931, Burial CCXXIII, p. 379, fig. 427. There is a similar specimen in Würzburg, from Athens (Langlotz-Hahland, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, 1932, No. 672, pl. 254).

² Fusiform unguentaria have, however, been found in graves in the Fayûm. Grenfell, Hunt and Hogarth, *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*, London, 1900, pl. X b 2, 6, 11, 12, 18, 24: from the cemetery of Harit, tombs of the "middle class," i.e. later Ptolemaic and early Roman (pp. 55 and 59).

³ The shape is found also in silver: a handsome, engraved specimen from a South Russian grave (*Compte Rendu*, 1880, pl. IV, 9) and a plainer piece in the National Museum at Athens (No. 13,144, from the early second century Aetolian tomb, *Eph. Arch.* 1906, cols. 77 ff.). This must be one of the rare instances of the metal worker imitating the potter, for it is incredible that the original should have been of metal. Numerous other variations occur: a flask from a Hellenistic tomb at Sparta with lugs, and white, painted decoration on its shoulders (*B.S.A.* XIII, 1906-1907, p. 162, fig. 7 c); a plump flask from Chatby with geometric designs in white paint on its shoulder (*Sciatbi*, I, p. 48, No. 87, fig. 35); a specimen with two vertical, loop handles rising from its shoulder, yellow strips bordered with purple around neck, shoulder, body and stem, and tall leaves in yellow paint around the lower part of the body (National Museum, No. 2344, from Megara); a black-glaze bottle with shoulder lugs (Baur, *Stoddard Collection*, No. 503, fig. 107). The shape may ultimately be based on that of early glass bottles, likewise made in Syria (?).

⁴ Miss Gladys Davidson is preparing an exhaustive study of loom-weights in connection with the impending publication of the small finds from Corinth. In the meantime, the reader may consult: A. Dumont, *Inscriptions céramiques de Grèce*, Paris, 1872, pp. 50 ff., pp. 408 ff., with discussion of the stamps ΓΑΥΚ and ΜΕΑ on pp. 51, 408, 410 and pl. III B; Pottier et Reinach, *La Nécropole de Myrina*, Paris, 1887, pp. 246 ff., with notice of the stamps on p. 250; Perdrizet, *Delphes*, V, pp. 197 ff., Nos. 598-618 (discoid), 619-623 (conical, No. 621 stamped: ΜΕΑΙΣ); *Olynthus*, II, Chapter VI, "Loom Weights" by Lillian M. Wilson, with a discussion, but no adequate illustration, of the numerous seal impressions found on the weights of that site and valuable notes on the method of use; Graef-Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, Berlin, 1925, I, Nos. 2751-2760, pl. 113: pyramidal weights with owls, palmettes, a female head, a helmet, etc. painted on their faces. Pyramidal and conical weights similar to ours in shape were found together in quantities in the Alexandrian cemetery of Chatby, dating from the early years of the city. *Sciatbi*, I, p. 91, figs. 56 and 57. For ΜΕΑΙΣ and ΓΑΥΚ in the Asklepieion in Corinth, see *A.J.A.* XXXVII, 1933, p. 438.

Athens, *viz.* the truncated pyramid (**A 69**, **B 13**) and the cone (**B 14**, **34**, **45**, **47**; **D 80**). That the pyramidal are the earlier is proven by their presence in two of our earliest contexts and by their absence in the later.

The pyramidal weight was apparently made by pressing the clay into a mould open at the larger end. The hole (or holes) for the attachment of the thread was pierced after the clay was removed from the mould: the finger prints of the piercer may sometimes be read where they were impressed in the soft clay. The clay used is invariably the fine, buff-colored Attic. Usually the weight was held by the bottom and dipped into a bowl of glaze so that only the upper part was covered. Seal impressions of various subjects and stamped palmettes are commonly found on weights of this type but they do not appear among ours.

At a certain time there was an abrupt change from the pyramidal to the conical shape. The change in shape was accompanied by a change in technique: the conical weight is ordinarily moulded by hand. Among the earlier examples of the type the clay is clean and fine, but with the later less care was taken (**D 80**). That the clay is invariably Attic is not at all certain. It is usually a dull buff in color but occasionally a greenish yellow tinge suggests Corinth. Our example **B 14** is one of the very rare specimens of the type that show any trace of glaze. On the conical weights, too, one frequently finds delicate seal impressions. The maker's double stamp which appears on **B 45** is also common and similar weights bearing that stamp have been found widely throughout Greece. The stamp ΜΕΛΙΣ (p. 393) is also found on not a few weights. It is clear from the contexts in which the weights with those stamps were found in our groups that they must occur on the earliest specimens of the conical type.

Our groups also provide a useful clue to the precise time when the change in types occurred. From the depths of Well A, *i.e.* from a context of the turn of the fourth and third centuries, the one weight was pyramidal (**A 69**). From the south chamber of the Cistern B, which was closed up probably in the early third century, there came one pyramidal and one conical weight (**B 13** and **14**). From the other groups there are none but conical. We may, then, date the change from the pyramidal to the conical type at the turn of the fourth and third centuries. Other closed groups from the Agora excavations confirm this date and go to prove that the conical weight of the kind represented here does not appear in Athens before the end of the fourth century and that the pyramidal type definitely went out of favor at that time.¹

¹ In a great mass of filling used in building up the latest auditorium on the Pnyx, several hundred loom-weights were found. Save for an occasional pocket yielding Roman pottery, the material from this filling (lamps, sherds, etc.) belonged to the last quarter of the fifth and the first three quarters of the fourth century. It produced not a single specimen of the conical type of weight under discussion. There were, indeed, a number of conical weights but these were wheel-made and were perfect cones in shape. Cf. *Hesperia*, I, 1931, p. 181.

Excavations elsewhere in the Agora and on the Pnyx have produced a few roughly hand-made weights, discoid in shape and doubly pierced. They are found together with weights of the conical sort described here, which they resemble in their clay and lack of glaze.

As for the earlier history of the loom-weight, the pyramidal type may be traced back to the seventh century. Specimens found with Proto-attic pottery show the same essential shape as those from our groups.¹ For the later history, our evidence is meagre. So far, we have few good closed deposits of the first century B.C. and of the first century A.D. But in fillings dating from the second century A.D. and later the loom-weight is conspicuous by its absence. In the interval it had probably been rendered unnecessary by the change from the vertical to the horizontal loom.²

¹ Cf. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 599 ff., fig. 70.

² It must not be supposed that the same types or the same sequence of types are to be found on other Greek sites. At Olynthos, for instance, the conical was the most popular type in use in the last days of the city, before 348 B.C.

INDEX

Numbers in plain type refer to pages; those in bold face to the descriptions of the objects in their respective catalogues

- Acropolis of Athens, **C 42**; **D 40**; 474
- Aegina, **A 39**, 53–55; **C 10**, 73 75; **E 72**, 88, 126, 145; 459, 465, 468, 473
- Aetolia, second-century tomb at Gabalou, **C 54**; **D 14**, 64; 347, 434, 461, 474
- Alcibiades, 447
- Alexandria (including all objects mentioned in *Exped. E. von Sieglin*), **A 9–13**, 14 18, 19, 29, 73; **E 79**; 428 f., 438, 441, 445, 446, 450, 457, 461
- Amphora, **B 3**, 35; **C 11**; **D 25–27**, 33, 68; **E 59–61**, 125; 432, 439, 440, 442, 444, 445, 456
- Amphora (wine, with stamped handle), 313, 332, 347, 369, 393, 394, 463
- Amphoriskos, **A 68**; **E 126**; 470
- Amymone, **C 42**
- Antioch, **E 115**; 458 n. 3, 471 n. 2
- Aphrodite, **B 20**, 37
- Apollo, **C 18**; **E 81**
- Apulia, 441
- Areopagus, 330, 369, 443, 447
- Ariston, **E 106**; 463 f.
- Arretine Ware, 434, 458
- Artemis, **C 18**; 456
- Asia Minor, 446, 450, 458, 462
- Askos, **B 31**; 442
- Athena, 425 f.
- Attalos I, 425 f.
- Attalos II, **A 53–55**; 426, 457
- Attalos III, **A 53 55**
- Barbotine Ware, **D 79**
- Basins, **A 59–63**, 77–79; **B 40**, 41; **C 61–68**; **D 65–67**; **E 119–124**; 468 ff.
- Black-Figure Ware, 474
- Black-Glaze Ware, **A 1–37**, 70 72; **B 5**, 15–18, 31, 48; **C 1–10**; **D 1–24**; **E 1–58**; 429 ff.
- Blister Ware, **A 68**; **C 78**; 470 f.
- Boeotia, 458, 459
- Bone Objects, 332, 369, 393, 394
- Bowl (footed), 442 n. 2
- Bowl (except Megarian), **A 6–24**, 71, 72; **B 15**, 26; **C 3–7**; **D 2–12**, 14–18, 32, 64; **E 33–50**, 52, 53, 69, 117, 118, 157, 159; 432, 435 ff., 438, 471; with lion's-head spout, **D 13**; **E 57**
- Brazier, **D 76**; **E 150**; 466 ff.
- Bronze Objects, 332, 393
- Buechero (Hellenistic), 471
- Casserole, **C 73–75**; **D 72**; **E 141–145**; lids, **A 58**, **D 73 75**, **E 146–148**; 466
- Chatby, **A 7**, 20, 26, 27, 30, 36, 41, 73; **B 15**, 17–19, 23, 24, 31, 32, 36; **D 16**, 64; **E 133**, 145; 315, 332, 427, 429, 450, 474
- Chronology,
- Ariston, the potter, 464
 - Black-Glaze Ware, 437 f.
 - Blister Ware, 471
 - Groups, 312; **A**, 315; **B**, 332; **C**, 347; **D**, 370; **E**, 394
 - Kernoi, 448, 449 f.
 - Lagynoi, 451
 - Lamps, 460 ff.
 - Megarian Bowls, 457 f.
 - Pergamene Ware, 471 f.
 - Red-Figure Pelikai, 429
 - Unguentaria, 473 f.
 - West Slope Ware, 445 f.
- Cistern, 312, 317, 345, 447 n. 3, 457
- Closed Vase, **D 69**
- Coins, **C 36**; 331 f., 347, 370, 394, 447 n. 5, 449
- Combed Ware, **A 63**; **C 68**, 79; **E 122**; 468
- Cooking Pot, **A 57**; **C 69 72**; **D 64**, 70, 71; **E 117**, 118, 139, 140; 466 ff.
- Corinth, **D 38**, 56–59; **E 58**; 370, 443, 446, 458, 460, 465 n. 1, 470 n. 1, 473, 475
- Courby, F., 425, 454 n. 1
- Crete, 442 n. 2, 448 n. 3, 473 n. 1
- Cups, 434
- Cyprus, 441, 442 n. 2, 450
- Cyrenaica, 440 n. 1
- Delos, **C 29**, 58; **D 32**, 38, 40, 41, 47, 53, 56–59; **E 73**, 86, 113; 370, 450, 456 n. 1, 458 n. 2, 459, 461 f., 463, 468
- Delphi, **A 24**, 26, 39; **B 23**, 24; **D 34**, 38; **E 88**; 441, 445, 473 n. 1
- Demeter, **E 153**; 447
- Demetrios of Phaleron, 448
- Dionysos, **B 23**; **E 153**
- Dipylon, 443, 451

- Dörpfeld, W., 443
 Egypt, influence of, 455, 457, 458
 Eleusinia, 447 n. 5
 Eleusinion, 447
 Eleusis, 332, 448 ff.
 Eretria, **E 72**; 370
 Eros, **C 21, 26, 27, 43, 44, 48**; **D 34, 35**; **E 153**; 456
 Eumenides, sanctuary of, 447 n. 5
 Faience, **C 36**; **E 58**
Fehlbrand, **B 40**; 451, 468
 Funnel, **E 136**; 465
 Gauls, 441
 Geometric Ware, 332, 442 f.
 Germany, 472 n. 1
 Glass, **A 74**; **E 159**; 332, 474 n. 3
 Glaze, quality and character of, 430, 440, 441, 452 f., 461, 462
 Goblet, 442 n. 2
 Graffiti, **A 7, 8, 15**; **D 14, 15**; **E 44, 45, 73**; 332, 393
 Gray Ware, **E 154-158**; 471
 Groups of Pottery, **A**, 313 ff., 461, 465, 475; **B**, 330 ff., 445, 461, 475; **C**, 461, 473; **D**, 369 ff., 435, 446, 458, 468, 473; **E**, 392 ff., 435, 462, 471
 Hermes, **B 24**
 Hobling, M., 425
 "Homeric Bowls," 458
 Houses or Shops, 313, 330, 331, 369, 392
 Hydria, **A 73**; 438
 Inkwell, **E 58**
 Inscriptions,
 on moulds, 451 n. 3
 on pottery, **B 20, 23, 24, 37, 45**; **D 76**; **E 106**; 450, 463 f., 474 f.
 on stone, 394, 447 n. 5
 Iron objects, 347, 370
 Italy, 441, 443, 447 n. 1, 458
 Jar, **D 63**; **E 128 132**; 393, 442
 Jug, **D 19**; **E 58**; 437
 Kabeiric Ware, 444, 446
 Kantharos, **A 27 35, 39, 73**; **B 4, 8, 19, 21 25**; **C 53**; **D 29**; **E 67**; 432, 434, 438, 440, 442 n. 2, 444 f.
 Kernos, **A 40**; **B 9, 10, 27 29**; 447 ff.
 Kolonos Agoraios, 345, 443
 Kourouniotes, K., 311 n. 1, 447 n. 2, 448 n. 4
 Krater, **B 17, 18, 20, 46**; **C 36, 53**; **E 153**; 432, 438, 445, 456 n. 1, 471 f.
 Kybele, 447 n. 3
 Kylis, 432
 Lagynos, **C 15**; **D 30 31, 32** (pyxis of lagynos fabric); **E 70 73**; 450 ff.
 Lamps, **A 41-47**; **B 11, 30, 38**; **C 54 60**; **D 53-61**; **E 87-116**; 315 n. 1, 347, 369, 394, 425, 451 (moulds), 460 ff., 471
 Type VII a, **A 41**; **B 38**; 460
 VII b, **A 42-44**; **B 11, 30**; 460
 VIII, **A 45**; 460
 IX, **A 47**; 460
 X, **E 88**
 ca. XII, **C 54-57**; **D 55**; **E 89-96**; 461
 XVIII, **C 59**; **D 56-60**; **E 97-114, 116**; 462 f.
 XIX, **C 60**; **D 61**; **E 115**
 "Ephesos," **D 61**; 462
 "Knidos," **D 55**; 461, 462
 7-nozzled, **D 55**
 with central tube, **C 58**; **D 53, 54**; **E 87**
 unclassified, **A 46**
 La-Tène Ware, 441
 Lead Objects, 313, 369, 394
 Lebes, **A 25**
 Lekane, *see* basin
 Lekythos, 437
 Leroux, G., 450 n. 4
 Leto, **E 153**
 Loom-weight,
 conical, **B 14, 34, 45, 47**; **D 80**; 393, 474 ff.
 discoid, 474 n. 4
 pyramidal, **A 69**; **B 13**
 Macedonia, **B 46**; 458 n. 3
 Maenad, **E 153**
 Marble objects, 332, 393
 Megara, 311, 474 n. 3
 Megarian Bowls and related ware, **A 74-76**; **B 4**; **C 16 53**; **D 34 52**; **E 69, 74-86, 153, 159**; 311, 315, 426, 432, 440 n. 1, 442, 445, 451 ff., 462
 Free-hand drawing, 452
 Moulds, 451 f., 458, 459
 Origin, 455
 Patterns,
 Acanthus leaves, **C 18, 51, 52**; **E 79**; 451 n. 3
 Amymone, **C 42**
 Apollo, **C 18**; **E 81**
 Aree flowers, **C 35**; **D 45**
 Artemis, **C 18**
 Birds, **C 17, 21, 24, 26, 52**; **D 35**; 451 n. 3, 455, 456
 Bracteate leaves, **C 30 36**. *See* scale-like leaves
 Buds, **C 40**
 Cocks, **C 22**
 Combat scenes, **C 20**; 456
 Divinities, **C 18**
 Dolphins, **C 20, 27, 31**; **D 35, 36, 47**; 456

- Egg-and-dart, **C** 30–36; **D** 35, 37, 47; **E** 75, 76, 80, 83, 84; 457
- Erotes, **C** 21, 23, 27, 43, 44, 48; **D** 34, 35; 456
- Floral decoration, **C** 16, 17, 38; **D** 37; **E** 79; 457
- Flute-player, **C** 50
- Fronds, **C** 23, 27, 40; **D** 40
- Geese, flying, **D** 36
- Girl, **C** 43
- Goat, galloping, **C** 48
- Goats, rampant, **C** 23, 26, 43, 45–47; **D** 34, 38; 456
- Gorgoneion, **C** 18, 19, 21, 22; **D** 34
- Grape-vine, **A** 74; **C** 51; 451
- Grapes, **C** 22, 26, 43
- Guilloche, **C** 16, 19, 23; **D** 34; 452
- Hoplite, **C** 20
- Horses, of a quadriga, **E** 80
- Idyllic scenes, **C** 21–27; **D** 34, 36
- Imbricate leaves, 451, 455; *see also* scale-like leaves
- Jewelled lines, **D** 41; **E** 69, 74, 78; 451, 457
- Jewelled lozenges, **C** 27
- Knight, **C** 20
- Krater, **B** 20; **C** 21–26, 36; **D** 34, 36, 49
- Leopard, **C** 44
- Lion, **C** 49
- Lotus petals, **A** 74; **C** 16, 17 (*nymphaea coerulea*), 23–25, 38; **E** 79; 455, 456
- Masks, **C** 18, 22, 23, 26, 37; **D** 35; 456
- Medallion, plain, **D** 38, 42–44; **E** 77; 451 n. 3, 457
- Medallion, rosette, **A** 74; **C** 23, 29, 38–41; **D** 35, 37, 39; **E** 74, 76, 78, 79, 83; 451 n. 3, 457
- Network, **D** 38, 51
- Nike, **C** 21, 22; **E** 82
- Nodules, **C** 29, 53; 451, 455, 457
- Ovules, **C** 20–22; **E** 82; 457
- Palaestra scenes, **C** 19
- Palm branches, 455
- Palmettes, **C** 21, 23
- Pendant garlands, **C** 21
- Petals, swirling, **D** 41; **E** 85; 457
- Petals, long, **D** 39, 40, 42, 44; **E** 74–77; 451, 454, 456 ff., 459
- Poseidon, **C** 42
- Rabbit's head, **D** 50
- Ribbed leaves, **C** 19, 21, 24, 26, 28, 38; 451 n. 3
- Rose, **C** 25
- Rosettes, **A** 74; **C** 18, 22, 23; **D** 36; **E** 69; 452; *see* medallion
- Satyrs, **C** 21–25; 456
- Scale-like leaves, **A** 74, 76; **C** 18; *see* imbricate leaves
- Semicircles, **E** 78
- Spikes, **C** 16
- Spirals, double, **A** 74; **C** 16, 19, 23, 32, 35, 36; **D** 35, 37; **E** 69, 83, 84
- Spirals, quadruple, **A** 74
- Spirals, running, **C** 17
- Sprays, **A** 74, 75; **E** 69, 83
- Statuary groups, **C** 18; 456
- Tendrils, **C** 16, 38; **D** 47; **E** 83; 451 f.
- Volutes, **C** 25
- Wreath, of leaves, **C** 27; **E** 69; 456
- Youth, **C** 19, 43, 49
- Scratched lines, 454
- Shapes, 454, 459
- Stamps, 452
- Melos, **D** 30
- Metal work, influence of, **D** 64; **E** 79, 153; 311 f., 432, 435, 440, 455, 458, 466, 470, 474 n. 3
- Metroön, 443, 447 n. 3
- Metropolis, church, 447 n. 5
- Miltos, **A** 74; **B** 17, 18, 46; **C** 11; **E** 60, 62; 439, 454
- Mortar, **E** 124; 470
- Myrina, 459, 474 n. 4
- Nimion, 448
- Nike, **C** 21, 22; **E** 82
- Oinochoe, **A** 36, 37; **C** 13
- Olympia, **E** 82
- Olynthos, **A** 1, 7, 14–18, 19, 21, 24, 26, 27, 41–44, 56, 70; **B** 17, 18, 31, 32; **C** 69; **D** 16, 53; 315 n. 1, 332, 427, 430, 434, 461, 474 n. 4, 476 n. 2
- Pagenstecher, R., 438
- Palermo, **B** 33; **E** 126
- Peiraeus, 463
- Pelike, **A** 56; **B** 1, 2; 332, 442 n. 2, 444, 445, 473
- Peparethos, **C** 36
- Pergamene Ware, **E** 151, 152; 432, 434, 435, 471
- Pergamon, **A** 9–13, 73; **B** 26; **C** 12; **D** 8, 10, 12; **E** 79, 82, 153; 440 n. 1, 441, 445, 446, 462, 463, 471, 473 n. 1
- Pitcher, **A** 48, 55; **B** 12, 32, 33, 39; **C** 8–10, 14, 78, 79; **D** 20–24, 62, 79; **E** 54, 55, 127, 133, 158; 430, 432, 437, 445, 463, 464 ff., 470, 471
- Pithos, **B** 42, 43; *see also* storage basin
- Plain Ware, **A** 48–63, 77–79; **B** 12, 32, 33, 39–43; **C** 61–75; **D** 62–76; **E** 117–150; 464 ff.
- Plastic decoration, **A** 30, 31; **B** 4, 21; **C** 11, 71, 72; **D** 13, 25–27, 56–59; **E** 57, 59, 97–107, 153; 444
- Plate, **A** 1, 2, 70; **C** 1; **D** 1; **E** 1–26, 62, 63, 139, 140, 151, 152, 154, 156; 430, 432, 434 f., 438, 445, 466, 471

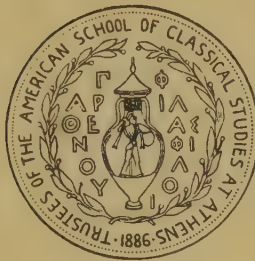
- Pnyx Hill, **E 63** n. 1, 451, 459, 470, 475 n. 1
 Poseidon, **C 42**
 Priene, **A 3-5, 35; C 8, 10, 23, 29, 58; D 9, 16, 20, 21; E 1 15, 46-48, 58, 73, 78, 133; 459, 462, 472 n. 1**
 Proto-attic Ware, 332, 476
 Protocorinthian Ware, 332
 Proto-geometric Ware, 442 ff.
 Ptolemy Philadelphus, **A 36**
 Pyxis, **B 16; E 51, 65; 426, 442**
 Red-Figure, **B 1, 2; 332, 427 ff., 438 f., 440**
 Relief Ware (not Megarian Bowls), **C 12; E 69, 153; 313, 434**
 Rhodes, 462, 463 f., 472 n. 1, 474
 Rome, 463
 Rouletting, **A 1, 2, 6-9, 13, 14, 16, 70-72; B 15; C 1, 5; D 5-8, 11, 12, 16; E 41, 46-48, 52, 53, 156; 432**
 Samian Ware, 434
 Samos, Heraeum, **A 3-5, 14-19, 29; B 5, 15, 20; 471 n. 1**
 Sardes, **D 8, 64**
 Satyr, **C 21-25; E 153; 456**
 Saucer, **A 66, 67; C 12; 430, 432**
 Saucer (furrowed rim), **A 3-5, 38; C 2; E 27-32; 435, 438**
 Schefold, K., 427 n. 1
 Schwabacher, W., 311 n. 1, 451
 Seal impressions, **B 45; 475**
 Siphnos, 468
 Skyphos, **A 26; 432**
 South Russia, **C 29, 36; D 26, 30, 38; E 79, 153; 332, 427, 440 n. 2, 442 n. 2, 445 n. 4, 446, 459, 474 n. 3**
 Sparta, **C 42; D 8; E 43, 89, 153; 425, 458 n. 3, 474 n. 3**
 Spindle-Whorl, **B 48**
 Stacking, 430, 454
 Stamnos, **E 134**
 Stamped Patterns, **A 1, 6, 7, 13-16, 71, 72; B 15; C 1, 5; D 5-8; E 16, 17, 41; 430 ff.**
 Stoa of Attalos, pottery from, **D 56-59; E 146; 311 n. 1, 370, 434, 443, 446, 457, 468, 471 f., 473**
 Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, 345, 447 n. 3
 Stucco, painted, 370
 Svoronos, J., 449
 Syria, 458, 473 f.
 Tanagra, **C 36**
 Tarentum, **C 36; 463 n. 6, 472 n. 1**
 Telesterion at Eleusis, 418, 419, 450
 Terra sigillata, **D 16; E 58; 430 n. 1, 437**
 Terracotta objects, 313 n. 1, 331, 347, 369, 393 f., 451
 Thebes, 442 n. 2, 444
 "Theseion," 345
 Thesmophorion, 451 n. 2
 Thessaly, **D 20, 21; E 51, 153; 442 n. 2**
 Thracians, **A 53-55**
 Unguentaria, fusiform, **A 64, 65; B 6, 7, 44; C 76, 77; D 77, 78; E 137, 138; 370, 472 ff.**
 Watzinger, C., 438, 446
 Wells, 312, 313, 392 f., 457, 458, 471
 West Slope of the Acropolis, **B 4; C 14, 22, 29, 53; D 25, 28; E 69; 438**
 West Slope Ware, **A 35, 38, 39, 73; B 3, 4, 8, 19-26, 35-37; C 11-14, 53; D 25-29; E 51, 59-69; 311, 438 ff., 455**
 Patterns,
 Checker-board, **A 39; C 11, 14; D 25, 26; E 59**
 Cross-hatching, **D 26; E 59, 60**
 Dashes, **D 25; E 62, 65**
 Diminishing rectangles, **A 39; C 11, 14; D 25, 26; E 61**
 Dolphins, **B 3, 8, 35; C 11**
 Dot rosette, **B 8, 35; C 11**
 Dots, **E 63, 65**
 Figures, 440
 Flowers, **B 21**
 Garland, ivy, **B 3, 4, 19, 22, 36; C 14; D 25, 27; E 59**
 Garland, olive, **B 24-26, 36, 37**
 Garland, grain, **E 65**
 Gilding, 438 f.
 Grape-vine, **B 3, 20, 23, 35; C 14; E 62, 67**
 Head of grain, **B 8**
 Incision, **A 73; C 13, 14; 439**
 Loops, **E 59, 61**
 Pendants, **A 73; B 21, 26; C 13; D 25, 27**
 Petal rosette, **C 12**
 Rays, **E 63**
 Ribbons, **B 21; E 60**
 Star, **D 26; E 62, 63; 441**
 "Warts," **D 26, 27; 442**
 Wave pattern, **B 3, 8, 35**
 Wreath, **C 12**
 Zigzag, **C 13**
 Whetstone, 394
 White slip or paint, **D 69; E 86, 135; 449 (kernoi), 450, 465; see also West Slope Ware: Patterns, and Lagynoi**
 Zeus, **D 14**

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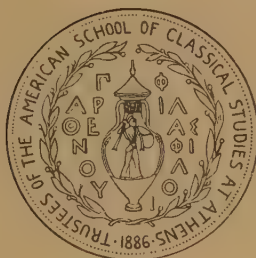
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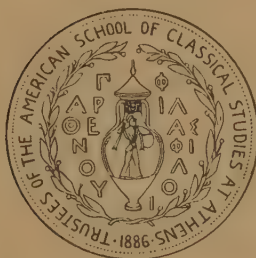
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